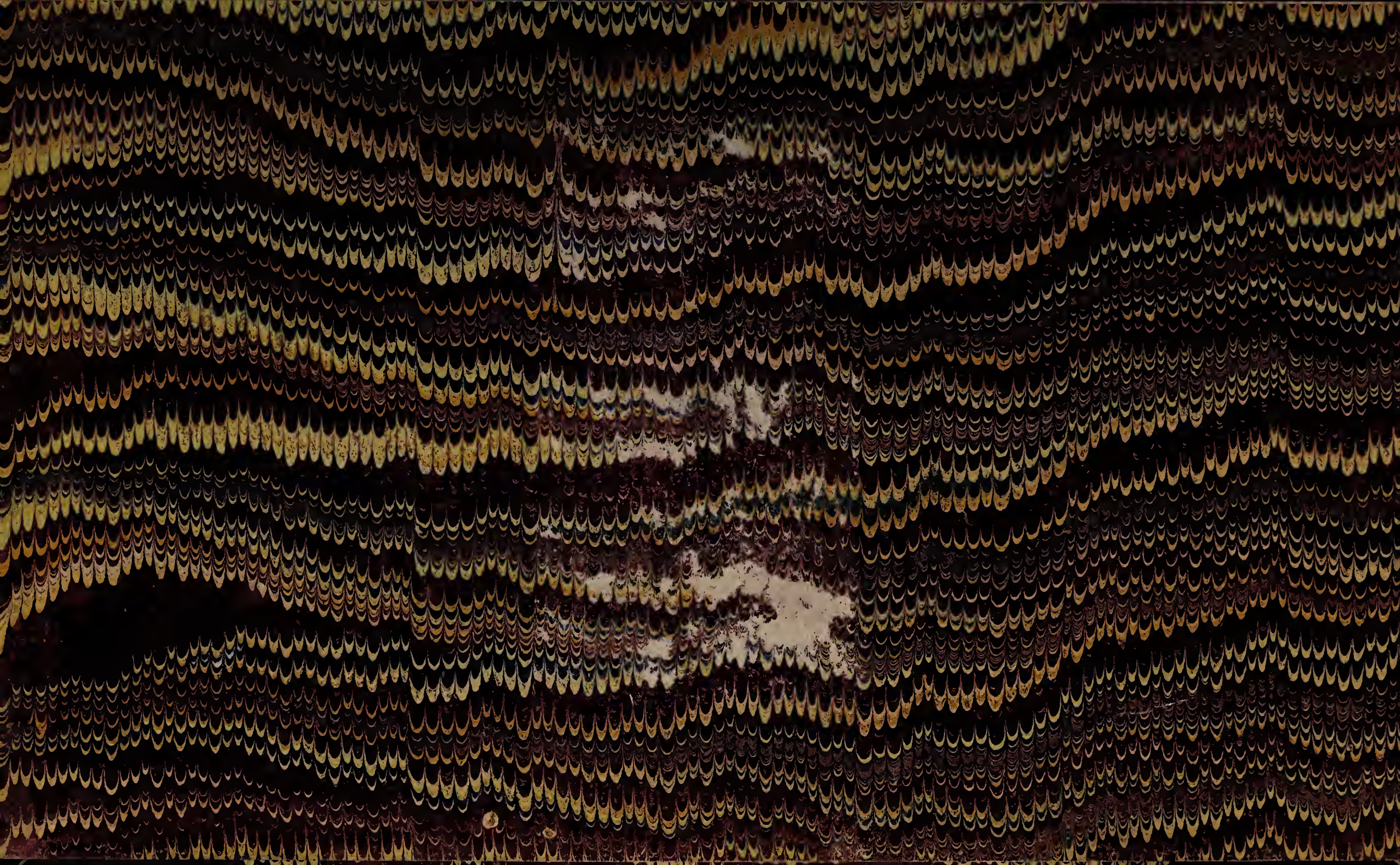

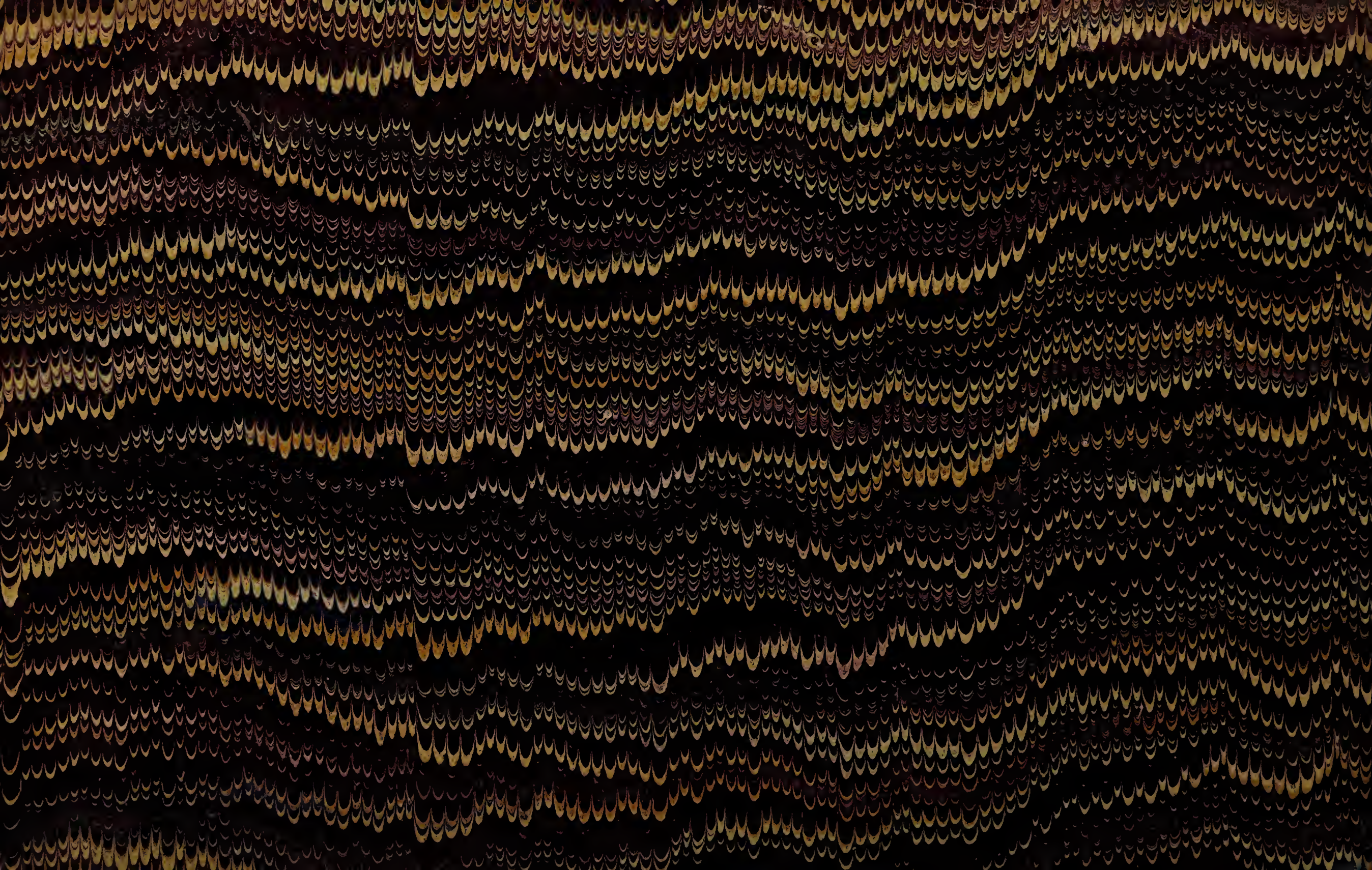

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Reviews, Lectures, and Essays,

ON

Historical, Theological, and Miscellaneous Subjects.

BY M. J. SPALDING, D.D.

ARCHBISHOP OF BALTIMORE

Quæcumque in foliis descripsit . . .
Digerit in numerum, ...
Ne turbata volent rapidis ludibria ventis.

What time and place disjoin, is here combined,
Lest sporting winds disperse the flying leaves.—VIRGIL

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.—HISTORICAL.

SIXTH EDITION, REVISED AND GREATLY ENLARGED.

BALTIMORE:
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Preface to the Fourth Edition.

Eleven years ago, the first edition of the following work was published, and it was speedily followed by two others. The interest awakened in the public mind by the Know-Nothing movement, then at its highest point of excitement, caused many non-Catholics, who had never previously examined the merits of the Catholic Church, to read with eagerness every thing which fell in their way having reference to the great religious question, now become one of vast political importance. The result was most favorable to the cause of truth. The Catholic Church courts, and she is benefited by earnest inquiry; she has no concealment. It was found, that the charges made against Catholics were wholly unfounded, and that they originated in blind prejudice, aggravated by interested motives. The leaders of the movement could hope to obtain power and lucrative office, only by passing over the ruins of the Catholic Church. Those unprincipled men were happily foiled in their unworthy efforts, and the Church came out of the conflict much stronger than she had gone into it; thus adding another to the thousand brilliant victories she had achieved, in the battle-fields of the world and of history, over the unbridled passions of men.

The Introductory Address refers to the state of things which existed in this Country in the Spring and Summer of 1855, while the storm of persecution was brewing against the Church; and though the popular excitement against the Catholics has happily, to a great extent, since passed away, or at least been greatly calmed down, and has been succeeded by more just and liberal sentiments, yet it has been thought well to preserve the Address in the present edition, with some modifications, partly as an historical remembrancer of old-time prejudice, and partly because it treats of subjects which are of more than passing interest, and which may again come up, should another attempt be made to put down the Church by popular clamor and unreasoning bigotry. A feeble effort of the kind was made a few months ago, but it seems to have awakened no echo in the popular mind, which can seldom be a second time deceived in the same direction.

To the Essays, Reviews, and Lectures contained in the previous editions, we have in this added many new ones, some of the latter hav-

ing been written since the former were issued. According to the judgment of perhaps over-partial friends, these are considered of sufficient importance, to be preserved in a more permanent form than in the columns of Magazines and Reviews. The additional matter, thus given to the public in the present edition, amounts to upwards of one hundred and sixty pages, including the new notices prefixed to most of the newly published articles.

While I have sought carefully to revise all the papers contained in these Volumes—now amounting to forty-seven—I could not correct the style or modify the tone of them, without re-writing the whole; a task rendered impossible by numerous and engrossing occupations. As some of them were written as far back as twenty years, it is but natural to suppose that they occasionally exhibit more spirit and heat in argument, than the cooler temper and riper taste of advancing years would fully approve. While I am free to make this acknowledgment, justice to my own convictions and feelings requires me to state, that in regard to the facts alleged, I have nothing to retract or even materially to modify, and that in the tone and temper I do not even now believe, that I set down ought in malice, or with any other than the good intent of correcting error and establishing truth, without assuming the aggressive, except for the sake of what I believed to be the legitimate defense of the Church of God.

Such as these papers are, they are again offered to an impartial public, with an earnest wish, that they may not prove wholly unprofitable to the cause of historic truth and of true Religion.

BALTIMORE, *Easter Monday*, 1866.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF A NEW EDITION.

ARCHBISHOP SPALDING had intended to issue a complete and uniform edition of all his works; and he was occupied with this task when his last illness came upon him. The new and revised edition of the HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION, the EVIDENCES OF CATHOLICITY, and the MISCELLANEA, which is now offered to the Public, was prepared by Archbishop Spalding himself—the corrections and additions being from his own hand. To the *Evidences of Catholicity*, as the reader will perceive, he has added his Pastoral Letter on the Infallibility of the Pope; and to the *History of the Reformation*, he has appended an Article entitled: *Rome and Geneva.*

The *Life of Bishop Flaget* and the *Sketches of Kentucky*, which Archbishop Spalding intended to re-write and publish in one volume, are not contained in the present edition of his works, since the corrections and additions, which it had been his purpose to make, are incomplete.

BALTIMORE, *Sept.* 8, 1875.

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INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS.

INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS,

To the Impartial Public;

ON THE INTOLERANT SPIRIT OF THE TIMES.

An intolerant spirit invoked against Catholics—Bigotry an implacable monster—The danger of fostering the mob spirit—Features in the present anti-Catholic crusade--Cruel treatment of a Catholic priest—Our adversaries virtually yielding us the victory in fair argument—Their numerous inconsistencies—The Newark outrage—The *manliness* of the American character—Whence danger is to be apprehended to the Republic—The "bats and the eagles"—Hoping for better things—The accusations against us—Is the Catholic Church intolerant?—Or uncharitable?—Latitudinarianism, not charity—Principles of the Church in regard to persecution—Has she ever persecuted as a Church?—Third canon of Lateran—The Inquisition—John Huss—Catholic and Protestant persecution since the reformation—Intolerance in America—Who originated it, and who gave the first example of toleration?—Parallel between Catholic and Protestant countries in the matter of persecution— Are Catholics the enemies of republican government?—What Catholicity and Protestantism have done for human liberty—Charles Carroll of Carrolton—Washington and the Catholics—The temporal power of the Popes—Declarations of Archbishop Carroll and the American Bishops--Letter to the Pope—Are American Catholics a separate community?—Archbishop Carroll and Bishop Dubourg—Foreigners—What they have done for the country—"The foreign vote"—Foreign radicals and infidels—The naturalization laws—The common school system—What the Catholic Church says to her members—Her efforts to promote peace and order—Her charity for all mankind—Archbishop Kenrick's Pastoral.

That a fierce spirit of intolerance has been lately evoked in this once free country, no candid observer of passing events will deny. Christians of a particular denomination have been selected, as its first victims; but no one who has studied human nature, as it is developed in the facts of history, will for a moment suppose, that the ruin of Catholics in this country will satisfy the cravings of this fierce Moloch of religious bigotry. As with the tiger, the taste of blood will but sharpen its appetite for new victims. So it has been in the past; so it will be in the future.

Let no one deceive himself, nor suffer himself to be deceived, in a matter of so vital an importance to all who are sheltered under the glorious flag of our union. Once the barriers, which our noble constitution throws around the civil and religious liberties of all citizens alike, are broken down, no matter under what pretext of excitement, of political expediency, or necessity, there is no telling where the spirit of innovation will stop, or where the evils consequent upon it will be arrested. When a torrent has once broken through the embankment along its margin, it spreads devastation through the entire country; and the husbandman who has neglected the necessary precautions, while it was yet time, finds

out, when it is too late for remedy, that all the fruits of his patient toil have been swept away or destroyed by the raging waters. So it will be precisely, should the checks and balances, which the wisdom and forecast of our fathers have inserted in the constitution, be neglected or set at naught. The torrent of human passions, once it has overleaped this barrier, will overwhelm our beautiful country with ruins. All our dearly bought liberties will be virtually destroyed; property will be no longer secure; law and order will give place to passion and mob violence; the dearest of all human rights and privileges,—that of worshiping God according to the dictates of our conscience,—will be annihilated; the beautiful earthly paradise of our happy republic will be changed into a frowning wilderness, filled with horror and desolation: finally, anarchy will take the place of order and good government. The worst possible species of tyranny is that of the mob. Far better be oppressed by one tyrant, than be crushed and torn by a thousand: far better have even a Nero or a Diocletian to lord it over you, than be ruled by that hydra-headed monster, called a *mob*. The solitary tyrant may have some misgivings, or retain some remnant of justice or humanity; he may at least be checked by a sense of personal responsibility, and may tremble on his throne at the fear of popular retribution: the many-headed despot has neither reason, nor justice, nor humanity, nor conscience, nor fear of God or man, to restrain him from deeds of violence.

For the truth of this picture, we appeal with confidence to all history; from the period when an excited mob cried out against the Blessed Jesus at the tribunal of Pilate: — Crucify Him! crucify Him!! — down to the other day, when another mob, composed of persons calling themselves *Christians*, raised fiendish shouts of triumph at the tearing down and trampling under foot of the Cross, which had ornamented the spire of a Catholic Church in Chelsea! At every time and in every place, the mob has always been the same ruthless, savage, untameable monster; the Christian scarcely less so than the pagan.[1]

Unhappily, we need not go far back into times past, nor travel far from home, to witness the sad effects of mob violence. A distinctive feature in the present crusade against Catholics in this country, is precisely the invoking against them of this ruthless spirit. Five or six of our churches either burnt, or sacked, or blown up by gunpowder,—most of them while our citizens were engaged in the joyous celebration of the liberty-hallowed Fourth of July;—street brawlers, generally

1 For more on this subject, we refer to the Chapter on Mobs, in this Volume, p. 619, seqq., and to the Article on the Philadelphia Riots, p. 596, seqq.

men of the lowest and most infamous character, hired to vilify and slander us and all that we hold most dear and sacred in the public streets and highways, thereby openly exciting the passions of the ignorant to bloody civil feuds; our people, after having been thus grievously wronged in their character as citizens and as religionists, butchered in brutal street encounters, or assassinated in detail,[1] and then almost invariably placed in the wrong by a mendacious press and telegraph, in the interest of their enemies; and the victims of all these cruel and accumulated wrongs generally receiving, instead of sympathy, but additional obloquy and persecution, they being in almost every instance the only ones arrested and punished for the riots which others had caused, while the murderers and assassins and church burners escape: — these are some of the practical workings of that truculent spirit, which, during the present year, has been aroused against us in this *free* country!

Every one knows how a Catholic priest — the Rev. Mr. Bapst — was lately treated by a savage mob at Ellsworth in Maine. He was universally conceded to be a man of great zeal and benevolence, as well as of irreproachable life. The only crime alleged against him, was that he had dared express an opinion on the Common School System, different from that of the majority. For this, in pursuance of a resolution passed at a town meeting, he was tarred and feathered, ridden on a rail, and treated with indignities, which forcibly remind us of the scenes on Calvary; indignities of which savages should have been ashamed. The ruffians, amidst these horrible outrages to God's minister, did not, however, forget to rifle his pockets and to appropriate to themselves his watch and money![2] Says the Bangor Journal — a secular print of the vicinity:

"While the tarring and feathering was going on, he was mocked and reviled with horrid blasphemies and indecencies. He was asked why he came over to this country. To preach the Catholic doctrine, he replied. We are Protestants, the ruffians said, and will teach you better than that. One, mocking him, said scornfully: "So they persecuted Jesus of old." Another, reviling, asked "Will the Virgin Mary save you?" These blasphemies remind one of the mockings on Calvary. Some asked him how many wives he had, how many children, &c. These are the most decent of the insults, and are all that admit of publication."

Do we live in the nineteenth century, or have we been transported back to the period of civil commotions in the middle ages; when modern society was struggling into form, when feudal strife filled Europe with bloody intestine feuds, and when Guelph and Ghibelline caused the streets of Florence and Milan to run in blood? Do we live in a land of

1 Witness the assassination of poor McCarthy at Newark; and other murders mentioned in the public prints.

2 Something more than fifty dollars

liberty and law, or in one of tyranny and anarchy? Has our noble constitution — the master work of human wisdom — become a dead letter; or what is worse, have its just and equitable provisions, securing equal civil and religious freedom to all, been openly contemned and trampled under foot? Have our people forgotten the price of liberty, that they now hold it so cheap? What will the friends of monarchy and the enemies of republicanism in the old world think and say, as they point in triumph to these sad commentaries, which we have written with our own hands, on our boasted fundamental principle of equal law and equal privileges to all? What will the radical republicans of Europe, with whom so many of our people profess to sympathize, answer, when their opponents will appeal to such practical workings of liberty as the above, in the great Model Republic across the Atlantic? Can any reasonable man doubt, that the excesses to which we allude will have the effect of greatly weakening, if not of wholly marring the cause of true and rational liberty throughout the world?

If history utters any warning, or teaches any lesson, it is this great truth: that persecution has never yet put down a good cause, nor materially served a bad one. Truth may be obscured or smothered for a time; it cannot be destroyed. Thus the sun may be darkened for a time by the interposing cloud, but anon his bright rays will break out again to illumine the world; no human power can wholly extinguish his light, much less blot him out from the heavens. Yet the sun will share the fate of all things created, and cease to exist; but the truth of God abideth forever. For more than eighteen centuries the Catholic Church has stood, a tower of strength, amidst the ruins of all things earthly, strewn in her pathway. Dynasties have changed, thrones have fallen, and sceptres have been broken around her; yet has she stood, and she stil' stands, stronger than ever:

"She saw the commencement of all the governments and of all the ecclesiastical establishments, that now exist in the world; and we feel no assurance that she is not destined to see the end of them all. . . Four times since the Church of Rome was established in western Christendom has the human intellect risen up against her yoke. Twice she remained completely victorious. Twice she came forth from the conflict bearing the marks of cruel wounds, but with the principle of life still strong within her. When we reflect upon the tremendous assaults which she has survived, we find it difficult to conceive in what way she is to perish."[1]

Nothing could, in fact, be more honorable to the Catholic Church than the mode of warfare which has been lately adopted to effect her ruin in this country. In appealing to passion and mob violence against her, her

1 Macaulay — Review of Ranke's History of the Popes.

enemies virtually acknowledge that calm examination and sober reasoning are powerless for her destruction; by the necessity under which they find themselves to resort to misrepresentation and slander, they substantially concede that they would be worsted in the fair field of truthful statement and dispassionate argument. Thus, those Protestants who have been induced by prejudice and passion to favor this unhallowed mode of attack upon our Church, have really abandoned the vantage-ground in the controversy, and have thereby unwittingly yielded us the victory. Bad temper, unfairness, and violence in a disputant, greatly damage his cause, in the judgment of all calm and impartial men; while the party assailed by such weapons is always sure to win sympathy, and to gain on public opinion.

Another feature in the present violent warfare against us, is its glaring inconsistency. The men who are most prominent in the crusade are, in general, as unprincipled as the means they employ are detestable.[1] Professing to be the champions of freedom, their secret and even avowed object is to rob of freedom a large portion of their fellow citizens: — for their "war to the hilt against Romanism," as explained by their words and their *actions*, means nothing less than this. Professing to love the Bible, and boasting a wish to see the principles of the Bible triumphantly carried out in politics, they trample recklessly upon the most cherished principles of the Bible. The Bible says: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself;" they say, we must hate our neighbor, and declare war to the hilt against him, if he happen to belong to the oldest and most numerous body of Christians on the face of the earth. The Bible teaches, that we must love our enemies; they hate even their friends, or those at least who have never wronged them in thought or deed. The Bible inculcates the equitable principle, that we must do unto others, as we would wish others to do unto us under like circumstances; they teach that Catholics are to be excluded from the operation of this Gospel rule. The Bible teaches, that we are to be kind and indulgent to the poor stranger who comes within our borders; they teach that no treatment is too hard for the stranger, if he dare think for himself in matters of religion, and exercise his undoubted civil rights — clearly guaranteed to him by the constitution in the country of his adoption. These specifications will suffice to show, how our boasted lovers and champions of the Bible,— who are wont to parade the sacred volume in their riotous and bloody proces-

1 We speak here and throughout this Address chiefly of the leaders in the anti-Catholic warfare. We are convinced that very many among those who have enrolled themselves in the new political party are well meaning men, who have been misled by the arts of others, or who are even persuaded that they are doing God and their country service by proscribing Catholics!

sions,[1] — wantonly trample it under foot, whenever its declarations conflict with their headlong passions.

Another glaring inconsistency in those who are foremost in the anti-Catholic crusade, is found in the fact, that while they profess to advocate a change of policy in regard to all foreigners who come to our shores, they secretly, and sometimes even openly, fraternize with the blood-stained Irish Orangemen and the truculent German infidels! Their boasted political principles are thus lost sight of, or openly violated, whenever there is a good opportunity for waging a "war to the hilt against Romanism." Every one is familiar with the late atrocious attack on the Catholic Church at Newark by Irish Orangemen, and how the press in the interest of the Know Nothings, as usual, added slander to outrage, by laying all the blame on the Irish Catholics. Well, sacrilege was perpetrated in the open light of day; murder was done on the person of an inoffensive man: yet up to the present day not one among the foreign Protestant perpetrators of these horrid deeds has been even arrested! Still the truth came out, after the first storm of passion had passed away; and even the New York Tribune, re-echoing the declaration of other papers, at length honorably proclaimed it as follows:

The Newark Murder and Sacrilege.— "That Church stands fairly exculpated from all offense, and its devastation is an unprovoked and shameful outrage, which reflects great discredit on Newark and belligerent Protestantism. And it is worthy of note that while this is the fifth or sixth Catholic edifice, which has been destroyed or devastated by mob violence in our country, *there is no instance on record wherein a Protestant house of worship has been ravaged by Catholics.*"[2]

As if conscious of the dishonorable character of their warfare on Catholics, the new anti-Catholic party enters the field shrouded in secresy and wrapped up in mystery. Professing to be the champions of "American principles," they skulk away into darkness, and seem ashamed to show their faces in the light of day. If this be one of the "American principles," then are we done forever with American principles! Born and reared up in this free country, we have doated from our infancy on the glorious principles embodied in our noble declaration of independence, and in those cognate ones set forth in our matchless constitution. They have been the dream of our youth, and the idol of our maturer years. And we have had abundant opportunities to know, that those whom *choice*, and not the mere *accident* of birth, have made citizens of our happy country, have, without an exception known to us, entertained a fond predilection for American principles, scarcely surpassed in intensity

1 As they did during the Philadelphia Riots. 2 New York Tribune, of September 8, 1854

by our own. But we and they had thought, in our simplicity, that *manliness* was one among those cherished "American principles": that it was even an essential part of the American character to be open, candid, and straight-forward in all its acts; that the American could have no possible cause to be ashamed either of his name, of his political doctrines, or of his acts; that he needed no cover of darkness to conceal either his purposes or his deeds. But we were mistaken; our dream has been dissipated; and we awake to the painful reality, that neither we nor our fathers knew anything about "American principles," until we were happily taught them by foreign infidels, incendiaries, and assassins, boasting the hallowed name of patriots and martyrs of liberty! Yet these were the very men against whose pernicious arts Washington had so solemnly warned us, when he bade us beware of foreign influence! The real danger to our republican institutions lies in the encouragement given to those mischievous men — the spawn of foreign revolutions — whom failure in their attempts abroad causes to be cast upon our shores. Received with open arms by our patriotic sympathy, they proceed forthwith to organize amongst us those dangerous secret political societies, which were the chief instruments of their warfare in Europe. Hear what the venerable Josiah Quincy says of such societies:

"The liberties of a people are never more certainly in the path of destruction, than when they trust themselves to the guidance of secret societies. Birds of the night are never birds of wisdom. One of them indeed received this name, but it was from its *looks*, and not from its moral and intellectual qualities. They are for the most part birds of prey. The fate of a republic is sealed when the Bats take the lead of the Eagles."

Every reader of American history knows how Washington saved the country, by refusing to recognize Genet, the envoy of the bloody French republic; whose arts and influence among the people had well nigh brought ruin on our infant government. The calm judgment and wise forecast of Washington prevented us from being led away by this most dangerous "foreign influence;" leading to precisely such "entangling alliances," as the demagogue Kossuth, at a more recent period, sought, happily in vain, to bring about.

But enough on this branch of the subject. We cannot bring ourselves to believe, for a moment, that the narrow-minded, inconsistent, unscriptural, un-American, and utterly detestable spirit, exhibited by those among us who now take a leading part in the warfare against Catholics, is at all likely to become the settled policy of our yet happy and prosperous country. Should we, however, be wrong in this belief, and should that

truculent spirit prevail for a time over sounder and more American principles; should the persecution of Catholics continue and increase until our churches will all be in ruins, and there will remain no resting place for our feet on the soil of this republic; then are we convinced, that amidst the ruins of our Church in this country will be strewn likewise the ruins of the republic itself! The liberal and enlarged principles of the latter will be annihilated; its greatness will be arrested and its glories dimmed; and while the stars of its flag may yet float in the heavens, its E PLURIBUS UNUM will be obliterated, and its many colored stripes, emblematic of union in diversity — like its motto — will be blotted out forever.[1]

Still we are unshaken in our hope of better things in the future. There is, after all, a strongly conservative spirit and a practical good sense in the mass of our population, which needs only be fairly awakened, to frown down all attempts at fastening on our necks the system of narrow-minded and proscriptive policy of which we are speaking. To this practical sense and "sober second thought" alone do we now address ourselves; all reasoning with the unscrupulous faction which seeks to abridge or destroy our liberties, were worse than useless. We will accordingly devote the remaining portion of this Address to answering some principal objections made against us by our more reasonable opponents. Fully to refute them all, would require a volume; though the bulk of the charges might be answered, by simply saying that we are misrepresented. We will confine ourselves to those which affect our character as citizens:[2] and even here, we must be brief, though we hope that what we shall be able to say will be plain, straightforward, and to the purpose. Truth needs no gloss nor drapery; when presented in its simple and unadorned beauty, it best attracts the admiration, and wins the homage of all its candid and impartial votaries.

Almost all the accusations made against us are reducible to these two heads: first, that in religion we are intolerant and proscriptive; second, that in politics, we are enemies of republican institutions, and friends of a foreign despotism. We will proceed summarily to answer these two charges, together with some of the principal specifications alleged to support them. But as we cannot be reasonably expected in this Introductory Address to go into all the details necessary for the full

1 Or if not wholly obliterated, at least severed from the unity of the Flag: the *stars* being for the native born, and the *stripes* for the foreigner, escaping from tyranny to this noble asylum of freedom! This is the beautiful thought of Archbishop Hughes

2 In the following Pages, we answer many of the most current popular charges against the Church; particularly in the Theological Essays, Part ii. p 397, seqq.

elucidation of a subject so vast in the topics which it must necessarily embrace, we shall claim the privilege of referring, as we proceed, to the Essays contained in this volume for such additional facts and illustrations as they may supply, on the points which will successively come under discussion.

I. In regard to the charge of exclusiveness and intolerance, two things, which are often confounded, should be accurately distinguished: namely, *theological* exclusiveness and *civil* intolerance. Our Protestant brethren have, in general, very vague and loose ideas upon this subject. Among them, the term *religious liberality* generally implies what might with more propriety be called *latitudinarianism.* The fashionable theory, which now obtains extensively among those outside of the Catholic Church, holds that it matters not what a Christian believes, provided he try to be a moral man and a good citizen; in other words, that Christ either taught no specific doctrines whatever, or that He required, as a condition of salvation, belief in none which He did teach, or at most in but a few fundamental articles. When those, who maintain the obligation of belief in these fundamental principles only, are called upon to define them, they are often embarrassed for an answer; some giving a wider, some a more limited range to the points in question. All, however, agree in advocating, to a greater or less extent, the latitudinarian principle above indicated.

Now we Catholics strongly protest against this popular theory, as tending to unsettle all faith, and to subvert Christianity itself. We hold that Christ delivered a definite system of religion; that *all* the doctrines which He taught are equally true, and equally to be believed; that He died on the cross to seal the truth of them all with His blood; and that consequently all the articles of faith which he established, in a manner so solemn, must be believed by all who have the means of knowing them. In other words, we hold that Christ, being the Son of God and Truth itself, did establish, and in the very nature of things, could have established, but ONE RELIGION; and that, as He founded it for the salvation of mankind, He must have required that it should be embraced, in all its parts, by all who would be saved. This principle we regard as almost self-evident; and we cannot see how it can be denied by any, who have definite ideas on the nature and purpose of the Christian religion, or who believe in the divinity of its Author and Founder. If the Christian religion was not, after all, necessary to salvation, then why did the Son of God undergo so much labor, and endure so much obloquy and

suffering for its establishment? Why did He say, speaking of all the doctrines which He had taught without any distinction: "He that believeth not, shall be condemned?"[1] Why does His inspired apostle Paul declare, in the name of his Master,— "Without faith it is impossible to please God!"[2]

But our present purpose does not require us to discuss this or any other doctrinal point; we are merely stating our belief. What then do we hold in regard to those who are outside of the one true Church of Christ? Do we condemn them all alike and indiscriminately? We do not. We leave them to their own responsibility before God, by whose unerring judgment they will, like ourselves, stand or fall. If not united with the Church, *through their own fault*,— having the light and opportunity to find out what it is, and neglecting to correspond therewith,— they are in imminent danger of losing their immortal souls, for which Jesus died. If they are separated from it, *without any fault of theirs*,— should there be any such,— they will not be condemned *for this;* for God condemns none but the guilty. Whether they are out of the true church with or without their own fault, the great Searcher of hearts alone can decide; and in His hands we leave them.

But the Catholic Church teaches farther, with Christ Himself, that we must "love our neighbor as ourselves;" that we must bear the burdens of one another; that we must pray for and love even our enemies, and do good to those who do evil to us; that, when it is question of solacing misery or succoring distress, we must not stop to inquire the belief of the sufferer: in a word, that without charity towards *all* mankind, the profession of Christianity were vain and profitless. The Catholic Church enjoins upon her children to be just in all their dealings, to be good citizens, to be good neighbors, to be good parents, good children, good husbands, good wives; — good in every relation of society; but especially, to be good Christians, loving God above all things, and performing all their actions for His honor and glory.

If these principles be intolerant, then must we plead guilty to the charge. But if they be such as are essentially connected with Christianity itself, such as alone are true and consistent with the whole tenor and the very end and aim of the Christian religion; then are we content to bear whatever of obloquy may attach to our belief in them. If, to be considered charitable, we are called upon to sacrifice truth and common sense itself, and to say that a hundred contradictory systems of belief may all be equally

1 St. Mark xvi. 2 Hebrews xi.

true, then must we submit to the imputation of uncharitableness. In this we do but imitate St. Paul, who sought not to please men, but rather to be the servant of Christ;[1] and we do but share in the ignominy of Christ Himself, who, instead of flattering human error, died for the truth.

But does the Catholic Church "call down fire from heaven" on the heads of those who dissent from her belief? By no means: hers has been at all times a different spirit altogether, and one more consonant with that of her divine Founder. Her mission has been to win sinners to repentance, to inculcate mercy and love, not hatred and bitterness. The first laws for the punishment of heretics were enacted by the early Christian emperors, not by the Popes, the bishops, or the Church. The latter deprecated all rigor against the sectaries, unless in particular cases, where it seemed indispensable to restrain violence, or to redress open and glaring outrages against religious liberty.[2] The Catholic bishops and the Popes were themselves often the victims of imperial claims to regulate the affairs of the Church; and it is very doubtful whether they could have prevented the enactment and execution of the laws in question. The Popes were always opposed to violent measures for the propagation of the faith among pagans; and they were also in the habit of throwing the shield of their protection around the Jews, whenever their religious privileges and civil rights were infringed by intemperate Christian zeal.[3] The Church has thus always adopted and acted upon the maxim of Tertullian, who, more than sixteen centuries ago, claimed religious liberty for Christians as an indefeasable right, growing out of the very nature of religion itself: "RELIGIONIS NON EST RELIGIONEM COGERE — IT IS NOT THE PART OF RELIGION TO ESTABLISH RELIGION BY FORCE."[4] Her spirit of mildness was breathed forth by the great St. Augustine, when, writing to Donatus, the imperial Proconsul in Africa, he deprecated all undue severity against the Arians and Donatists, and said: "We desire them to be *corrected, not slain.*"[5] As one of her greatest Popes, St. Leo the Great, says: "The lenity of the Church being content with the priestly sentence, shrinks from sanguinary vengeance;"[6] and she sanctions or tolerates severe measures emanating from the princes of the earth, only when, without them, society

1 "Do I seek to please men! If I yet pleased men, I should not be the servant of Christ."— *Galatians* i, 10.

2 See the evidence on this subject, presented in considerable detail by Archbishop Kenrick, in his work on the Primacy; Part ii. chap. viii.

3 For many facts sustaining this assertion, see "The Primacy," ibid.

4 The whole passage of Tertullian, as translated by Archbishop Kenrick, is as follows: "It is man's right and privilege, that each one should worship what he thinks proper; nor can the religion of another injure or profit him. Neither is it a part of religion to compel its adoption; since this should be spontaneous, not forced, as even sacrifices are asked only of the cheerful giver." Primacy, ibid. 5 Epist. Donato. 6 Epist. ad Turribium.

itself would be endangered, "all regard for probity destroyed, all bonds of society dissolved, and divine and human laws at once overturned."[1] Hence that celebrated and well known maxim, embodied as an axiom in her Canon Law: "Ecclesia abhorret a Sanguine—The Church abhors bloodshed." So far is this principle carried, that a standing rule of her discipline forbids the ordination, not only of those who have been guilty of shedding blood, but also of those who, whether as judges, accusers, or voluntary witnesses, have co-operated towards passing a sentence of death on a fellow man, or even one of bodily mutilation without taking life.[2] From the earliest period of her history, she has taught and acted upon these principles. To furnish one out of a hundred examples of this, it is well known that in the fourth century, St. Martin, the illustrious bishop of Tours, openly censured two Spanish bishops — Ithacius and Idacius — for teaching that the Priscillianists should be punished with corporal chastisement or death for their wicked heresy, though this tended to the subversion of social order itself; and the Church sustained him in his truly Christian course.[3]

Persecution is not, and never has been a doctrine of the Catholic Church. Our standard writers have often boldly defied their adversaries to establish the contrary proposition; but their challenge has never been fairly met. Surely, if the Catholic Church had ever taught persecution, as a doctrine, her enemies could tell us when and where she inculcated the offensive tenet. If she ever persecuted, *as a Church*, they could certainly furnish us with such facts and specifications on the subject, as would not be susceptible of either explanation or reply. The Catholic Church is no secret society; she has taught boldly, and acted out her teaching openly in the arena of the world for more than eighteen centuries; and if the charge of persecution could be sustained against her, it would long since have been done. The attempt has indeed been made, but it has utterly failed. Our writers have scattered to the winds the arguments of their opponents on this subject, and have shown that, in the majority of cases, the latter have substituted vague declamation for *facts*, fiery appeals to passion for sober argument.

But have not Catholics persecuted in times past? We do not deny it; but we answer, that they did so in virtue of no doctrine of their Church. If the mere act of persecution proved the doctrine, then it would follow that all the Protestant sects hold the same odious tenet; for all of them

1 Ibid. He refers to the fatal errors of the ancient Manicheans.

2 See our Canonists—*passim*.

3 The great St Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, united with St. Martin in this charitable interposition in favor of the persecuted Priscillianists

have been stained with persecution, at one period or other of their history. They have all persecuted Catholics, whenever and wherever they had the power to do so; and almost all of them have likewise been guilty of the glaring inconsistency of persecuting brother Protestants, for daring, in the exercise of the conceded right of private judgment, to think differently from themselves! But who would infer from this undoubted fact, that Protestants generally hold it as a *doctrine*, that all who dissent from their particular views should be put down by fire and sword? Such a conclusion would be clearly illogical and grievously unjust. Now we claim the application of the same equitable principle to the charge of persecution brought against our Church; and surely our claim is not unreasonable.

But the Catholic Church professes to be infallible and unchangeable, whereas the Protestant sects admit that they are liable to err, and have often erred in times past. We freely grant the latter proposition; in regard to the former, our adversaries lose sight of a very obvious distinction, which truth demands should be made. The Catholic Church is unchangeable in *doctrine*, but not in *discipline*. The latter may and does vary in its details, according to times, places, and circumstances. So that, even if our opponents should prove that our Church had, at any period of her history, adopted persecution as a line of conduct under particular circumstances, or as a general *discipline*, they would not still make good their position. But have they established even this proposition? We believe not; and to show how inconclusive are their arguments, on a point which does not directly touch the real matter at issue, we will briefly refer to a few of their specifications.

They allege, with an air of triumph, the third Canon of the fourth Council of Lateran,[1] which excommunicated heretics, and ordered that they should be delivered up for punishment to the secular power. Our answer is obvious. In the first place, it is manifest that no *doctrine* is promulgated by this canon, but that only a rule of action is laid down for a particular case. 2. We may observe, that Mathew Paris, a weighty cotemporary historian, denies that this and the other canons were the acts of the council itself;[2] and that the English Protestant church historian, Collier, declares his belief that the third canon in particular is not genuine.[3] 3. But, waiving this, and admitting the genuineness of the canon, every reader of Church History knows that it was enacted with the full concurrence, and probably on the positive demand, of the

1 Held A. D. 1215.
2 Math. Paris — ad annum 1215, apud Milner — Letters to a Prebendary.
3 Collier, Ecclesiastical History; vol. i, p. 424: quoted ibid.

temporal sovereigns of Christendom, who were nearly all of them present at the council, either personally, or by their ambassadors.[1] Some of the provisions of the canon could not, in fact, have been enacted, much less, carried into execution, but with the consent and co-operation of the temporal sovereigns; especially of those who were chiefly concerned. It may here be remarked, in general, that many of the councils held during the middle ages were not exclusively ecclesiastical conventions, but rather congresses of all Christendom, representing the temporal as well as the spiritual power.[2] 4. The severe provisions of this canon were directed against the Albigenses, who then infested the south of France, than whom a more pestilent sect probably never existed. They were the sworn foes of all religion, of all decency, and of all social order. Wherever they appeared, desolation and ruin followed in their pathway.[3] They were the Jacobins and *Sans-culottes* of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; and they were, if possible, even more truculent and bloody than the Jacobins themselves. They were the enemies of both God and man. Worse than our modern Mormons, they condemned marriage altogether, and gave a free rein to every brutal passion and appetite. Had they succeeded in establishing their principles, all order and all civilization would have been at an end. Is it any wonder then, that all Christendom — the State no less than the Church — rose up in mass to put down, even by force, a sect so monstrous? Is it not plain also, that, such being the facts, the severe measures sanctioned by the council constitute an exceptional case, which should not be alleged as evidence of a general rule? And for the truth of this picture, we appeal with confidence to all cotemporary history. We may safely apply to them what the learned Protestant church historian Mosheim candidly says of a cognate sect — the Brethren of the Free Spirit:[4]

"Certain writers, who have accustomed themselves to entertain a high idea of the sanctity of all those who, in the middle ages, separated themselves from the Church of Rome, suspect the inquisitors of having falsely attributed impious doctrines to the Brethren of the Free Spirit.

1 There were thus present at this council the emperors of Germany and Constantinople, the kings of France, England, Aragon, Sicily, Hungary, Jerusalem, and Cyprus; besides several minor sovereigns.

2 As during the period in question, society was struggling into form, and there were no standing armies to repel strongly organized and wide-spread aggressions upon social order, expeditions of a general character for the defense of society were decided on in councils of the European sovereigns, and when the enemies of order were likewise the foes of religion, these expeditions were called crusades.

3 For facts and details on this subject, we beg to refer to "The Primacy," by Archbishop Kenrick, sup. cit.

4 During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries a great part of Europe was infested with pernicious sects, which revived under different forms the anti-social errors of the ancient Manichæans. They were all alike, though they bore the different names of Turlupins, Begards, Brethren of the Free Spirit, and Albigenses. The Petro-Brusians were a kindred sect.

But this suspicion is entirely *groundless*, &c. . . . Their shocking violation of decency was a consequence of their pernicious system. They looked upon decency and modesty as marks of inward corruption. . . . Certain enthusiasts amongst them maintained, that the believer could not sin, let his conduct be ever so horrible or atrocious." [1]

But what have we to say on the Inquisition, especially the Spanish Inquisition; which, with the alleged sanction of the Church, filled Christendom with so many horrors for ages? What explanation are we to give of what occurred at the Council of Constance, which, contrary to plighted faith, consigned John Huss and Jerome of Prague to the flames? Satisfactory answers on both these points could be easily given; and they have been given a hundred times already. But as we devote special Essays to these subjects in the following pages, [2] we must refer the candid reader to them for details; and we do so with entire confidence, that all who will take the trouble to read these papers, will rise from the perusal with the conviction, that even those darker passages in the Church's history do not make out the case of persecution against her, even as a point of discipline. [3]

Come we now to times nearer our own day. What are the statistics of persecution during the last three centuries, since the dawn of what has been called by its friends the *reformation?* And how stands the case at present in Europe, and *in America?* No candid man who has read history aright will deny, that during this period, and especially at present, we have been, and are now, much more sinned against than sinning in the matter of persecution. Catholics who speak the English language, in particular, have been for three hundred years, almost without intermission, the victims of the most ruthless intolerance. Robbed of their church and often of their personal property; slandered in their reputation; hunted down by the myrmidons of a persecuting government; branded as traitors and outlaws in their own country and that of their fathers before them: such has been their treatment in Protestant England up to a comparatively recent period; ever since the fatal day when the tyrant Henry VIII.— the Nero of modern times — quarreled with the Pope, and violently severed the unity of the Church, because she could not and would not sanction his headlong passions, to the injury of a virtuous wife! [3] In Ireland, the fate of the Catholics was still harder, and of longer continuance. [4]

1 Eccles. History, vol. iii. p. 284; Maclain's translation — quoted by Milner.

2 See the Articles on the Spanish Inquisition, and on John Huss and the Hussites; pp. 213, 191 seqq.

3 See the third Article on Church History p. 57 seqq, for farther details on the reformation in England

4 In the Article on Ireland and the Irish — p. 506 seqq., we have sketched the sufferings of Catholic Ireland under English persecution.

We go even farther, and state, as a fact which no one will deny, who retains the least regard for historic truth, that in every country in Europe where the reformation succeeded, Catholics were invariably persecuted, almost as atrociously and for nearly as long a time, as in England and Ireland. Robbery, sacrilege, slander, civil commotions and bloodshed, were everywhere the arms with which incipient Protestantism assailed those, whose only crime was their honest wish to adhere to the faith, and worship at the altars of their forefathers, and of the forefathers of those very men too who were engaged in persecuting them! Perhaps in Switzerland, an old Catholic republic with some remains of the ancient Catholic freedom, the persecuting spirit was less rampant than elsewhere; but even in Switzerland, with its glowing Catholic memories of William Tell, Furst, and Melchtal, we find no exception to the remark just made. Even there the fiercely intolerant spirit of the early reformers was not softened. This we establish, by abundant evidence, in a special Essay on the Reformation in Switzerland.[1]

We conclude this branch of the subject with an extract from the Edinburg Review —an unexceptionable Protestant authority — which candidly places in its true light the character of the self-styled reformers, in the matter of persecution: [2]

"Protestant writers, in general, are apt to describe the reformation as a struggle for religious freedom. . . . Now, we humbly apprehend, that the free exercise of private judgment was most heartily abhorred by the first reformers, except only where the persons who assumed it had the good fortune to be exactly of their opinion. . . . . The martyrdoms of Servetus, in Geneva, and of Joan Bocher, in England, are notable instances of the religious freedom which prevailed in the pure and primitive state of the Protestant churches. It is obvious, also, that the freedom for which our first reformers so strenuously contended, did not, by any means, include a freedom to think as the Catholics thought; that is to say, to think as all Europe had thought for many ages, and as the greatest part of Europe thought at the very time and continue to think to this very day. *The complete extirpation of the Catholic Church, not merely as a public establishment, but as a tolerated sect, was the avowed object of our first reformers.* In 1560, by an act of the parliament, which established the reformation in Scotland, both the sayers and hearers of Mass, whether in public or in private, were, for the first offense, to suffer confiscation of all their goods, together with corporal punishment, at the discretion of the magistrate; they were to be punished by banishment for the second offense; and *by death* for the third! . . . . It was not possible for the most bigoted Catholic to inculcate more distinctly the complete extirpation of the opinions and worship of the Protestants, than John Knox inculcated as a most sacred duty, incumbent on the civil government in the first instance, and if the civil government is remiss, incumbent

1 Page 234, seqq.

2 For the intolerant character of the early English reformers, see Article III, on Church History 57 seqq. where we give Macaulay's portrait of Cranmer.

on the people, to extirpate completely the opinions and worship of the Catholics, and even to massacre the Catholics, man, woman, and child. . . . . If the government had followed the directions of the clergy, the Catholics would have been extirpated by the sword. . . . In the reigns of Charles the Second, and of his brother, a Protestant prelacy, in alliance with a Protestant administration, outstript the wishes of those arbitrary monarchs in the persecution of their Protestant countrymen. It is needless to weary ourselves or our readers with disgusting details, which the curious in martyrology may find in various publications. Everybody knows that the martyrdoms were both numerous and cruel but perhaps the comparative mildness of the *Catholic* Church of Scotland, is not so generally known. Knox has investigated the matter with commendable diligence, but has not been able to muster more than eighteen martyrs who perished by the hand of the executioner, from the year 1500, when heresy first began, till 1559, when the Catholics had no longer the power to persecute. . . . It is, indeed, a horrid list; but far short of the numbers, who, during the twenty-two years immediately previous to the Revolution, were capitally executed in Scotland for the '*wicked error*' of separation from the worship of the Protestant Episcopal Church."[1]

While we heartily unite with every lover of freedom in condemning all acts of persecution for conscience sake, or for religious opinions not subversive of morality or the public safety, candor will compel even our adversaries to acknowledge, that in the persecution of Catholics by Protestants, there were aggravating circumstances, which were not found in the persecution of the latter by the former. Protestant persecution was purely aggressive; Catholic persecution was mainly defensive: the former sought to rob Catholics of all they held most dear; the latter was directed chiefly towards maintaining the most undoubted and most sacred rights. Catholics were in possession; Protestants aimed at violently ousting them from their firesides and their altars, and taking their place. Catholics sought to preserve the ancient faith and worship, hallowed and rendered dear by a thousand glorious memories; Protestants sought to substitute for it, frequently by violence, new doctrines and new forms, about which they were not themselves agreed, and which they claimed the right of changing as often as they might judge proper.

Waiving all this, however, let us strike evenly the balance of persecution in the past; burying whatever is unpleasant in generous oblivion, and forgiving as we hope to be forgiven. Now, how stands the account of religious persecution at the present day? Is all the intolerance on the side of Catholics? Or have not Protestants at least their own full share of the guilt, which they are so free to charge exclusively on others? Let us see.

The impartial comparison between Catholic and Protestant countries, on

1 Edinburgh Review, Article VIII., entitled "Toleration of the Reformers," No. 53.

the subject of persecution in late years, exhibits a fearful balance against the latter. It may be stated without exaggeration, that there is scarcely a Protestant country on the face of the earth, which does not even at this enlightened day, persecute Catholics, in one form or another, or which has not persecuted them during the present century ; while there is, on the contrary, scarcely a Catholic nation in the world, which does persecute, or has recently persecuted Protestants. Strange as this may sound in the ears of those who have been misled into the persuasion, that the Catholic is essentially a persecuting Church, and that we owe religious freedom entirely to Protestantism, it is nevertheless true. Here are the facts ; and first on the Catholic side.

France is Catholic, and France not only grants the fullest liberty of worship to her small number of Protestant citizens, but she even pays their ministers out of the public treasury. Austria is Catholic ; and Austria, despotic though she be usually represented, concedes a full measure of religious liberty to the Protestant minority, allowing them even to have their own separate schools, supported, like those of the Catholic majority, from the common fund.[1] Bavaria is Catholic, and Bavaria also allows equal civil and religious privileges to her Protestant subjects. Belgium is Catholic, and Belgium has a fundamental law, granting unrestricted and equal religious freedom to all. Italy, Spain, and Portugal, with perhaps some of the colonies of the two last, may be thought to form exceptions to this general rule ; but though their policy be somewhat proscriptive on the score of religion, we read of no acts of persecution, worthy the name, having been recently perpetrated therein. In the first place, they evidently could not have been guilty of persecuting their Protestant citizens, for the very simple reason that they have no Protestant citizens. If they are jealous, especially of English Protestants, who sometimes pass through those countries, distributing tracts and Bibles, it has generally happened, because England has rendered herself justly odious on the continent of Europe by her constant political intrigues among her neighbors, often carried on under the guise of religious zeal ; and because her tract distributers are suspected, frequently with too much reason, of being political propagandists, and secret agents paid for their services.

The intrigues of Lord Minto in Italy, and those of Bulwer and others in Spain, are too well known to require proof. One of the principal means employed by the hired agents of these men for strengthening English influence, was the distribution of Bibles and tracts, and the accompanying

1 The authority for this statement will be given a little farther on.

efforts to make proselytes among the Catholic inhabitants. The intrigue, however, was unsuccessful; Bulwer was compelled to leave Spain, and Minto is now detested in Italy as never was man detested before. The affair of the Madiai, about which so great an outcry was lately made, may be easily explained in this way. Their imprisonment was the result of their active attempts at proselytism, as *paid* emissaries of England; not of their wish to profess and practise religious principles opposed to those of the Catholic majority. It is a notorious fact, that in both Italy and Spain, Protestant travelers or temporary residents are never molested on account of peculiarities in their religious creed or worship; provided they, on their side, do not interfere with the faith and worship of the Catholic population. The Anglican church and our American Protestants have places of worship at Rome itself, under the eyes and with the permission of the Pope; who not only allows them to assemble therein for religious purposes as often as they wish, but protects them in the enjoyment of their religious freedom. Protestants have similar religious privileges in Tuscany, and elsewhere in Italy. At Rome, at Florence, at Leghorn, and in other places, they have also their separate cemeteries. If this latter privilege has not as yet been granted to Protestant strangers sojourning in Spain, we have little doubt that it will soon be conceded; whenever, in fact, it will be demanded in a proper manner, by a sufficient number of Protestants to render a separate burial place an object of importance or necessity. The only complaint which the very few non-Catholics passing through, or residing for a time in Spain, can now make on this subject is, that in case of death they are not buried in ground expressly set apart and blessed for Catholic interment, or with the solemnities which usually accompany the Catholic funeral; — privileges which they would scarcely covet, even in this free country. Those who make so much noise about Spanish intolerance in the matter of Protestant funerals, wholly lose sight of, or purposely conceal the fact, that in Protestant England — where there are a thousand resident Catholic *citizens* for every Protestant *stranger* in Spain — Catholics are not allowed to be buried, with any pomp or ceremonial, in the public cemeteries; though these are, in many instances, old Catholic burial grounds, wrested by violence from their original Catholic purpose by the English Protestant government! The Catholics of England have thus much more reason to complain on this subject, than have the very few Protestants who may happen to be for a time in Spain.

Let us now take a rapid glance at the Protestant nations of Europe. In all of them, without an exception known to us, there is an established

religion, with a union of Church and State. In the freest amongst them all — England — Catholics are barely tolerated; they are continually loaded with obloquy and abuse, and are frequently made the victims of petty legal enactments. Witness the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill; the late savage outbreak of indignation at the re-establishment of the Catholic hierarchy; the bitter prosecution of Dr. Newman; and the monster grievance of all — the bloated church establishment — fattened on the sweat and blood of the crushed and down-trodden masses of the people. Protestant Holland recently persecuted her Catholic subjects to such an extent, as to drive them into a rebellion, the result of which was the independence of Catholic Belgium. Protestant Prussia lately imprisoned the venerable Archbishop of Cologne, to compel him to sacrifice his conscientious convictions; and Protestant Baden is now actively engaged in a similar disgraceful persecution of the venerable Archbishop Vicari, of Freyburg, and of his clergy, for the same unhallowed motive. But the Archbishop of Freyburg is destined to triumph over the intolerant Protestant government of the Grand Duke, as he of Cologne triumphed over the persecuting Prussian monarch.[1] In Protestant Sweden, he who dares become a Catholic is banished the country, and his property is confiscated to the state; and we believe a similar law exists in Protestant Denmark. In Sweden, but a few years ago, the distinguished painter Nilsen suffered the full penalty of this iniquitous law; and more recently still several ladies, distinguished for their piety, have had the same severe sentence passed on them. Heartless must be the persecutor, who does not spare even the weakness of woman! Finally, every one knows how fiercely the Swiss Protestants raged against the Catholics, when the latter were overpowered by superior numbers in the late civil war, brought about itself by the most reckless Protestant intolerance; how the holy Bishop of Lausanne and Geneva was banished from his country; how the Jesuits were expelled, and the poor defenseless nuns were driven from their convents; how church property was confiscated, including even that of the benevolent monks of Mount St. Bernard, who had saved so many valuable Protestant lives amidst the snows of the Alps; and how an iron yoke was there placed on the necks of the down-trodden Catholic minority.

If there be a Protestant country in the world, which has not even recently persecuted Catholics, we have not yet learned its name; and it ill becomes our opponents to charge *all* the persecution on the Catholic

1 What aggravates the hardship of the persecution in regard to both these distinguished Catholic prelates, is the circumstance, that both were octogenarians of irreproachable character, whose age and virtues should have protected them from such outrages.

Church. A persistence in preferring such an accusation, against all evidence, reminds us of the fable concerning the wolf and the lamb. It was the lamb who always muddled the stream! No one can contravene these facts, and if they be unpleasant, we have at least the consolation to think that we had no agency in making them *facts;* and that we allege them at present only in self-vindication.

Even in our own country, though it boasts so loudly of its freedom, how often have Catholics been made the victims of religious intolerance! Every one knows the fierce spirit which is now invoked against them; every one remembers the smouldering ruins of the Ursuline Convent on Mount Benedict, and those of the Philadelphia Churches burned by a savage mob; and all are acquainted with those more recent outrages against our religious liberties to which we have already alluded. We may add, that in some of our hospitals, alms-houses, and other public institutions, supported by the money of all, Catholics are often denied the services of their clergymen and the consolations of religion, even at their dying hour![1]

On the contrary, have Catholics ever persecuted, or have they ever shown even the slightest disposition to persecute, their dissenting brethren in this country? If they have, we desire to know when and where they made the attempt. One thing is certain, — and no one can deny it, or rob them of this glory: — they were the first who reared on this broad continent, in their own noble colony of Maryland, the glorious banner of civil and religious liberty. All must award them this praise; which they deserve the more, because, at that very time, the Puritans of New England, and the Episcopalians of Virginia were busily engaged in persecuting their brother Protestants for conscience sake;[2] and the former were moreover enacting proscriptive blue laws, and hanging witches![3]

II. Come we now to the other charge against Catholics; —that they cannot, consistently with their principles, be good citizens of a republican government. Catholics cannot consistently be republicans! And pray, who originated all the free principles which lie at the basis of our own noble constitution? Who gave us trial by jury, *habeas corpus*, stationary courts, and the principle,— for which we fought and conquered in our revolutionary struggle against Protestant England,— that taxes are not to be levied without the free consent of those who pay them? Are we

1 Cases of this petty persecution have occurred in Cincinnati, and in other places, particularly in the Eastern and Northern States. 2 See Bancroft's History — Maryland

3 For full details on this subject, read the Essays on Our Colonial Blue Laws, P. 353, seqq.

indebted to Protestantism for even ONE of these cardinal elements of free government? No; not for one. They all date back to the good old Catholic times, in the middle ages — some three hundred years before the dawn of the reformation! Our Catholic forefathers gave them all to us; not one of them do we owe to Protestants.

Again, we are indebted to Catholics for all the republics which ever existed in Christian times, down to the year 1776; for those of Switzerland, Venice, Genoa, Andorra, San Marino, and a host of minor free commonwealths, which sprang up in the "dark" ages. Some of these republics lingered until a comparatively recent date; some still exist, proud monuments and unanswerable evidences of Catholic devotion to freedom. These facts no one can deny; they stand out too boldly on the historic record. They are acknowledged by Protestants, no less than by Catholics. We subjoin the testimony of an able writer in the New York Tribune, believed to be Bayard Taylor, who is connected with the management of that journal. This distinguished traveler — a staunch Protestant — appeals to history, and speaks from personal observation. He writes:

"Truth compels us to add that the oldest republic now existing is that of San Marino, not only Catholic but wholly surrounded by the especial dominion of the Popes, who might have crushed it like an egg-shell at any time these last thousand years — but they didn't. The only republic we ever traveled in besides our own is Switzerland, half of its cantons or states entirely Catholic, yet never that we have heard of unfaithful to the cause of freedom. They were nearly all Roman Catholics, from the southern cantons of Switzerland, whom Austria so ruthlessly expelled from Lombardy after the suppression of the last revolt in Milan, accounting them natural born republicans and revolutionists; and we suppose Austria is not a Know-Nothing on this point. We never heard the Catholics of Hungary accused of backwardness in the late glorious struggle of their country for freedom, though its leaders were Protestants, fighting against a leading Catholic power avowedly in favor of religious as well as civil liberty. And chivalric, unhappy Poland, almost wholly Catholic, has made as gallant struggles for freedom as any other nation, while of the three despotisms that crushed her but one was Catholic. But enough. We do not hope to stop the crusade of intolerance and violence now setting against the Catholics, calling for their disfranchisement, and threatening their temporary exclusion from all public trusts. Epidemics of this sort must have their course; and this one has some truth and a large amount of honest bigotry on which to base its operations. Quite a number, whose religion never till now did them much good or harm, will ride into office on the back of their resonant Protestantism, and that will be the end of the matter."

The reformation dawned on the world in the year 1517. What did it do for the cause of human freedom from that date, down to 1776 — when our own republic arose? Did it strike one blow for liberty during these

two centuries and a half? Did it originate one republican principle, or found one solitary republic? Not one. In Germany, where it had full sway, it ruthlessly trampled in the dust all the noble franchises of the Catholic middle ages; it established political despotism everywhere; it united church and state; in a word it brought about that very state of things which continues to exist, with but slight amelioration, even down to the present day. In England, it did the same; it broke down the bulwarks of the British constitution, derived from the Catholic Magna Charta; it set at naught popular rights, and gave to the king or queen unlimited power in church and state; and it required a bloody struggle and a revolution, one hundred and fifty years afterwards, to restore to something of their former integrity the old chartered rights of the British people.[1]

Thus Protestantism has boasted much, but it has really done little for the cause of human freedom. But are we not at least indebted to it for our own revolution, and for the liberties which it has secured for us? We cheerfully award to our Protestant fellow-citizens the praise, which is so justly due them, for *their* share in the glorious struggle; but they should also, in common justice, allow to Catholics the credit of having zealously co-operated with them, to the full extent of their means, in bringing about a result so glorious and so beneficial. He who was the most wealthy among the signers of our Declaration of Independence, and who consequently periled most in putting his name to that instrument, was the Catholic CHARLES CARROLL, of CARROLTON; whom Providence permitted to survive all his fellow-patriots, as if to rebuke the fierce and anti-republican spirit of intolerance, which was so soon to be evoked from the abyss against his brethren in religion. Catholic soldiers fought side by side with their Protestant brethren in the patriotic struggle; and when our energies were exhausted, and the stoutest hearts entertained the most gloomy forebodings as to the final issue, Catholic France stepped gallantly forth to the rescue of our infant freedom, almost crushed by an overwhelming English *Protestant* tyranny![2] Many of our most sagacious statesmen have believed, that, but for this timely aid, our Declaration of Independence could scarcely have been made good.

Our enemies point, with an air of triumph, to the principles of Washington. We cheerfully accept the appeal. After the struggle was over, and Washington was unanimously elected first President of the

1 For more on this subject, see the Essay on the Influence of Catholicity on Civil Liberty; Page 121, seqq.

2 Catholic Spain also subsequently lent us her aid against England

new republic, he received a congratulatory address from the Catholics of the country, in which the following passage is found:

"This prospect of national prosperity is peculiarly pleasing to us on another account, because whilst our country preserves her freedom and independence, we shall have a well founded title to claim from her justice equal rights of citizenship, as the price of our blood spilt under your eyes, and of our common exertions for her defense under your auspicious conduct; rights rendered more dear to us by the rememberance of former hardships."[1]

To this portion of the Address, the father of his country replied as follows:

"As mankind become more liberal, they will be more apt to allow, that all those who conduct themselves as worthy members of the community are equally entitled to the protection of civil government. I hope ever to see America among the foremost nations in examples of justice and liberality. And I presume that your fellow-citizens will not forget *the patriotic part which you took in the accomplishment of their revolution, and the establishment of their government; or, the important assistance they received from a nation in which the Roman Catholic faith is professed.*"[2]

We ask no more than that to which Washington believed us justly entitled, — a fair share in the civil and religious liberties which our fathers aided to secure equally to all American citizens. We ask for no exclusive privilege whatsoever; we claim only our clear and undoubted rights, in common with our fellow-citizens.

But are not Catholics the subjects of a foreign prince, the Pope? This slander — like almost everything else said against us — has been refuted so many thousand times already, that we are almost afraid to tire the patience, or insult the understanding of our readers by answering it again. No man of common intelligence or information need be told, at this late day, that the obedience we owe to the Pope is confined entirely to religion and to spiritual things; and that he neither claims, nor we allow, any jurisdiction over us in temporal matters affecting our civil allegiance. This question has been so long settled throughout the civilized world, that its revival at present appears to be wholly useless, if not utterly absurd.[3] When it was a question, more than sixty years ago, of removing some of the cruel penal laws under which the Catholics of

1 The Address was signed by Bishop Carroll of Baltimore, on the part of the Catholic clergy, and by Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Daniel Carroll, Thomas Fitzsimmons, and Dominic Lynch, on the part of the Catholic laity. See Biographical Sketch of the Most Rev. John Carroll, by John Carroll Brent; p 146, 147.

2 Spark's Life and Writings of Washington, vol. xii

3 As early as the beginning of the seventeenth century, St. Francis de Sales deprecated the discussion of this question on many accounts, and among other reasons, because he considered it "*useless*, since the Pope, in fact, at that day asked nothing of kings and princes in this respect — *Inutile*, parceque le Pape, par le fait, ne demande rien aujourd'hui aux rois et aux princes pour ce regard." Letter to a Lady. Vie du Saint, par le Curé de St. Sulpice,— in 2 volumes. Vol. ii, p. 106: Paris 1854.

England had been so long suffering, this very question in regard to the nature and extent of papal jurisdiction was discussed; and it was then settled to the entire satisfaction of Mr. Pitt and of the whole British parliament, which accordingly passed the Catholic Relief Bill.[1] The oath of allegiance freely taken by Catholic bishops, and members of parliament, and officers of the government in Great Britain and Ireland, with the sanction of the Popes themselves, expressly disclaims belief in any civil power or jurisdiction over British subjects, as inherent in the sovereign Pontiffs.

To prevent all possibility of misunderstanding on this subject, and to remove every pretext for calumny, the Popes authorized a change in the oath taken by a Bishop at his consecration, striking out all obscure clauses of feudal origin, and retaining those only which promised obedience in spirituals. What more than this could be asked by any reasonable man, for the final settlement of the question? The Catholic bishops of the United States, with the express sanction of Rome, take the oath, as thus modified; and they have more than once officially declared, both individually and in their collective capacity, their solemn belief that the Roman Pontiff has none but spiritual power and jurisdiction, outside of his own immediate states. The first Catholic bishop of the country — the venerable Carroll, of Baltimore,[2]— wrote as follows on this subject, in a Pastoral Letter issued February 22, 1797:[3]

"There would indeed be a foundation for the reproach intended by the words *foreign jurisdiction*, if we acknowledged in the successor of St. Peter any power or prerogative, which clashed in the least degree with the duty we owe to our country or its laws. To our country we owe allegiance and the tender of our best services and property, when they are necessary for its defense; to the Vicar of Christ we owe obedience in things *purely spiritual*. Happily, there is no competition in their respective claims on us, nor any difficulty in rendering to both the submission which they have a right to claim. Our country commands,

1 Mr. Pitt made inquiries on this subject at the Catholic universities of the Sorbonne, Louvain, Douay, Alcala, and Salamanca. Their answers were all distinct and unanimous, as follows:

I. That the Pope or cardinals, or any body of men, or any individual of the Church of Rome, has not, nor have, any civil authority power, jurisdiction, or pre-eminence whatsoever, within the realm of England.

II. That the Pope, or cardinals, or any body of men, or any individual of the Church of Rome, cannot absolve or dispense with his Majesty's subjects from their oath of allegiance, upon any pretext whatsoever.

III That there is no principle in the tenets of the Catholic faith, by which Catholics are justified in not keeping faith with heretics, or other persons differing from them in religious opinions, in any transactions, either of a public or a private nature.

See the documents, at greater length, in Butler's Book of the Church, Appendix I, p. 287-8.

2 It may not be generally known, that Dr Franklin, when minister to France, had several conferences with the Nuncio of the Pope on the subject of having a Catholic bishop appointed for America; that he approved of the plan, in order that American Catholics might not be dependent on an English bishop; and that he recommended for the post Dr. Carroll, his friend and companion in the mission to Canada.

3 Biographical Sketch, &c., *sup. cit.* P. 137-8.

and enforces by outward coercion, the services which tend to the preservation and defense of that personal security, and of that property, for the sake of which political societies were formed, and men agreed to live under the protection of, and in obedience to civil government. The Vicar of Christ, as visible head of His Church, watches over the integrity and soundness of doctrine, and makes use of means and weapons that act only on the souls of men, to enforce the duties of religion, the purity of worship, and ecclesiastical discipline."

Our bishops, assembled in solemn council at Baltimore, have often publicly proclaimed principles identical with those just announced, as emanating from the venerable founder of our hierarchy. We can make room for but two extracts, the first of which is taken from a Pastoral Letter issued by them in the sixth provincial council of Baltimore, held in May, 1846; from which it will be seen that our bishops, in their collective and official capacity, are very plain and explicit in their declarations on this very point:

"The paternal authority of the chief Bishop is constantly misrepresented and assailed by the adversaries of our holy religion, especially in this country, and is viewed with suspicion even by some who acknowledge its powerful influence in preserving faith and unity. It is unnecessary for us to tell you, brethren, that the kingdom of Christ, of which the Bishop of Rome, as successor of Peter, has received the keys, is not of this world; and that the obedience due to the Vicar of the Saviour is in no way inconsistent with your civil allegiance, your social duties as citizens, or your rights as men. We can confidently appeal to the whole tenor of our instructions, not only in our public addresses, but in our most confidential communications, and you can bear witness that we have always taught you to render to Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, to God the things which are God's. Be not, then, heedful of the misrepresentations of foolish men, who, unable to combat the evidences of our faith, seek to excite unjust prejudice against that authority which has always proved its firmest support. Continue to practise justice and charity towards all your fellow-citizens — respect the magistrates — observe the laws — shun tumult and disorder, as free, and not as having liberty as a cloak for malice, but as the servants of God. You, brethren, have been called unto liberty: only make not liberty an occasion to the flesh, but by charity of the spirit, serve one another. For all the law is fulfilled in one word: Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. Thus you will put to shame the calumniators of our holy faith, and vindicate it more effectually, than by any abstract profession or disclaimer."

But there is another declaration, made by the bishops who composed the fifth council of Baltimore, held in May, 1843, which has even more weight in settling this question; because it occurs in an official Letter addressed to the Pope by the assembled American prelates. The Pontiff, far from being offended at so explicit a disavowal by the American bishops of all papal authority and jurisdiction in merely civil matters, says in his official answer: "Your letter was most pleasing to us;"[1] and he praises the zeal of our prelates. Here is the extract

1 Gratissimæ Nobis fuere Vestrae Literae.

alluded to ; — the bishops are speaking of the efforts made by our enemies to put down the Church in this country :

"They spread doubtful rumors against us among the people ; with untiring efforts, they circulate among the ignorant and uninformed books, which calumniate our most holy religion ; they leave no means untried to infect with their errors their Catholic servants ; and . . . although our forefathers poured out their blood like water for the defense of our liberties against a *Protestant* oppressor, they yet seek to render us, their fellow citizens, suspected by, and odious to the government, *by falsely asserting that we are reduced to servitude under the civil and political jurisdiction of a foreign prince, namely of the Roman Pontiff, and that we are therefore unfaithful to the republic !*" [1]

But did not the Popes formerly claim the right of deposing princes, and of absolving their subjects from the oath of allegiance ? They certainly did ; and so did we claim the same right, when we deposed George III., and declared ourselves "absolved" from our oath of allegiance to him : and as our claim was assuredly nothing against liberty, but all for liberty, so was also that of the Popes. In every instance of its exercise, known to us, the Popes struck a blow at tyranny, and one, at the same time, for the security and liberty of an oppressed people. Instead of blaming, we should rather applaud them, for thus keeping alive, amidst political darkness and confusion, that spark of popular liberty, which was destined, a little later, to illumine the political horizon of Europe. That the friends of European monarchs should object to this papal claim, we can readily understand, because its exercise was necessarily directed against their tyranny ; but we cannot so easily explain the opposition to it manifested by our modern advocates of free principles. Yet the monarchists of Europe, along with Mr. Pitt, have long since been fully satisfied on this point ; whereas our shrewder republicans have just begun to open their eyes to the awful danger to our freedom growing out of a claim, no longer advanced even by the Popes themselves !

Having in the following pages devoted a special Essay to the examination of the historical facts connected with the first exercise of the deposing power by a Roman Pontiff, we must refer our readers to it for full details on the subject.[2] Suffice it to say here, that the circumstances under which this extraordinary power was first claimed having long since ceased, the

1 "Dubias contra nos in vulgus voces spargunt, libros qui calumniantur sanctissimam nostram religionem omni nisu apud rudes ignarosque divulgant ; servos suos Catholicos hæresum suarum veneno ut inficiant nihil intactum relinquunt ; patremque suum qui ab initio mendax fuit imitantes, nos Catholicos concives suos, quamvis patres nostri sanguinem suum tanquam aquam profuderint pro vindicatione libertatis contra oppressorem acatholicum, gubernio suspectos obnoxiosque reddere utpote, ut falso asserunt, sub alieni principis, Pontificis sc Romani ditione politica et civili in servitutem redactos, ideoque reipublicæ infidos." Concilia Baltimor., p. 223

2 See Article VIII, Gregory VII. and his Age—the Deposing Power, P. 152 seqq.

Popes have, for nearly three centuries, virtually abandoned the claim, by making no attempt at its exercise.

With a view to show that the influence of the Catholic Church tends to debase its members, our adversaries direct attention to the material condition of those countries which have continued faithful to the ancient religion, and upon which the light of the reformation has never dawned. These, they say, are very far inferior to the neighboring Protestant communities in thrift, in literature, in morals, in liberty, and especially in material and social improvement; and this inferiority they trace to the difference of religious influence. We answer, by denying both the fact as stated, and the inference thence drawn. Abundant evidence can be alleged to show, that, if in some respects Protestant are superior to Catholic nations, in others the latter far surpass the former; and that, in both cases, a difference of religious principles has much less to do with the matter than is commonly believed by those opposed to Catholicity. As, however, we devote six articles in the following collection to a somewhat detailed comparison of the two classes of countries in question, we will be excused from entering at present into the investigation; content with referring those who may be curious to examine the evidence, as furnished even by impartial Protestant writers, to those papers.[1]

To those, again, who are in the habit of pointing, with a sneer, to the comparatively degraded condition of Mexico and South America, as a natural consequence of the Catholic religion there professed, we would beg to observe, that the masses of the population in Spanish and Portuguese America are either of pure Indian descent, or of mixed races; and that consequently, it is manifestly unreasonable to expect them to have attained to the same elevated social level as ourselves, who belong to the much boasted and loudly boasting Anglo-Saxon stock![2] As well might we expect to find our own high degree of civilization in the descendants of our North American Indians! There is this important difference between our policy and that of our Catholic neighbors, in regard to the treatment of the aboriginal inhabitants of this continent; that, whereas we have exterminated them or driven them out into the wilderness, they, on the contrary, have settled down in their midst, intermarried with them, taught them Christianity, and thus sought to raise them up in the social scale, even at the expense of lowering themselves. While they have met the aborigines half-way, and have been content to occupy with them

1 Entitled — Catholic and Protestant Countries — P. 454, seqq. In these articles our reasoning and illustrations are based chiefly on Protestant testimony.

2 Not unmixed, however; for we have a strong infusion of the Celtic blood.

a middle ground between a high and a low level of civilization, we, wrapped up in our inborn complacency, and vaunting our high social position as the necessary result of our "Anglo-Saxon blood," have looked with contempt upon the poor savages whom our fathers found in the country, — much as the proud Pharisee looked down upon the poor publican, — have disdained all sympathy for, or alliance with them, and have caused them to melt away before our advancing and exclusive civilization, as the snow melts away before the solar rays! The comparison between us and our Catholic neighbors may excite our complacency, and flatter our pride; it says but little for our humanity, and less still for our religious zeal or Christian charity. Our Protestant fellow citizens would do well never to vaunt their superiority over their Mexican and South American brethren![1] American Catholics, on the contrary, have reason to be proud of the Catholic colonists who explored and peopled our continent.[2]

To awaken suspicion against the Catholic priesthood, the public prints have long been circulating among the people the extraordinary assertion, that Lafayette warned American patriots against priestly influence, in the following language: "If ever the liberty of the United States is destroyed, it will be by Romish priests." The fact of such a declaration coming from one who was a Catholic himself, if he was anything, bears the stamp of very great intrinsic improbability, to say the least, on its face; yet it passed current for truth, and was, we think, generally believed by the masses, who are prepared to devour any absurdity, provided it militate against Catholics. Now, what will the impartial public think, should it be ascertained, that this charge, like most others which have been lately circulated in this country to our disadvantage, is not only utterly groundless, but is directly the reverse of truth? That such is the case clearly appears from the fact, that about the time when Lafayette is reported to have used the expression, he said what is, in its import, precisely the contrary, in a speech made by him in the French Chambers on the 9th of April, 1832.[3] The subject in debate was the expulsion from France of certain foreign refugees, including some Irish monks who were sojourning with the French Trappists at the famous Monastery of Melleray. The French patriot, true to his principles in favor of civil and religious liberty, earnestly opposed the bill, and in the course of his remarks employed the following strong language:

1 We treat this subject in full in our review of Webster's Bunker Hill Speech; p. 333, seqq.

2 For more on the subject, see the two papers reviewing Prescott's Conquest of Mexico, p. 350, seqq., and the three articles on Early Catholic Missions in the North-West, p. 298, seqq.

3 Found in the "Memoires, Correspondence," &c., of Lafayette, published by his favorite son George Washington Lafayette, in six vols. 8vo.

"I know well that in the Report they have spoken of the expulsion of some Englishmen who had entered among the Trappists at Melleray, as a measure of good and wise administration. Such measures, gentlemen, are not among those which will merit my eulogy. Mistake not rigor for strength, nor despotism for power; then you will not have need of all these precautions, and the Trappists of Melleray will not be more dangerous for you, THAN ARE THE JESUITS OF GEORGETOWN TO THE UNITED STATES."

If the Jesuits of Georgetown — their head-quarters in this country — were not by him deemed dangerous to the United States, a fortiori, according to the view of Protestants, the other Catholic Clergy could not be so considered either by them, or by Lafayette. We will treat of this more fully hereafter.[1]

But we are further told, that Catholics in this country stand aloof from their Protestant fellow-citizens, and form a virtually separate society, having neither feelings nor interests in common with others; and that they cast their vote in a body for a particular political party. Let us briefly examine these heads of accusation.

1. If the charge of our forming a separate community, with separate feelings and interests, refer to our religious organization and principles, we must plead guilty; it is surely not our fault, but our privilege, to differ on religious matters with such of our fellow-citizens as belong either to no religious communion whatever, or are members of the various conflicting sects which exist among us. We cheerfully allow to them the right of thinking and acting for themselves in matters of religion without molestation, and they should surely grant us the same freedom: — Hanc veniam petimus, damusque vicissim. This privilege should be the more cheerfully accorded to us, as we propose no innovation, but merely claim the right of walking, as our forefathers, as well as the ancestors of our accusers themselves walked, and went to heaven, for fifteen hundred years, before the world was blessed or cursed with this Babel-like confusion of tongues in the matter of religion.

If the accusation be meant to imply, that we are a separate *civil* community, and that, as citizens, we have feelings and interests different from those of others, we repel the charge as an injurious slander. Catholics cordially participate in all our civic anniversary festivals; they pray in their churches for all their fellow citizens, and for the permanent prosperity of this free government;[2] they nobly fight the battles of the country, and they are as willing to shed their blood in its defense or for its honor, as any of their brethren. In a word, they yield to none in patriotism and valor. About one-half of our regular army — if not even a larger

1 See Article entitled, Lafayette and Professor Morse, p. 635, seqq.

2 The beautiful prayer, for the "Ruling Powers," composed by Archbishop Carroll, is frequently read in our churches.

proportion — is composed of Roman Catholic soldiers; a large number of the sailors and marines, attached to our young but vigorous navy, are also Catholics; and our chief officers in both arms of the service have often praised their fidelity to our flag, and their unfaltering courage in the hour of danger. In every battle-field of our country, — in the two wars against *Protestant* England, as well as in the late war against *Catholic* Mexico, — Catholics have freely bled, by the side of their Protestant fellow citizens, for the honor and triumph of our country.

After the death of General Washington, bishop Carroll pronounced a splendid eulogy on his character, in the cathedral of Baltimore;[1] and after the battle of New Orleans, General Jackson was received in triumph in the Catholic cathedral, the laurel garland of victory, woven by Catholic hands, was placed on his brow by a Catholic priest; and the noble hero might be seen weeping with joyful emotion, as he listened and responded to the eloquent and patriotic address delivered on the occasion by the Rev. M. Dubourg. In a beautiful address delivered in Washington by Mr. Livingston, on the anniversary of the battle of New Orleans, the distinguished orator feelingly alluded to the pavement of the church being worn by the holy knees of the Ursuline nuns, praying fervently that victory might perch on the American banner, and drawing from the feast of the day — that of St. Victoria — an omen of success! We repeat it, the charge, understood in this sense, is a base calumny.

2. But we are not friendly to the common schools. Our answer is at hand. Let the Protestant majority, in this free country, make those schools such as not to wound the religious feelings, nor endanger the religious faith of our children, and then may they, with some show of reason, taunt us with not cheerfully uniting in patronizing them. Let them remove from them all sectarian books, all sectarian influences, all teachers who abuse their position for purposes of proselytism; let them not force upon our children the reading of a version of the Bible, which, in common with four-fifths of Christendom, we consider neither a genuine nor a complete rendering of the divine word:[2] — and then they will make it not only our interest, but our pleasure to unite with them in supporting the common schools. It will be our interest; for, in common with our fellow citizens, we pay our taxes for the erection and maintenance of

1 This solid and noble oration is published in full in the "Biographical Sketch of Archbishop Carroll," above quoted, 158, seqq. The panegyric, by one who knew so well the Father of his country, produced a profound sensation at the time it was delivered.

2 And with which a large and influential portion of the Protestant community in this country is so far dissatisfied, as to have taken steps already for issuing a new and different version, more conformable to their own views.

those schools; and if we do not patronize them, we have to incur the enormous additional expense of erecting separate schools for our own children, and are thus double-taxed for educational purposes. The motive which would prompt us to make so great a sacrifice must be indeed a very strong one; and it is really we who have the best right to complain, not the Protestant majority which enforces such a hardship upon us. If we could conscientiously do it, we have every possible motive to patronize the common schools; but we hold that is is better far to suffer every earthly loss, than to jeopardize our faith, or that of our children. Life is short, eternity never ending; and "what doth it profit a man, if he gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?"[1]

In countries much less free than ours, the common school system is so organized, that Catholics and Protestants have separate schools. Austria, with all her alleged tyranny, and with her triumphant Catholic majority of population, freely grants separate schools, supported out of the common fund, to the Protestant minority.[2] England, with all her hereditary hatred of Catholicity, permits the Catholics to have their own separate schools; and this is not found to conflict in practice with her common school system. Lower Canada, with its immense Catholic majority, freely concedes the privilege of separate schools to the small Protestant minority; and every one who reads the public prints must be familiar with the controversy, which is now carried on in Canada, and even in the Canadian parliament, on the subject of having this same equitable provision extended, in all its privileges, to the Catholic minority of Upper Canada. Strange, that Catholics, when in power, should be so liberal in granting a privilege, which a Protestant majority is so slow to concede![3]

Why should the freest country on the face of the earth form an exception, and be in fact the most exacting and tyrannical of all, in this matter of education? Can it be, that the immense Protestant majority in this country is apprehensive of the influence, which, in the case of this equitable provision being adopted, would be exercised by the small Catholic minority? Or are they afraid of entering the lists of free competition with their Catholic fellow-citizens? While all other pursuits are left open to honest emulation, and the rivalry does good to all, why should education alone be trammeled, by being made a state monopoly?

1 St. Matthew xvi.

2 See Article II. on Catholic and Protestant Countries, for the *Protestant* authority sustaining this assertion. Infra. P. 485,seqq. We believe that this is also, at least substantially, the case in Catholic Bavaria, as well as in Catholic France and Belgium; at any rate we hear of no complaints made by Protestants on the subject, in regard to these or other Catholic countries, where Protestants exist as a resident body. See also a special paper on Common Schools; infra, P. 652, et seqq.

3 See late Canadian papers, *passim*.

We are persuaded, that the provision for separate schools would greatly promote the permanency and prosperity of the common school system itself. It would destroy an odious restriction on parental rights, it would awaken a new energy in the cause of education, it would open new fields for generous rivalry; and, above all, it would render education much cheaper, and thereby lighten that heavy burden of taxation which is now weighing us down. It is a generally conceded fact, that Catholics can educate more cheaply than Protestants; and this may be one reason why the latter are not willing to hazard a free competition with the former. Grant separate schools, and our word for it, you will not have to pay much more than half the taxes you have been in the habit of disbursing for educational purposes. While we cheerfully submit to be guided by the principle of taxing the rich in order to educate the poor, — since under our present circumstances, it seems to be the only practicable means for effecting an object so desirable, — we naturally object, in common with all impartial and sensible men, to any excessive or unnecessary taxation.[1]

In Catholic times, no taxation whatever was necessary for educational purposes, especially for the education of the poor. Under the influence of Catholic charity and zeal for education, colleges and schools sprang up spontaneously in every part of Europe. These schools were FREE, in every sense of the word; no one was taxed to erect them, no one had to pay for entering them.[2] The first college, the first schools, and the first hospital, ever established on the North American continent, were erected by Catholics.[3] In all countries and in all ages, Catholics, and particularly the Catholic clergy, have been foremost in advancing the cause of popular education.[4]

It would be a subject of very useful inquiry, whether our common school system, as at present managed, be really conducive to a high tone of refinement, and to the development of sound morals, in the youth educated under its auspices. It is a Christian principle, of pretty general acceptance, that human nature is corrupt and more prone to evil than to good; and that consequently the religion of Christ is indispensably necessary for healing its evil tendency and causing it to walk in the path of virtue. The theory, which makes morality practicable, or even

1 It is generally known, that what is undertaken and executed by the state usually costs much more money than what is done by individuals; and the same may be said of works carried on by corporations.

2 See, for details, the Article on Schools and Universities in the "Dark" Ages, P. 113, seqq.

3 See the Articles on Catholic Missions in the North West; First Paper, P. 298, seqq. Also the papers on the Conquest of Mexico: sup. cit.

4 See the Article — Literature and the Catholic Clergy, P. 96. Read also the Lecture on Literature and the Arts in the Middle Ages; P. 77, seqq.

possible, without religion, is evidently more Pagan than Christian. If this be so, how can the children educated in our common schools be properly trained to sound morality, without a course of religious instruction, which the system excludes? To say, that sufficient religious knowledge for the purpose may be imparted, without what is called *Sectarian* teaching, seems to us wholly preposterous. To be adequate, the religious instruction should be detailed and practical, not general, vague, and theoretical; but the latter only can be compatible with our present school system, while the former could scarcely be carried out without trenching on forbidden ground. But let us look at the practical influence of the system, as exhibited in the general moral conduct of the youth educated in our common schools. Do these, in general, show, by their moral deportment, that they have been properly trained? Have they been taught politeness, respect for age, obedience to parents, morality in thought, word, and deed? We fear not. Our youth are growing more and more licentious and demoralized, with each succeeding generation; our boys particularly become men before they are half grown; they have learned all else better, than the art of governing their passions. The late fearful increase of crime, especially in our cities and towns, is a sad proof of this increasing demoralization. To what an abyss of vice are we hastening! There must be something sadly wrong somewhere.

3. But Catholics, especially those of foreign birth, vote together, and vote for a particular political party: the liberties of our country are therefore endangered from this constantly augmenting foreign influence. This charge is groundless, both in its facts and in its inferences. In the first place, our native born Catholics have been heretofore divided, almost equally, between the two leading political parties of the country; in the second place, though the large majority of the Catholics of foreign birth have been in the habit of voting with the democrats, yet they have been far from unanimous on the subject; in the third place, the number of Catholics in this country is now, and is likely to continue to be, much too insignificant to rule the country in one way or another, either for good or for evil.

The following candid and sensible remarks from the Boston Post, a political print of some standing, contains so much sound reasoning on this subject, based upon facts tending to show the glaring absurdity of the charge that "foreigners are taking the country," that we will be pardoned for republishing them entire:

"It is said that we shall be overrun with foreigners; that they will rise upon native citizens and overpower them; that Catholicism will prevail

and deprive America of its liberties. These assertions have been reiterated so often that thousands really fear such results. Take the former apprehension, and let facts, so far as they bear on the question of physical force, say how groundless that fear is. In the first place, for the whole time we have been a nation, it is a fact that no such attempt has been made; and if it ever should be made, such is the admirable working of our institutions, that the rule of a mob is utterly out of the question. Permanent success, even where the foreign population outweighs the native population, is an impossibility; for the whole force of the country would at once be invoked to suppress such a rule. In the next place, consider the utter folly, want of foresight, and suicidal policy of such an attempt, if it should ever be made. Of our now thirty millions of population one million[1] only are from Ireland: of the thirty-eight thousand churches that the census of 1850 shows as being in the country, the Catholic are set down at one thousand two hundred and twenty-one; and of the eighty-seven millions of church property, the Catholics have nine millions. Now, cannot this immense preponderance of Protestantism and of Americanism take care of itself? Is it not perfectly preposterous to suppose for a moment that the Irish Catholics will ever attempt to 'rise,' as the phrase is, with such an enormous disparity against them? It is due, it is but bare justice, to our foreign population to say, that not only has there been no attempt at rising, but their conduct — save only in cases when heated by liquor or otherwise excited — has been almost invariably that of peaceable citizens, submissive to the laws. They have a right to have such a certificate, as to the past, to stand in their favor; and when we consider their position among us, we believe there is no more danger of their 'rising' than there is of the falling of the stars."

Much has been said and written of late years about the "foreign vote." Both parties, on the eve of elections, have been in the habit of courting "foreigners;" who have thus, against their own choice and will, been singled out from the rest of the community, and placed in a false and odious position, by political demagogues for their own vile purposes. That they have been thus severed from their fellow citizens, and insulted with the compliment of their influence as a separate body, has not been so much their fault, as it has been their misfortune. From the successful party they have generally received, — with a few honorable exceptions — little but coldness *after* the election; while from the party defeated, they have invariably received nothing but abuse and calumny. So they have been, without their own agency, placed between two fires, and have been caressed and outraged by turns. Any appeal made to them by politicians, in their character of religionists or foreigners, and not in that of American citizens, is manifestly an insult, whether so intended or not; and we trust that Catholics will always view such appeals in this light. Whenever it is question of state policy, they can have no interests different from those of their fellow citizens. The laws which will be good for the latter, will be good for them; at least they can live under any system of equal

1 The number is probably greater; but this does not affect the argument.

legislation which will suit the Protestant majority, with whom they cheerfully share all the burdens of the country.

The Catholic bishops and clergy of the country have discreetly stood aloof, and wisely abstained from exercising any influence in the exciting political contests which have successively arisen. We ourselves, though to the manor born, have never even voted on a political question; and we believe that most of our brother prelates and clergy have adopted the same prudent precaution; not surely through any want of interest in the country, but chiefly with a view to remove from the enemies of our Church the slightest pretext for slandering our religious character. The only influence, we have sought to bring to bear on the members of our communion, has been invariably in the interests of peace, of order, and of charity for all men, even for our most bitter enemies. Whenever we have had occasion to address our people on the eve of elections, we have counseled them to avoid all violence, to beware of being carried away by passion, to be temperate, to respect the feelings and principles of their opponents; and, in the exercise of their franchise as citizens, to vote conscientiously for the men and measures they might think most likely to advance the real and permanent interests of the republic. We defy any one to prove, that we have ever attempted to exercise any other influence than this. The contrary has been occasionally asserted by unprincipled demagogues, for political effect; but the accusation, like many others made in the heat of political contests, has in every instance turned out to be a grievous slander; which was scarcely believed at the time, even by those who were most busy in giving it circulation.

Never since the foundation of the republic has it been heard of, that the Catholic bishops or clergy have taken an active part in conducting the proceedings of political conventions, or in fomenting political excitement, in the name of the religion of peace and love. They are not, and never have been, either abolitionists or freesoilers, ultraists or politico-religious alarmists. Nor have they ever ventured, either collectively or individually, to address huge remonstrances to congress, threatening vengeance in the name of Almighty God, unless certain particular measures were passed or repealed! Never have they been heard brawling in the public streets and highways, haranguing in violent language the already excited populace, lashing their passions into fury, and openly exciting them to deeds of mob violence and bloodshed! Never have they been known to parade the Bible in noisy political processions, thus prostituting the holy book, which breathes naught but

peace and good will towards all men, to the vile purposes of political faction and sectarian strife! Ministers of other denominations have done, or countenanced all these things; and we cheerfully leave to them all the glory, whether religious or political, which they can possibly derive from such a line of conduct.[1]

Catholics of foreign birth are charged, in the same breath, with voting the democratic ticket, and with being the secret or open enemies of republican government! Is it then true, that a man cannot be a democrat, without being a traitor to his country? If so, then have the destinies of this great republic been ruled, with very slight intermission, for nearly thirty years by an organized band of traitors, consisting of the vast majority of our population! Catholics can well afford to be traitors in such goodly company. We are no politicians ourselves, and, so far as we have had any political leanings, they have heretofore been to the policy of the whigs; but, in common with every man of sound judgment and liberal mind, we reprobate the spirit, which would thus inconsistently and absurdly brand the advocates of different principles as enemies of the country and of all liberty. The genius of our noble constitution is in favor of allowing to every man the largest liberty of opinion in matters of state policy, without his thereby incurring the risk of having his motives questioned or his loyalty impeached. If any charge could be consistently made or sustained against this large portion of our Catholic population, it would be, on the contrary, that they have been generally in favor of too enlarged a liberty, to tally with the views of those who profess to belong to the conservative school; but to charge them with an intention to undermine our republic, is simply an absurdity, as glaring as it is malicious.

Those who are loudest in their denunciations of "foreigners" seem to forget what "foreigners" have done for the country. They have filled our army and navy; they have fought our battles; they have leveled our forests, peopled our vast unoccupied territory, and filled our cities with operatives and mechanics; they have dug our canals, built our turnpikes and railroads, and have thus promoted, more perhaps than any other class, the improvement of the country and the development of its vast resources; in a word, they have, in every way, largely contributed towards enhancing

1 It is also well known that, particularly during the late elections, Protestant ministers took an active part in the canvass. In several instances, they were even candidates for office, and in some cases elected. It is they, and not the Catholics, who have thus attempted to mingle religion with politics; and if ever there be brought about a union of Church and State in this republic, it will surely not be accomplished by Catholics, but by those precisely who are foremost in the crusade against them! Let the lovers of freedom look to it in time! The Protestant ministers may, in fact, be said to be at the head of the abolition party in the north.

the wealth and increasing the prosperity of the republic. Do they deserve nothing but bitter denunciation and unsparing invective for all these services? Are they to be branded as aliens and traitors, for having thus effectually labored to serve their adopted country?

But they are foreigners in feeling and in interest, and they still prefer their own nationality to ours. We answer first, that if this their alleged feeling be excessive, and if it tend to diminish their love for the country of their adoption, it is certainly in so far reprehensible; but where is the evidence that this is the case? Has their lingering love for the country of their birth, — with its glowing memories of early childhood and ripening manhood, of a mother's care and a sister's love, — interfered in aught with their new class of duties as American citizens? Has it prevented their sharing cheerfully in the burdens, in the labors, and in the perils of the country? We believe not. Instead of their being unconcerned and indifferent, their chief fault, in the eyes of their enemies, lies precisely in the opposite, — in their taking *too much* interest in the affairs of the republic. We answer, in the second place, that this natural feeling of love for the country of their birth, growing as it does out of that cherished and honorable sentiment which we denominate patriotism, will, in the very nature of things, gradually diminish under the influence of new associations, until it will finally be absorbed into the one homogeneous nationality; and thus the evil — if it be an evil — will remedy itself. The only thing which can possibly keep it alive for any considerable time, would be precisely the narrow and proscriptive policy, adopted in regard to citizens of foreign birth by the Know Nothings and their sympathizers. The endeavor to stifle this feeling by clamor and violence will but increase its intensity.

We answer thirdly, that the influence of Catholicity tends strongly to break down all barriers of separate nationalities, and to bring about a brotherhood of citizens, in which the love of our common country and of one another would absorb every sectional feeling. Catholicity is of no nation, of no language, of no people; she knows no geographical bounds; she breaks down all the walls of separation between race and race, and she looks alike upon every people, and tribe, and caste. Her views are as enlarged as the territory which she inhabits; and this is as wide as the world. Jew and gentile, Greek and barbarian; Irish, German, French, English, and American, are all alike to her. In this country, to which people of so many nations have flocked for shelter against the evils they endured at home, we have a striking illustration of this truly Catholic

spirit of the Church. Germans, Irish, French, Italians, Spaniards, Poles, Hungarians, Hollanders, Belgians, English, Scotch, and Welch; differing in language, in national customs, in prejudices, — in every thing human, — are here brought together in the same Church, professing the same faith, and worshiping like brothers at the same altars! The evident tendency of this principle is, to level all sectional feelings and local prejudices, by enlarging the views of mankind, and thus to bring about harmony in society, based upon mutual forbearance and charity. And in fact, so far as the influence of our Church could be brought to bear upon the anomalous condition of society in America, it has been exercised for securing the desirable result of causing all its heterogeneous elements to be merged in the one variegated, but homogeneous nationality. Protestantism isolates and divides; Catholicity brings together and unites. Such have been the results of the two systems in times past; such, from their very nature, must be their influence on society at all times and in all places.

The character of the foreign immigration into this country has been undergoing a considerable change within the last few years; the German element now strongly predominates over the Irish, and perhaps the Protestant and infidel, over the Catholic. The disastrous issue of the revolutionary movements which convulsed all Europe in 1848–9, has thrown upon our shores masses of foreign political refugees, most of whom are infidels in religion, and red republicans, or destructionists of all social order, in politics. The greatest, and, in fact, the only real danger to the permanency of our republican institutions, is to be apprehended from this fast increasing class of foreigners, composed in general, of men of desperate character and fortune, — of outlaws from society, with the brand of infidelity upon their brow. Against the anarchical principles advocated by these men the Catholic Church takes open ground; and she feels honored by their bitter hostility. It could not be otherwise. Her principles are eminently conservative in all questions of religion and of civil polity; theirs are radical and destructive in both. Theirs is the old war of Satan against Christ; of the sons of Belial against the keepers of the law; of false and anti-social against true and rational liberty — "the liberty of the glory of the children of God."

If the lately organized secret political association warred against the pernicious principles maintained by such foreigners as these, we would not only have no cause to complain, but we would rather applaud their patriotic efforts in the cause of true freedom, and bid them God speed. But what is our astonishment to find, that our boasted advocates of "American

principles," instead of opposing, secretly or openly sympathize with these sworn enemies of all religion and of all social order — of God and man; as well as with the reckless and blood-stained Irish Orangemen! Say what you will, their efforts are directed almost solely against the Catholic element in the foreign immigration, and chiefly against the Irish Catholics. Their professions are belied by their acts, all of which point to Catholicity, as the victim whose ruin is to be accomplished, at all hazards, in this *free* and *republican* country. What else is indicated by the bloody riots gotten up by hired street brawlers against the Irish Catholics; what else by the wrecking and burning of Catholic churches? If the true policy of the country demands a revision or repeal of the naturalization laws, then bring about this result by fair, consistent, and honorable means; set about it in an open and manly manner, as men, as Americans, as Christians, not as cowards fearing the light of day, and skulking beneath the cover of darkness. If a new policy in regard to foreign immigrants is to be adopted, or if even the alien and sedition laws are to be re-enacted, let the country know your purpose in time, that all the true lovers of freedom may be prepared for the issue.

But the Irish immigrants are vicious and immoral. That a portion of them have their faults, — grievous and glaring faults, — we do not deny; but all fair and impartial men will admit, that the charge made against them as a body is atrociously unjust. They have their faults, which are paraded and greatly exaggerated by the public press; but they have also their virtues, which are studiously kept out of view. They have their faults; but have not the corresponding classes in our own population their vices also, as great, as, if not greater than those of the class which is now singled out as the victims of a virtuous public indignation?[1] They have their vices, but these are often faults of the head more than of the heart; of imprudence and thoughtlessness, more than of deliberate design and malice. If you look for the accomplished forger, the cold-blooded midnight assassin or murderer, the daring burglar, the man who goes always armed with the destructive bowie-knife or revolver, ready for any deed of blood, you will, in general, have to seek elsewhere than among the class of Irish immigrants, whom you so fiercely denounce.

The Irishman's vices are generally the result of intemperance, or of the sudden heat of passion, sometimes aroused by outrages upon his

1 Besides, is no allowance to be made for them, in consequence of that grinding oppression with which Protestant England has crushed them for centuries? We doubt much whether any other people would have stood up so well under a tyranny so dreadful and so long continued. See the Article — Ireland and the Irish, p. 506 — sup. cit.

country or religion; he is easily misled by evil associates, but his heart is generally in the right place. You can accomplish everything with him by mildness and persuasion; you can do nothing by overbearing harshness and reckless insult. The Irishman has no concealment in his character; what he is, he is openly and before the whole world; and this circumstance, together with the deadly hatred which has been lately awakened against his countrymen in this land of boasted freedom, may aid us in accounting for the singular fact, that so many Irish are arrested for real or alleged crimes, whereas so many of our natives, equally or more guilty, are permitted to go free! A riot occurs in one of our cities; the Irish get the worst of it; they are overpowered by superior numbers, are beaten and murdered; and in the end it turns out, that all those arrested are from the injured and outraged party themselves! The really guilty go free, the comparatively innocent are punished by the arm of the law.

Those among them who fall into crime have been already, in most instances, estranged from their Church by the influence of dangerous associations, often with the depraved portion of our own native population. They go not to the Church; they hear or heed not the voice of their pastors; they do not approach the sacraments; they are Catholics only in name, if even they retain the name. Whose fault is it, that they are thus estranged and corrupted? Not surely the fault of the Church, which seeks to reclaim and to save them. How can the pastors of the Church be held responsible for the misconduct of those who will not even hear their voice, or consent to be brought under the saving influence of the religion which they inculcate? Of all the charges which have been lately made against the Catholic Church, the most glaringly unjust is that, which ascribes the immorality of a certain class, amongst those who may still call themselves Catholics, to the disastrous influence which she exercises over their minds. These unfortunate men are thus seduced into habits of crime by evil influences acting entirely *outside* the Church, and then their crimes are laid at the door of the Church itself, which they have been induced practically to abandon! Was there ever iniquity greater than this?

The Church weeps, like a tender mother, over the sins of her children; she employs every kind and tender influence to win them back to virtue; she goes after them in their wanderings, as the Good Shepherd after the strayed sheep; she has no word of reproach or railing to frighten them farther away from the fold; with earnest and unfaltering love, she seeks

to reclaim them from their errors; no poverty, no misery however squalid or loathsome, no disease however infectious deters her from persuing her cherished work of mercy: and if she succeeds in her mission, her heart overflows with unspeakable joy and gladness, and she bears them back with maternal affection to her sanctuary, and lays them tenderly and joyously at the foot of her altars, as noble trophies of her labor of love. Her ministers labor day and night for the spiritual welfare of their people; they wear out their health, and grow prematurely old in assiduous toil among the poor and lowly; they often lay down their lives for their flocks. And if their zeal is not always crowned with success, if scandals still abound, in spite of their exertions to promote virtue, the unfortunate result is surely not owing to their fault, because clearly beyond their control.

The Church fails not at all times earnestly to inculcate on her children the duty of being good citizens of this republic, and of sincerely loving, and praying for *all* their fellow-citizens, even those who hate and revile them. She often addresses them in language similar to that, which was lately employed by one of our first prelates in age, learning, piety, and station,— Dr. Kenrick, the Archbishop of Baltimore, — the first episcopal see in the country. We cannot better conclude this Address than with an extract from his recent Pastoral Letter; and we are quite sure that every bishop, every priest, and every layman of our Church in this country will cheerfully subscribe to every sentiment and to every word therein contained:

"We take this occasion, brethren, to recommend to your most earnest prayers the peace, prosperity, and happiness of these United States, and of all our fellow-citizens. It is not our province, as pastors of the Church, to meddle with political interests: but it is our duty to exhort you to continue faithful to the constitution and government under which you have the happiness to live, obedient to the laws, respectful to all the civil authorities, and to prove yourselves by your conduct peaceful and orderly citizens Be not concerned at the suspicions cast on your loyalty and patriotism, and the efforts made to proscribe you, and check the progress of our holy religion. 'Who is he that can hurt you, if you be zealous of good? But if, also, you suffer any thing for justice sake, blessed are ye. And be not afraid of their fear, and be not troubled. But sanctify the Lord Christ in your hearts.' Pursue, then, the peaceful path of industry, regardless of political partizanship; shun the use of intoxicating liquors; avoid secret societies; practise your religion; teach it to your children; take every opportunity to perform kind offices towards your fellow-citizens, whatever wrongs you may endure, and pray that God may lead all to the knowledge of the truth. This course of conduct is your best defense — your only security, whilst it will vindicate most effectually the honor of the Church. Keep far away from scenes of danger; from tumult and bloody strife. In the retirement of your chambers, and at the foot of the altar, pour out your hearts in prayer, that God may turn away

His anger and in the day of His just visitation may remember mercy. Implore Him to relieve our country from pestilence, which now strews the land with victims, from the disorders of the elements which spread terror and destruction,— but, above all, from the maddening influence of the demon of civil discord. Ask Him to continue and perpetuate those free institutions, which have hitherto united in social brotherhood and concord the millions of men of various nations and creeds, that, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, bask in the sunshine of liberty. Pray that to all may be imparted the still greater blessings of faith and love, that we may with one heart and mouth glorify God and fulfill his law, in order to our salvation."

PART I.

HISTORICAL.

Reviews, Essays, and Lectures.

PART I.—HISTORICAL.

I. CHURCH HISTORY.*

ARTICLE I.—THE EARLY AGES.

Palma and Palmer as historians — Rome and Oxford — Gratuitous assertions — Promises of Christ in favor of the Church — Essential and Non-essential doctrines — Bishop Whittingham — Puseyism — Palmer's division — Purity of early Church — The Age of persecution — Donatists — Striking avowal — Peter in Rome — The "Thundering Legion" — *Disciplina arcani* — Testimonies of Sts. Ignatius and Justin on holy Eucharist — Cases of Popes Victor and Stephen — The Primacy — St. Irenaeus — The Cross of Constantine — Early heresies — Church of Rome — Story of Liberius and of Honorius I. — Monastic Life — Holy Virginity — Nestorius — St. Cyril of Alexandria — St. Patrick — Early British Churches — Primitive Irish Churches — St Simeon Stylites — "Rank Popery" — Early "abuses and corruptions" — Wisdom of the Church — The Seventh and Eighth General Councils.

We notice together the ecclesiastical histories of Professors Palmer and Palma, not on account of the similarity in name of the two distinguished authors, but for other obvious reasons. They have both lately given to the world the results of their respective labors in a very interesting department of human inquiry. Both, though in very different ways, have attempted to trace the various phases and vicissitudes which mark the history of the Church of Christ. Both too are men of distinguished ability and learning.

They belong to two different, and we may say opposite schools ;—those of Rome and Oxford; though the latter not long since manifested some disposition to approximate to the former. And they are tolerably good representatives of these two schools. The Roman Palma, as a historian, has a character distinct in its outline and clearly marked in all its features ; with a decided and unfaltering step he boldly treads the path of antiquity, with all the tortuous windings of which he is thoroughly

* I. A compendious Ecclesiastical History, from the earliest period to the present time. By the Rev. William Palmer, M. A., of Worcester College, Oxford ; author of *Origines Liturgicæ*, &c., &c. With a Preface and Notes by an American Editor. New York, 1841. 1 vol. 12mo. pp. 228.

II. Prælectiones Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ, quas in Collegio Urbano Sacræ Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, et in Pontificio Seminario Romano habuit Joannes Baptista Palma, Sacerdos Romanus, Hist. Eccles. Professor. Tomi IV, 8vo. Roma, 1838 — 1840.

(Lectures on Ecclesiastical History, delivered in the Urban College of the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide, and in the Pontifical Seminary of Rome, by John Baptist Palma, a Roman Priest, Professor of Ecclesiastical History.

acquainted. The Oxford Palmer is less decided in his historical character; though he betrays no lack of confidence in his assertions,—else he were not a *genuine* Englishman,—yet he appears to pursue the ancient path with the uncertain air of one who hesitates, and is not well acquainted with the road. As the French would say, he is evidently *géné*;[1] he appears like a stranger in a foreign country, who would fain act as though he were at home. He belongs to a school which has manifestly been for too short a time in the remote land of antiquity, to have become naturalized to its climate, or well acquainted with its rich productions.

Nor does the contrast stop here. The two professors meet indeed on the common field of Church History, yet do they pursue routes so different, as seldom to come in contact with each other. The Roman bears "the labor of the day and the heat;" he turns up the soil, waters it with the sweat of his brow, and cultivates it with untiring industry. The Oxfordite skims lightly over its surface; gambols about its borders, culling a flower here, and plucking a fruit there; and, for the amusement or gratification of his readers, we apprehend, he often trips, falls, or turns somersets!

Dropping the figure, the Roman professor enters critically into his subject; he gives us both sides of every question which he handles; he furnishes his authorities as he proceeds; he states and refutes objections, ancient and modern: and when you have read his history, you are compelled to say, either that he has reason on his side, or at least, that his views and statements are very plausible. The Oxfordite is far from entering on any such dull and plodding labor. He would seem to consider it a bootless toil. Except scriptural quotations, and one reference to his own works, and another to the authority of the Protestant archbishop Usher, he does not, we believe, give us one single reference from the beginning to the end of his work! He furnishes many passages from the ancient documents, but he does not tell us once whence they are taken; and unless his readers are so conversant with those writings, as to be able to hunt up and examine his quotations for themselves, they must wholly rely on his bare word for their genuineness and accuracy.

This is a most serious defect. Nor let it be alleged, that such learned references are out of place in a work avowedly intended for popular use. In such books, they are perhaps more requisite than in any other, for the reason just assigned. Without some such guide, the unlearned are left wholly at the mercy of every smatterer and theorizer, who may choose to embody his peculiar views in the form of history. And this is unhappily but too often the case in popular works, especially in those written in the English language to suit the palate of Protestant readers. Of no book, perhaps, is it more true than of Palmer's Church History. If any one ever *needed* proofs in support of his assertions, he surely does, as we hope abundantly to show in the sequel.

1 Constrained — ill at ease.

For our own part, we would not give a rush for the statements of any mere partisan historian, unless they be confirmed by constant references to the original authorities. We like to have chapter and verse for every thing. We value those historical books only, the margins of which are filled with quotations of the proper documents, and the writers of which give sufficient evidence that they have not taken these authorities at second hand, but have drunk deeply themselves at the fountain heads. We like books written after the manner of Lingard's History of England. There is at least some satisfaction in reading such works. One feels that he has a guide, which he can consult in an emergency. But when there is nothing to depend on, but the mere assertions of a flippant writer, who is evidently not unbiased in his views, every impartial judge must receive such statements with distrust. They are somewhat like the tedious and over-colored narratives of a traveler, who retails his "first impressions" of a foreign country entirely from memory. They have not the weight, and they merit not the name of real history. We make these general remarks, because, as we shall see, they are fully applicable to the work of Palmer, and because in this age of specious historical theories, pompously styling themselves *philosophies of history*, one cannot be too guarded in relation to the statements he is called on to credit.

It will be easily gathered from what we have thus far said, that in comparing the Oxford Palmer with the Roman Palma, we are compelled to award the *palm* to the latter. Here we have at least one genuine *Roman* priest. All who were acquainted with him could not fail to mark his great erudition, his moderation and modesty in his statements, and his extensive learning and research. For more than twenty years, he was a distinguished professor of Church History in two of the twenty-four great colleges of Rome.[1] He became gray in this delightful study. It grew to be identified with his very being, and it was almost the idol of his devotion. He thoroughly examined all the original documents which he cites; and this minute and critical knowledge of antiquity appears on every page of his work. This learned erudition is, in fact, a distinctive characteristic of Italian writers generally; as the contrary feature,—that of superficial flippancy,—is distinctive of most English writers, and of few more so than of Palmer.

Our chief object, in this paper, is to present a summary review of the Compendious Ecclesiastical History by the Oxford Professor. But our limits will allow us merely to touch very briefly on the chief character of the work. To examine all the historian's statements, to supply all his omissions, and to correct all his errors, would require a volume much larger than the one he has given to the world. As he gives no proof whatever for anything he asserts, we would be justified in repelling

1 He became afterwards Latin Secretary of the present sovereign Pontiff, and in the disgraceful attack on the papal palace which followed the assassination of the late Count Rossi, he was shot dead by one of the assassins, almost by the side of his illustrious sovereign.

gratuitous assertion, by mere denial without proof. This would be in accordance with the well-known aphorism: *quod gratis asseritur gratis negatur* — "what is asserted gratuitously may be denied gratuitously." But we will do a Catholic work of supererogation, and supply proof as we proceed; at least as far as our limits will possibly allow.

We would not be understood as condemning indiscriminately the history of Professor Palmer. The book has many good qualities, which we greatly admire. We have been much pleased with its general plan and scope, and with the division into epochs, with, however, one exception, to which reference will soon be made. The chief excellence with which we were struck, is a certain pious vein which pervades the work, sustained by appropriate and select examples of ancient sanctity. In this feature we are delighted to recognize no little of the true Catholic spirit.

He lays down the plan of his work in the first, or introductory chapter. He says:

"The history of the Church, then, is not like other histories, in which the progress and fate of human enterprises is (*are?*) described; it is the fulfillment of God's will for the salvation of man, the accomplishment of prophecies, the triumph of grace over the imperfection and sins of nature. The perpetuity of the Church, its propagation in all nations, the succession of the true faith, the manifestation of the Holy Spirit's assistance in the lives of Christians; the calamities, errors, afflictions, which, in all ages, beset it — afford new proofs of Christianity itself, and inspire the devout mind with humility and faith." [1]

In another place, he says:

"The promises of our Lord to his Disciples, that the Spirit of Truth should lead them into all truth, and abide with them forever, that the gates of hell should not prevail against his Church, and that he himself would be always with his Disciples — imply that the faith revealed by Jesus Christ should, in every age, continue to purify and sanctify the hearts and lives of his real followers; and we may hence infer that the belief which has, *in all ages*, been derived by the Church from the holy Scriptures; the great truths which Christians have always unanimously held to be essential to the Christian profession; which have supported them under the tortures of martyrdom, and transformed them from sin to righteousness; that such doctrines are, without doubt, the very same which God himself revealed for the salvation of man." [2]

From the solemn promises of Christ just alluded to, we would infer more than suited the purpose of the Oxford divine. We would infer that the belief which was held in all ages of the Church as the revelation of God, *was* derived from, or conformable to, the holy Scriptures. If the Church, in her official capacity, could be mistaken in the understanding of the Scriptures, then were all the solemn promises of Christ of no avail, and utterly nugatory. The question would constantly recur — did the Church *actually* derive such and such doctrines from the written Word of God? And if private judgment said she did not, the principle implied by Dr. Palmer above would require that such tenets

1 Introduction, p. 4. 2 Pp. 10, 11, chap. ii.

should be rejected. He thus upsets with one hand, what he had built up with the other! Consistency is a jewel, which sparkles only on the brow of truth.

There is also, it seems to us, in the above passage, an implied assertion of the hackneyed distinction of Jurieu between essential and non-essential doctrines, the former of which must be received, and the latter may be rejected without sin. We utterly eschew this leveling principle, which opens wide the door to latitudinarianism and indifference in matters of religion. The Scriptures make no such distinction; Christ made none such, when he said: "He that believeth not, shall be condemned."[1] Whatever Christ taught and his apostles promulgated as doctrine, no matter how trivial it may seem to proud human wisdom, is equally essential to faith. Of the objects of faith, it is as true as it is of those of morals, that "he who offendeth in one is become guilty of all."[2]

We have remarked on these passages, because they afford a clue to the entire work. They exhibit the object and purpose of the writer in composing his history. And they lead us to suspect, what the perusal of the work clearly proves, that it is Church History set to Puseyism, or rather Puseyism set to Church History. The Professor started out with assuming his preconceived theory, half Catholic and half Protestant, and he consequently makes the facts of history bend to its maxims; hence his frequent blunders in point of fact, and hence the partisan spirit which evidently pervades his whole publication.

The history comes before the American reading community under the sanction and sponsorship of a distinguished individual,—no less a personage, we are given to understand, than the Right Reverend W. R. Whittingham, the Protestant Episcopal bishop of Maryland. He is the "American editor" who writes the preface and notes. We had been told, that Bishop Whittingham stood high among his brother religionists for his learning and ability. If such be the case, he has certainly given us a very poor specimen of both, in his office of American editor of Palmer. As we hope to prove hereafter, the work would have been much more accurate without his notes; and it would even have suffered very little from the omission of his preface. The notes are, almost without an exception, grossly inaccurate in point of fact; they are, in general, an attempt either to falsify the true statements of Palmer, or to make bad worse. And, like this author, he too would have us believe him on his bare word!

In his preface, he thus indorses the statements of the Oxford historian:

"A great degree of accuracy in general outline and in minute detail wherever that is given, is another admirable characteristic of Mr. Palmer's work. It has been increased, perhaps (*perhaps!*), by the correction of one or two slips of a hasty pen, in this edition; and the minute differences, of statement or opinion, in some of the editor's additional notes, will show how thoroughly he shared in the author's anxiety to be

1 St. Mark, xvi. 2 St. James, ii, 10.

really useful — an end to be attained, in a work like this, only by the most scrupulous adherence to truth. If error as to fact be found in the book now presented to the reader, it has escaped not only the attention of the learned and indefatigable author, but the close examination of his humble and grateful fellow-laborer." [1]

We scarcely know through what kind of glasses the Protestant bishop examined Prof. Palmer's book; but they certainly favored obliquity of vision. They were probably manufactured at Oxford, and partook of the doubtful character of most other things which have recently emanated from that city. The manufacturer must have age and experience in the business, before he can hope to produce articles of real merit. If the bishop will condescend to accept our offer, made in all courtesy and kindness, we will lend him a pair of glasses, of the real Roman grinding, without a single flaw; and we assure him that through them he will be enabled to see things aright, and in a new light altogether.

By means of these same glasses, we have, at the very first glance, been able to detect more than *fifty* egregious blunders in the work, including, of course, the famous notes, nearly all of which we have been constrained to put on our black list. These errors, many of them, regard important facts; and others consist of unfair statements, or of omissions in matters of vital consequence. The sun was thought to be without spots, until the Jesuit Scheiner, or the Catholic philosopher Galileo, proved their existence by means of the telescope. Dr. Palmer's book has even more spots than the sun, though Bishop Whittingham could not discover them. And no wonder, as the Oxford glasses which he used, mystify more, and are, therefore, less serviceable than even the naked eye!

Mr. Palmer divides his history into five epochs. We will give his own language, which contains the gist of his new Puseyite theory of Church History.

"First, the ages of persecution which terminated with the accession of the Emperor Constantine to universal empire, in A. D. 320, and during which the Church was purest.

"Secondly, the ages (A. D. 320 — 680) when heresies invaded the Church, and were repelled by the six holy œcumenical synods; and when the ravages of barbarians and heathens were counterbalanced by the conversion of many nations.

"Thirdly, the period (680 — 1054) in which ignorance, worldliness, and superstition (!) began to fall thickly on the Church, though an earnest spirit of piety still continued to produce evangelists, saints, and martyrs, and to add wide regions to the Church of Christ.

"Fourthly, the times (1054 — 1517) when the east and west were estranged by the ambition of the Roman Pontiffs (!); when those bishops, elevated to the summit of temporal and spiritual power in the west, introduced numberless corruptions and innovations (!); and when their power began to fade away. (!)

"Fifthly, the epoch (1517 — 1839) when a reformation being called for, was resisted by those who ought to have promoted it (!); when the

[1] Preface, p. 9.

western Church became divided; and at length infidelity came to threaten universal destruction."[1]

Here are misstatements enough surely, especially under the three last epochs. But these apart, — of which more hereafter, — we are pleased with the division, with the exception of the second epoch, which is made, whimsically enough, to terminate at the sixth general council; these six councils being all that it suited Mr. Palmer's purpose to admit, out of at least *eighteen* such assemblies, which have equal claims with those to be general councils. But the others were far too *popish* to suit the fastidious Oxford palate!

For the sake of convenience, we will briefly run over these epochs, as they come in order of time, availing ourselves of the author's admissions, supplying *some* of his many omissions, and correcting a few of his more glaring blunders as we proceed. We could not correct all; nor even half, without re-writing his whole history. Nor do we intend in our rapid sketch to forget to pay our respects, as in duty bound, to Bishop Whittingham, the Right Reverend editor and annotator.

EPOCH I, A. D. 34 — 320.[2]

During this epoch, Professor Palmer tells us that "the Church was *purest.*" We do not object to this term of praise, if it be meant only to imply, that Christians were then in general more fervent, more disengaged from the world, and more self-devoted and heroic. If it be meant to signify, that there were no moral disorders or heresies among the early Christians, or that the Church, as a Church, was then more pure in doctrine than subsequently, as would appear to be the historian's drift, then do we protest against the use of the term. The writings of the earliest fathers, and especially those of Tertullian and St. Cyprian,[3] abundantly prove, that even during the first three centuries, there were, as Christ had foretold there would be in all ages, grievous scandals to be deplored: while the five books of St. Irenæus "against heresies," and more especially the historical work of St. Epiphanius on the same subject, establish the fact, that then, as subsequently, the purity of the faith was repeatedly assailed. But the Church triumphed then, as afterwards, because Christ, her divine Spouse, had solemnly promised that she should triumph. We make these remarks, because Protestant writers, with a view to establish their preconceived theory of a defection of the Church in the fourth and following centuries, from the disorders which then occasionally prevailed, have been too much in the habit of concealing these incontestable facts, and of drawing a too highly colored picture of earlier purity.

This was emphatically a period of struggle and of persecution. The

1 *P.* 5

2 Embraced in the first six chapters, from p. 1 to p. 31.

3 In their respective treatises — *De Pœnitentia* and *De Lapsis*, and in their other works.

Church then passed through a fiery ordeal: for two hundred and fifty years the colossal power of the Roman empire was employed to crush her: the blood of her martyrs flowed like water; but like water it served to fertilize the earth! Christ triumphed in his spouse: his promises were redeemed; the "gates of hell did not prevail;" twelve poor fishermen conquered the world, and reared the cross on the proudest monuments of fallen Rome! The chief persecutors died a terrible death, so graphically painted by the eloquent Lactantius, in the fourth century.[1] Why did not our historian at least allude to this remarkable fact? His whole account in fact of the ten general persecutions,[2] is very meagre and imperfect, even for a compendious history. He, however, gives us in full the beautiful letter of the church of Smyrna, with its touching account of the martyrdom of St. Polycarp,[3] concluding with a passage which clearly proves the veneration paid, in the earliest times, to the sacred remains of the martyrs.

Speaking of the Donatists, who separated from the Church early in the fourth century, he uses this language: "These sectarians, called Donatists, were, after full examination of their cause by councils of bishops and by the emperor Constantine, universally rejected and condemned. They continued, however, for two or three centuries to disturb and persecute the Church in Africa. *Separations like these, where rival worship was established, were in those ages regarded as most heinous sins, and destructive of salvation.*"[4] This is truly a sweeping admission, extorted by the most overwhelming evidence of history. It seals the death warrant of all those separatists of modern times, who have "established rival worships," including of course the Anglican Church, which fairly comes under this category!

Among his many important omissions during the epoch under consideration, we will briefly allude to the following. He does not tell us that St. Peter went to Rome and died there; a fact to which all antiquity bears evidence,[5] and which he himself is forced afterwards to grant. He even says: "the date of St. Peter's epistle from Babylon suggests the probability of his having preached in Chaldea;"[6] whereas it is a notorious fact, admitted we think by all the learned, that Babylon of Chaldea was not then in existence. Grotius, a learned Protestant, and others, with much more probability, think that by *Babylon* St. Peter meant Pagan Rome, which St. John and the early Christians designated by that name.

He likewise makes no mention whatever of the famous miracle obtained by the prayers of the Christian legion, which served in the army of Marcus Aurelius, in his expedition against the Quadi and Marcomanni. The miracle secured victory to the imperial arms, in a most signal manner, and under the most trying circumstances. It was public and notorious; it is attested by Tertullian and Eusebius, and is established

1 De Morte Persecutorum. 2 P. 14. *et. seq.* 3 P. 16, *et. seq.* 4 P. 27.
5 Among other works on this subject, see Fogginio — *De itinere Romano et Episcopatu D. Petri* 1 vol. 4to. — where overwhelming evidence on the subject is accumulated. 6 P. 8.

by other incontestable evidence. It was most glorious for the Christian name, and it obtained from the emperor himself for the legion the title of *legio tonans*, or thundering legion.[1]

Another omission, much more important still, is that of the *disciplina arcani*, or discipline of secret, very common in the early Church; and without which, in fact, it is almost impossible to understand the faith and worship of the epoch of which we are speaking. This discipline required caution and concealment in speaking, before pagans and the uninitiated, of the greater mysteries of the Christian faith, such as the Trinity and the Eucharist, in order not "to throw pearls before swine."[2] The unquestionable prevalence of this discipline, is a triumphant evidence of the belief in the real presence during that period.[3] Was this the reason why our historian said nothing about it?

He is himself very fond of this same discipline of secret, in regard to those things which he did not find it expedient to state, because they might be opposed to his theory. Thus he tells us "of the Gnostics and Manicheans,[4] who held that our Lord's body was not real, but a mere phantom, and that he did not die on the cross;"[5] but he forgot to give us this testimony of St. Ignatius, martyr, bearing directly on the subject: "they (the Gnostics) abstain from the Eucharist and from prayer, because they do not acknowledge the Eucharist *to be the flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ which suffered for our sins, and which the Father by his goodness resuscitated.*"[6]

We should be endless, were we to attempt to supply all his important omissions in this way. For once, however, he violates the discipline of secret, and gives us pretty correctly the famous testimony of St. Justin, martyr, on the holy Eucharist. The philosopher martyr had set him the example for this violation, as he had found it necessary, for the defense of Christianity against the base slanders of its enemies, to speak out plainly on the belief of the early Christians upon this subject,—too plainly as we shall see to suit the taste of our Oxford divine. Here are his words as cited by Mr. Palmer: "We do not receive it (the Eucharist) as common bread or common drink; but as, by the word of God, our Savior Jesus Christ was incarnate, and had flesh and blood for our salvation, so also we have been instructed that the food, blessed by the word of prayer which is from him, through which our flesh and blood by a change are nourished, is (spiritually) the flesh and blood of that incarnate Jesus."[7]

That word *spiritually*, it is almost needless to say, came from Oxford;

1 For a full account and vindication of this miracle, see Palma, *Prælectiones*. vol. i, P. 1, p. 76, *et seq.* c. xiv.

2 Palma, ibid. p. 82, *et seq.* The best thing on the subject is perhaps the learned dissertation of Schelestrate — *De Disciplina Arcani.*

3 See "Faith of Catholics," vol. ii, p. 158, seqq., Edition of Dolman, London, 1846; in 3 vols. 8vo. See also the "Amicable Discussion."

4 We greatly doubt whether the Manicheans taught any such thing. 5 P. 135.

6 Epistola ad Smyrnæos, p. 36, tom. ii, PP. Apostolic. Amstelodami, 1724.

7 The passage is taken from an apology (the first) of St. Justin to the Roman emperor and senate — though it might be taken from any other of St Justin's writings, for all Mr. Palmer tells us.

and like many other things that have lately come from Oxford, it makes arrant nonsense. It makes St. Justin say, that as Christ took flesh *really*, so "the food," &c. becomes his flesh *spiritually!* Why was that word interjected at all, unless it was thought and *felt*, that the sense would be very different without it? Are we to give credit to Mr. Palmer for this interpolation, or is it "a hasty slip of the pen," by his Right Reverend editor and commentator?

The errors of our historian in point of fact, though not so numerous in this as in the subsequent epochs of his history, yet are frequent. He seems to have an instinctive dislike for the bishops of Rome, and wherever they are concerned, you may expect from him little accuracy or fairness. Thus he tells us roundly, that Victor, bishop of Rome, towards the close of the second century, "proceeded to the extent of separating them (the Asiatics) from his communion; an act," he continues, "which was disapproved of by St. Irenæus and the greater part of the Church."[1] It is much more probable, to say the least, that Victor merely threatened excommunication, and was dissuaded from carrying his threat into execution, as he had the power to do, by the arguments of St. Irenæus. It is not true that "the greater part of the Church disapproved of his conduct." He was certainly in the right, and the general council of Nice, in 325, which we apprehend represented "the greater part of the Church," decided that he was right, and excommunicated all who would thereafter persist in the practice adopted by the Asiatics.[2]

His account of the controversy between St. Stephen and St. Cyprian, on re-baptizing those baptized by heretics, is yet more glaringly inaccurate. He tells us, that "Stephen insisted that the custom of the Roman Church should be adopted, and separated the African churches, on their refusal, from his communion. This act, however, was not approved or recognized by the majority of bishops."[3] The contrary is the fact. St. Augustine tells us that Cyprian "continued in the peace of unity with St. Stephen:"[4] and St. Jerome says the same.[5] Their testimony is at least as good as Mr. Palmer's flippant assertions. And as to the majority of bishops having been opposed to Stephen, it is utterly false, and we challenge proof to the contrary. St. Augustine assures us, in many places of his voluminous writings on the subject, that a "plenary council" decided in favor of Stephen, and that the whole Church agreed with him. At the time of the controversy itself, numerous councils were held in various parts of the Church, which approved of the course adopted by the Roman Pontiff.[6]

By the way, it is a singular fact, that, in some way or other, the Roman Pontiffs, from the earliest days of the Church, *always* triumphed because they always happened to be right: and their triumph in the persons of Victor and Stephen is a conclusive proof that the primacy

1 P. 25. 2 See Palma, *Prælectiones*, vol. i, P. 1, p. 206, *et seq.* for all the documents on this subject
3 P. 26. 4 De Baptismo, lib. iv, c. 25—"Eum in unitatis pace cum eo permansisse."
5 Dialog adversus Luciferianos. 6 Palma, vol i, P. 1, p. 163, *et seq*, and p. 142, *et seq.*

was then recognized. Else why would men so holy have ever thought of excommunicating churches in Africa and Asia? And why did not the Church protest against this usurpation, if it was an usurpation? In both those controversies, it is remarkable that the opponents of the Pontiffs never once thought of questioning their *right* or *power* to excommunicate: they merely deprecated its exercise. If Mr. Palmer is so much pleased with the practice of the Asiatics in keeping Easter, why does not his Church now adopt it, instead of the contrary one of Rome?

These facts may enable us to judge, what credit is due to the assertion of our historian, that though "some churches had pre-eminent distinction on account of their opulence and magnitude," yet "all bishops and churches, however, were regarded as perfectly equal in the sight of God, (*and of men?*) and regulated their own affairs, and exercised discipline with perfect freedom."[1] The testimony of Irenæus, and the voice of all antiquity, trace the pre-eminence of certain churches to other causes altogether, than those carnal-minded ones assigned by Mr. Palmer. They tells us, that the Roman see was the "chair of Peter;" that the second in pre-eminence, that of Alexandria, was founded by Peter's disciple, Mark; and that the third, Antioch, was Peter's see, before he removed to Rome. A volume might be filled with testimonies to prove that the Roman Pontiffs held the primacy from the beginning of the Church. Archbishop Kenrick's triumphant work on the Primacy is a tissue of such authorities. Would not Bishop Whittingham do well to edit this work also "with notes?" It is an answer to a publication by one of his own brother bishops, and it yet remains, perhaps for a very obvious reason, unanswered.

By the by, we have little fault to find with the bishop's notes under this epoch: but we suppose it is chiefly because he has been very reserved. There is, however, a little note of his on page 23, in which he corrects a *true* statement of Palmer, who had asserted in the text that "Irenæus was crowned with martyrdom." The episcopal annotator here remarks: "so some think, but without sufficient evidence." We know not what new light has been shed on the bishop's mind, or what evidence he would deem sufficient. We find the fact stated in every Church historian within our reach, and we know it is the basis of a very old and general Church office. It has ever been the belief of the Church of Lyons, which keeps the feast of the martyr on the 28th of June. Though it is a matter comparatively unimportant, we are really curious to know what facts can be brought to prove, that Irenæus did not die a martyr under Septimius Severus.

We might remark on many other inaccuracies under this first epoch; but the subjects will recur in the sequel, and we must hasten on. We merely pause to notice, in passing, our author's singular method of accounting for the conversion of the emperor Constantine. He says:

"So great was the progress of religion, notwithstanding the violent

1 P. 33.

and cruel persecutions to which it was continually exposed, that it became no less the interest than the duty of the first Christian emperor, Constantine the Great, to relieve the Church from persecution, to act as the defender of its faith, and to distinguish its ministers and members by marks of his favor and generosity."

We had thought, in our simplicity, that Constantine the Great was actuated by much higher and purer motives than interest. We had read in Eusebius, a cotemporary historian of high repute, of a magnificent cross which appeared to him at noon-day in the heavens, bearing the motto: "εν τουτω νικα" — IN THIS CONQUER; and that Constantine had made a banner like it, called the *Labarum*, which beckoned him on to victory.[1] We had read all this; but we suppose that if Eusebius had chanced to be born in Oxford in these latter days, this and all other heavenly visions would have vanished from his disenchanted eyes! Well, we admire the march of mind, and the progress of enlightenment!

Epoch II, A. D. 320—680.[2]

This was, in a more particular manner, the epoch of struggles with, and triumphs over heresy. During this period the Church saw Arianism, Macedonianism, Nestorianism, Eutychianism, Pelagianism, and Monothelitism, rise in succession, create great disturbances for a time, and then sink again in the bosom of that darkness from which they had emerged. All of these formidable heresies, except Pelagianism, originated among the subtle and disputatious Greeks of the Eastern church. Rome proscribed them all; and then, as ever since, the voice of Rome was re-echoed through the world by the great body of bishops. During this period, as always, the successor of Peter continued to fulfill the divine injunctions: "Feed my lambs; feed my sheep."[3] "And thou (Peter) being once converted, confirm thy brethren."[4] The Lord Jesus had "prayed for Peter that his faith might not fail."[5] And, accordingly, St. Cyprian, in the third century, assures us that "heretical perfidy never could have access to the chair of Peter, the principal Church, *whence the sacerdotal unity took its rise.*"[6] All ancient Church History proclaims this remarkable fact, that the Roman Pontiffs, in all the controversies of those times, were ever in the right in their official capacity.

It is by some considered as doubtful, whether the story of the fall of Pope Liberius be well founded. If he subscribed any formulary of faith different from that of Nice, it is *certain*, that such formulary was not heretical, but merely defective; and that he was induced to yield thus far, while under restraint, and after his spirit had been broken by a two

1 See a critical examination of the whole matter in Palma, vol. i, P II, p. 32, *et seq.*
2 From p. 34—74. 3 St. John, xxi, 15—17. 4 Luke, xxii, 32.
5 Luke xxii, 32. 6 Epist. lv, p. 86.

years' rigorous confinement. Whatever he did, he did it in his private capacity alone, and not as the pastor of the universal Church. As soon as he recovered his liberty, it is admitted on all hands, that, he became a most staunch defender of the Church against Arianism [1] The most ardent advocates of papal prerogative never once dreamed of asserting that the Pope, as a private individual, is either impeccable or infallible.

The only other Pontiff who has been charged with heresy, with any appearance of plausibility, is Honorius I., who, it is alleged, was condemned as a heretic in the sixth œcumenical council, held in 680, the last year of the present epoch. Mr. Palmer[2] evidently chuckles over the supposed fall of this Pontiff. But it is not even pretended, that Honorius actually defined anything against Catholic faith; his whole fault, if it was a fault, consisted in enjoining silence on the disputants at the first commencement of the controversy. His epistles to Sergius, bishop of Constantinople, clearly establish this. The wily Greek had misrepresented the real state of the controversy, and had deceived the unsuspecting Pontiff. The result was unfortunate, as the enemies of the faith, among whom Sergius was the chief, carefully availed themselves of the disciplinary injunction of the Pontiff, to spread their heresy in the East. And this reason, no doubt, prompted the council to condemn Honorius, as a favorer of heretics. This council was composed almost entirely of Greek bishops, whose bosoms were already swayed by a rising jealousy of Rome; which feeling, a little later, led them into open schism: [3] and there is no evidence, that the incidental charge against Honorius was ever approved by the Western Church.

Our historian thus speaks of the origin of the monastic life: — the Italics are ours.

"Many of the most truly pious and holy men whom those ages produced, were among those who lived retired from the world, and who were engaged solely in the service of God. A life entirely devoted to religion, and separated from all domestic cares, pleasures, and occupations, had been the characteristic of the ascetics and virgins *even from the time of the apostles;* but the monastic or solitary life was first exhibited on a broad scale by Anthony and his disciples in Egypt, at the latter end of the third, and the beginning of the fourth century." [4]

"In the present age," he adds, "it is, perhaps, difficult to appreciate justly the religious character of ascetic religion in the early Church." [5] This is, alas! but too true. Protestantism never had any relish for this life of prayer and self-denial; these are not palatable to our modern religionists' dainty taste.

The historian's admission, in regard to the antiquity of the ascetics and sacred virgins, was too much for his Right Reverend editor; who,

1 For full evidence on this subject, see Palma, vol. i, P. II, p. 94, *et seq.*, and p. 103, *et seq.*

2 Page 47.

3 Palma treats the whole subject with his usual learning and ability, vol. ii, P. I, p. 104, *et seq.*

4 Page 49. 5 Ibid.

breathing a more anti-popery atmosphere, is not yet prepared to go as far Romeward, even as Professor Palmer. In a note, he very sagely remarks, that "these (ascetics and virgins) certainly did not exist as distinct classes before the end of the second century; nor even then in anything resembling the form of monkery." The end of the second century is a very respectable antiquity of itself: but would not the avowed fact of their general existence in the second century, argue a more ancient origin? What would the bishop think of the argument, that because we find mention of the order of bishops in writers of the second century, therefore this order had *certainly* no previous existence? Yet his is precisely parallel.

Both Tertullian[1] and St. Cyprian[2] wrote treatises expressly on the duties of sacred virgins; which clearly proves their recognized existence, as a distinct class in the second and third centuries, and also establishes their prior origin. As to the "form of monkery," we will not dispute about forms, so the substance be admitted. In the first century, the Therapeutes of the East were a species of monks; and the order of sacred virgins existed from the days of the apostles. We read in the Acts, that Philip the Evangelist "had four daughters virgins, who did prophesy;"[3] and the seventh chapter of St. Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians clearly implies the apostolical origin of holy virgins and celibataries. Carnal-minded Protestantism can not understand or appreciate all this. In our modern systems of religion, matrimony seems to constitute the *summum bonum*, and virginity is almost as much despised as it was among the heathens of old! Who will venture to deny this?

Among the many important omissions of our author under this epoch, we have time to mention only one. He says nothing of the attempt made by Julian, the apostate, to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem, with the avowed purpose of falsifying the predictions of Christ; nor of the miraculous manner in which that attempt was frustrated by God. Yet this is perhaps one of the most triumphant proofs of the divinity of the Christian Religion, and it should not therefore have been omitted, even in a compendious history. The fact is testified to by all Christian antiquity; and it is vouched for even by the cotemporary pagan historian, Ammianus Marcellinus, a great admirer of Julian.[4]

The errors and misstatements of our author and of his editor are here so numerous, that we scarcely have space to advert even transiently to the principal of them. On pages 43, 44, we have no less than three notes, in which Bishop Whittingham corrects *true* statements made in the text. Mr. Palmer calls Nestorius "a vain and arrogant man," and gives a correct account of his heresy. The episcopal commentator here remarks: "Nestorius hardly has justice done him by this statement . . . the most accurate investigations leave little room for doubt, that he did not teach the heretical doctrine afterwards put forth by some who took part in the

1 De Velandis Virginibus. 2 De Virginibus
3 Acts, xxi, 9. 4 Apud Palma, vol i, P. II, p. 23, *et seq.*

dispute, and bore his name." Ah indeed! So the Protestant bishop of Maryland has, "by his more accurate investigations," ascertained more than had been found out by the two hundred bishops who composed the council of Ephesus, and by nearly all the historians of antiquity! We give him credit for his wonderful discovery: but until he gives us some *facts* on the subject, we must be pardoned for believing that Nestorius was a heretic.[1]

The second *correction* to which we just alluded, is the substitution in the note of the word *testimony*, for that of the *decision* of the council of Ephesus against Nestorius. The bishop is evidently alarmed at the spectre of church authority *deciding* on controversy. Feeling that his own church is powerless, *even to silence a recreant parson*, he would fain snatch from the ancient Church also her spiritual armor of authoritative teaching.

The third *correction* contains a libel on St. Cyril of Alexandria, who, in the text, had been praised as having had "the honor of being the principal opponent of this heresy" (the Nestorian). The editor adds: "but not without sullying himself with the use of very unbefitting means." Here also he flatly contradicts all Christian antiquity.

Again, the historian speaks of St. Patrick and St. Palladius, the respective apostles of Ireland and Scotland, though singularly enough he makes them both the apostles of Ireland; and we are sure the Irish will thank him for the discovery!

"The apostolical labors of St. Patrick were rewarded by the conversion of the Irish nation to Christianity. Palladius had been previously ordained to the same mission by Cœlestinus, bishop of Rome," &c.[2]

Not at all, says the episcopal editor:

"This is extremely doubtful, or rather almost certainly untrue. That both Palladius and Patrick preached in Ireland, early in the fifth century, is certain."

If Palladius visited Ireland, he remained but a short time.[3] But the bishop further observes:

"That neither of them had any direct communication with Rome is in the highest degree probable."

And yet St. Prosper, a cotemporary historian, testifies in his chronicle, that Palladius was ordained by Pope Cœlestine for the Scotch.[4] Which are we to believe? All the ancient authors of St. Patrick's life agree in stating, that after his second captivity, he traveled through France and

1 Another instance of the sympathy of errorists for one another, is furnished by the great parade lately made over a Nestorian bishop, whom the Rev. Justus Perkins brought to this country as a kind of show!

2 P. 45.

3 We are aware that the words *Scoti* and *Hiberni* were interchangeable terms for several centuries: yet St. Patrick, in his confessions, clearly distinguishes between them, and so do other ancient documents. The learned Alban Butler thinks that the Scots first settled in Ireland, and then removed to Scotland. See Butler's lives of Saints, 17th March, *notc.* Dublin edition.

4 "Ad Scotos in Christum credentes ordinatur a Papa Cœlestino Palladius, et primus episcopus mittitur." — *Chronicon. ad annum* 431. The Chronicle begins with Adam, and comes down to the year 455, and it is very good authority, especially against a mere assertion.

Italy, visited Rome, and received his mission, together with the apostolical benediction, from Pope Cœlestine, who died A. D. 432.[1]

Speaking of the ancient British and Irish churches, Mr. Palmer makes this reckless assertion :

"The ancient churches of the Britons which still continued, as well as the Irish churches, were not subject to the jurisdiction of the bishops of Rome, nor was the Anglo-Saxon Church for many centuries, though much reverence was felt for the ancient and celebrated Church of Rome, and much assistance derived from it in the earlier stages of their existence."[2]

And again :

"The ancient British and Irish churches, in the sixth and seventh centuries, were treated as schismatics by the Roman church in consequence of their adherence to their ancient customs, and for not submitting to the authority of the papal see ; but they were acknowledged as Christians by many churches."[3]

And to make bad worse, the bishop of Maryland adds this note about the "ancient customs : "

"For which they *truly* pleaded apostolical warrant, in the practice of St. John, derived to them through the churches of Gaul."

It would require too much space to refute all the misstatements contained in these remarkable passages, which are selected almost at random, from many more of a similar kind. We will barely enumerate them, and say a word or two on each.

1. The ancient British and Irish churches *were* subject to the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiffs, as a host of facts clearly show ; and we challenge proof to the contrary. In both, Christianity and its first teachers had come from Rome. At the close of the second century, Pope Eleutherius (about 180) had sent to England Fugatius and Damianus, at the instance of King Lucius. This is attested by all the older British writers.[4] Whether, previously to this time, the gospel was preached, at least to any extent, in England or not, is doubtful ; but if it was, it had made but few disciples.[5] But for Rome, England would perhaps never have been converted. Besides, the primacy apart, England was in the western patriarchate, and under this title, like the other western churches, was subject to the jurisdiction of the Roman Pontiffs, who were also avowedly patriarchs of the west.

2. That the Irish churches were ever treated as schismatical by Rome, is an assertion unsustained by proof. The Irish church was never for a moment stained with either heresy or schism.

1 So says Probus, who wrote a life of the saint, according to Bollandus, some time in the seventh century. The Cistercian monk, Jocelin, who also wrote his life in the twelfth century, and who refers to four different lives of the saint written before his time, relates the same fact. See Butler's Lives of Saints, 17th March, Dublin edition. Surely all this testimony should outweigh the bare assertion of Bishop Whittingham. 2 P. 46. 3 P 67.

4 For facts see Lingard — "Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon church," p. 18, American edition.

5 Idem, p. 17, *note*.

3. The British churches never refused to admit the authority of the papal see. The controversy did not turn on this point. They merely refused to submit to St. Augustine, because he could not sanction their customs, and would not brook their notorious immorality, attested by all cotemporary writers. The testimony of Gildas, an historian of the time, clearly proves that they acknowledged the authority of the Roman Pontiffs, even after that authority had proscribed them : for their clergy still went to Rome to obtain ecclesiastical preferment.[1]

4. The British churches did not "*truly* plead apostolical warrant for their customs," as Bishop Whittingham says ; nor did they plead it at all. They merely alleged the example of St. Columban and of their forefathers. St. John and the churches of Gaul had nothing to do with the controversy. It is ascertained that the British churches were not *quartodecimans*, or did not persist in keeping Easter with the Jews. They merely refused to adopt the improvement in the calendar introduced by Dionysius Exiguus, and already adopted by Rome and the whole Church. The venerable Bede tells us, that their remoteness from the rest of the world was the reason of their ignorant adherence to an erroneous calendar.[2] By the way, as Bishop Whittingham so greatly admires those "ancient customs," why does he not adopt them, and shave his own head in the form of a crescent ? In this strange plight, and keeping Easter about a month sooner or later than his brethren, he would certainly excite admiration ! He would be a glorious reformer, "*truly* pleading apostolical warrant!"

5. We would much like to see any evidence going to prove, that after their separation from Rome, "the British churches were acknowledged as Christians by many churches." We doubt whether there is *one* fact in history to warrant this assertion.

6. That the Anglo-Saxon church acknowledged the jurisdiction of the Roman Pontiffs, from the time of St. Augustine to the reformation, could be proved by a whole volume of evidence. But our space will not allow us even to touch on this subject.[3]

Professor Palmer gives us some very fine sketches of St. Anthony, of St. Pachomius, of St. Martin, and of many other principal saints and illustrious ornaments of this period.[4] They are judicious, well selected, and edifying ; written too in the right spirit. He even speaks with great praise of that remarkable man, St. Simeon Stylites,[5] who passed many years of his life on the top of a column, in order to escape the importunity of the multitudes who flocked to him for his blessing. He tells us how this holy man was venerated by emperors, empresses, and bishops; and how he converted thousand of pagans to the Christian faith. He gives this opinion of his character :

1 This whole subject is ably handled by Lingard. Ibid. p. 41, *et seq.*

2 "Utpote qui longe extra orbem positis nemo synodalia Paschalis observantiæ decreta porrexerat." — lib. iii, c. 4.

3 For facts and authorities on this interesting subject, we refer the reader to Dr. Kenrick on the Primacy Part I, ch. xvi; also to the late eloquent work of Dr. Ives — "Trials of a mind," &c.

4 P. 44, *et. seq.* 5 P. 55, 56.

"An example of want of moderation in self-denial and mortification is frequently pointed out in the case of St. Simeon Stylites, who lived in the fifth century. Yet it is impossible not to admit that, with some excesses in these respects, there was much to admire and venerate in his character." [1]

This eulogy did not suit the taste of the Episcopal editor. He says, in a note:

"The excesses of Simeon were more reprehensible than mere 'want of moderation in self-denial and mortification.' His multiplied bowings, protracted watchings, constrained postures, and pillar-isolation, belong to a low class of superstition, and furnish a melancholy proof of the degenerating tendencies of the age."

The Protestant bishop is far too enlightened to relish these same "multiplied bowings and protracted watchings;" as to the "constrained postures," his very soul abhors them. Only think of the "degenerating tendencies of the age!" Rank popery perched on a pillar, surrounded by admiring thousands, in the middle of the fifth century! It is really too bad! It is absolutely shocking to the nerves of a delicate Protestant bishop, even to think of those austerities! To be more serious: the example of St. Simeon is extraordinary, and almost single in Church History. It belongs to the class of things admirable, but not imitable. In those warm Eastern climates, it was not unusual, at that day, for persons to pass considerable portions of their lives in the open air, or on the terraces of their houses. The manner of life of St. Simeon was, then, after all, not so very great a departure from the usage of his time and country, as might appear at first sight. We make these remarks merely to steady the bishop's nerves.

Dr. Palmer devotes an entire chapter [2] to what he styles "the rise of abuses and corruptions." This chapter is a tissue of unfounded assertion and of special pleading, from beginning to end. It is bad enough already; and hence the bishop makes no notes. It would far transcend our limits to enter into a detailed refutation of its glaring perversion of facts and evidence. On one page alone, we have marked no less than four false statements, for the refutation of each of which, however, a separate paper would be necessary. We will offer only a few general remarks.

The gist of the reasoning consists in the assertion, that many doctrines, — invocation of saints, veneration for relics, purgatory, and others,— led to great abuses; and in the inference thence drawn, that they were, therefore, rightly repudiated by Protestants. The things were good in their origin and harmless in themselves; they were subsequently abused; therefore, they were justly abolished. Under this leveling reasoning, everything in Christianity, and the bible itself would be swept away. He says:

"Could the pious fathers of the fourth century, who in their orations

1 P. 55. 2 Chap. x. p. 68, *et seq.*

apostrophized the departed saints and martyrs, and called for their prayers to God, have foreseen the abuses to which this practice was to lead, . . . they would carefully have avoided the introduction of a practice so dangerous to true religion."

Could they now rise from their graves, how they would rebuke those, who, under pretence of promoting true religion, have mutilated or rejected the practices which they so much cherished! How they would be charmed too with the motley appearance of modern Protestantism! According to our Oxford divine, even the Church, sustained, as he delights to repeat it was, by the promises of Christ, was yet wanting in knowledge on this subject:

"The Church has not always been gifted with a spirit of wisdom and foreknowledge, to discern the future abuses of opinions and practices, which it originally permitted without reproof."[1]

For our parts, we greatly prefer the wisdom of the Church, which Christ promised to protect from error, and which he commanded us to hear, to the new-fangled and mystical notions of Oxford. It may be childish simplicity in us; but if we err in hearing the Church, we err by the express command of Christ!

Professor Palmer will not admit, that either the seventh or the eighth council was œcumenical, or general. The former condemned the Iconoclasts, and maintained the lawfulness of images in churches; the latter condemned the intruder Photius, that ambitious man who had been consecrated bishop of Constantinople in six days from being a mere layman, while St. Ignatius, the lawful bishop, was still living. He tells us, that the former was rejected by the Western, and the latter by the Eastern church.[2] Neither of these assertions is true, as we could easily accumulate evidence to prove, did our limits permit. The Roman Pontiffs certainly sanctioned the canons of the seventh council, or the second of Nice, held in 787. And with them the bulk of the Western bishops certainly agreed, at least after a brief hesitancy. The fathers of the council at Frankfort, in 794, merely labored under an error of fact, founded on a false version of the Nicene canons: this error was subsequently removed, and the Western bishops then gave in their adhesion.

What the bishops of the Greek church may have thought on the subject after their final rupture with Rome under Michael Cerularius, is not important: but during the two centuries intervening between the holding of the eighth general council and this final schism, they had certainly, at least a majority of them, received its decisions.[3] There is, in a word, as much evidence to prove that these councils are œcumenical, as there is to prove the same of the six preceding ones, which our

1 Pages 68. 69. 2 Page 47.

3 See Palma, vol. ii, part ii, p. 15, *et seq.*, and p. 26, *et seq*, and ibid, p. 89, *et seq.*, and p. 114, *et seq.*, for full proofs on the subject of the seventh and eighth general councils.

author receives. Objections had been made to all of them for a time; but they were all finally sanctioned by the body of bishops.

We have now finished our remarks on this epoch; and with them we also close this paper. We have not noticed one-half the passages we had marked for animadversion; but the few specimens we have been able to give will serve to show the general character for accuracy of Mr. Palmer's work, as also that of its Right Reverend editor. Our readers will probably concur with us in opinion, that Bishop Whittingham might have been much better employed, than in writing notes on Palmer's Church History. He might, for instance, have devoted his leisure moments to an answer to Archbishop Kenrick's book on the Primacy.

II. CHURCH HISTORY.*

ARTICLE II.—THE MIDDLE AGES.

A different Division suggested — Triumphs of the Church over Barbarism — Missionaries sent by Rome — The Ages of Faith — Auricular Confession — Testimonies of Tertullian and St. Cyprian — Nectarius and the Penitentiary — Puseyite View of the Holy Eucharist — Paschasius Radbert and Berengarius — Temporal Authority of the Pope and Bishops — Decretals of Isidore — Prerogatives of the Roman Pontiffs — Pope Julius I. — Greek Schism — Order of Pre-eminence — Michael Cerularius — Shaving the Beard — The Nicene Canons — Edifying Incident of St. Anselm — Modern Anglican Parsons — Vision of "Roman attempts at Usurpation" — Have the Promises of Christ failed? — The Roman Primacy acknowledged by the early Greek Church — And at Councils of Lyons and Florence — When was the Doctrine of the Primacy Defined? — Purgatory — Transubstantiation — Indulgences — Protestant *Indulgences* — Penitential Works — Repudiating the Debt — The Rosary — "The Pure and Holy One" — Temporal power of the Popes — Its influence on Civilization.

In our first paper, we extended our review of Mr. Palmer's work to the beginning of the third epoch of Church History, according to his division. In the present, we intend to offer some remarks upon the third and fourth epochs, which bring the history down to the reformation. To the period which has elapsed since this eventful revolution, we will have to devote a separate paper, which will be the last of this series.

We have already intimated that we did not approve of the idea of our author, which makes the year 680, — the date of the seventh general council, against the Monothelites, — a distinct era in Church History, on the ground that this was the *last* general council. We have briefly shown how unfounded is this assumption. We would have greatly preferred a less whimsical, and more rational division, and one, at the same time, more conformable to the great vicissitudes of ecclesiastical history. We would have divided the period which elapsed from the accession of Constantine the Great, as sole emperor, in the year 324, to the reformation in 1517, into four, instead of three epochs.

The first would have terminated with the fall of the Roman empire in the west, in the year 476, — an event of sufficient importance, surely, both in general and ecclesiastical history, to form a distinct epoch. This period, embracing one hundred and fifty-two years, witnessed the rise, progress, and condemnation of the four great heresies against the doctrines of the Holy Trinity and of the Incarnation; as well as the holding of the first four general councils, which St. Gregory 1. and the ancient fathers

* *A Compendious Ecclesiastical History, from the earliest period to the present time.* By the Rev. William Palmer, M. A., of Worcester College, Oxford. With a Preface and Notes, by an American Editor. New York, 1841, republished. 1 vol. 12mo. pp. 228.

revered as they did the four gospels. The second epoch would have closed with the crowning of Charlemagne, in the beginning of the ninth century, and it would have traced the first great struggle of the Church with barbarism, and her first successful efforts for the conversion of the northern nations. The third epoch would have closed with the consummation of the Greek schism under Michael Cerularius, in 1054; and it would have unfolded the triumphant termination of the struggles and efforts just alluded to. Finally, the fourth epoch would have terminated with the reformation; and it would have coincided with that of our author. This division seems to us more in conformity with the great phases of Church History. We will, however, continue our remarks on the division into epochs adopted by our Oxford historian.

EPOCH III, A. D 680 — 1054.[1]

This was, in a special manner, the period of the triumph of the Church over barbarism, in the conversion of the northern nations. Mr. Palmer gives us[2] a very brief and imperfect summary of facts on this subject; but he almost forgets to inform us, that the credit of those glorious triumphs is mainly due to the Roman Pontiffs. He merely tells us incidentally, that "at length Boniface went to Rome, by desire of Pope Gregory II., who ordained him bishop for the mission among the heathens east of the Rhine."[3] He might have told us the same of all the great apostles of the north, who were either sent directly by Rome, or who at least undertook their apostolical labors with the approval of the Roman Pontiffs. Even M. D'Aubigné, the unscrupulous Protestant historian of the reformation, admits as much. He informs us, that "the Germans had received from Rome that element of modern civilization, the faith. Instruction, legislation; ALL, save their courage and their weapons, had come to them from the sacerdotal city. Strong ties had, from that time, attached Germany to the papacy."[4]

We shall soon have occasion to see, in what language our author speaks of the abuses and corruptions of this period, in doing which he but re-echoes the stereotyped charges of prejudiced and partisan historians. As an offset to these accusations, and at the same time as a specimen of the admirable consistency of Puseyism, we will first give some of his admissions on the faith and piety of those much abused ages. In regard to the faith then prevalent he speaks thus:

"The same great truths of religion were universally adopted; the same Scriptures were diligently studied by all who had the means of doing so, — for in those days, before the invention of printing, when all books were transcribed by manual labor, they were both scarce and

1 From p. 76 — 106. 2 P. 75, *et. seq.* 3 P. 89.
4 "History of the Great Reformation," &c., in three volumes, 12mo. vol. 1, pp. 78, 79. Edit Carter, New York, 1843

expensive; and an universal appeal was made to the sentiments of the ancient fathers and councils in the interpretation of the Bible."[1]

In the very chapter in which he treats of the "abuses and superstitions" of the period under consideration, he has the following admission in regard to the state of religion at that time:

"And if, as we have reason to believe, a large portion of the community were (*was?*) accustomed to receive the holy eucharist three times a year, we may trust that the state of religion was in those ages not so bad as it has been sometimes represented; and the present age, with all its advantages of civilization, peace, and education, would perhaps scarcely be able to prove its greater attention to known duties, or its more conscientious obedience to the impulse of conscience."[2]

From the following extract it would clearly appear, that, even in his opinion, those ages of faith were far ahead of the present enlightened times in piety and devotion:—

"Nor has there ever been a period in the history of the Church, when the spirit of religion, where it existed, was more ardent and earnest. The religion of those times was less learned, less accomplished (!) less free from superstition (!), than that of earlier ages; but it can scarcely be said to have been less zealous, less productive of good works. Its characteristics were the deepest humility, renouncement of self, denial of the passions and even of the enjoyments and pleasures of the world; boundless charity to the poor; the foundation of churches, schools, and religious houses; diligent study of the Scriptures, singing of psalms, and much prayer. We see not merely one or two, but hundreds of men forsaking all their earthly prospects, the resorts of their youth, and the paths of ambition, to devote themselves to the conversion of the heathen. We see them desiring and rejoicing to die for Christ; and, by their patience, piety, and wisdom, bringing multitudes of heathens into the way of salvation. We see many of the most powerful monarchs engaged in all the exercises of continual devotion and charity, or descending from the summit of earthly grandeur to spend the remainder of their days in penitence and prayer. However sad may have been the calamities of the Church, and however great the faults of Christians, yet when we see such things as these, we cannot refrain from the conviction that the Spirit of God was still influencing the hearts of many people; nor fail to perceive that the Lord was still, according to his promise, always with his Church."[3]

The tree which produced such fruits as these must have been good, according to the rule of our Lord: "By their fruits ye shall know them."

Our historian confirms the truth of this admirable picture, by appropriate and well written sketches of the lives of many illustrious men who flourished during the period in question: of the Venerable Bede, of Charlemagne, of St. Boniface, of the martyrs of Amorium at Bagdat, of Alfred the Great, and of the anchorite, St. Nilus.[4] These examples are so well exhibited, that we are restrained only by our narrow limits from making our readers sharers in the unmingled pleasure we had in perusing them.

All that surprises us, is, that the Protestant bishop of Maryland did

1 Page 78. 2 Page 101. 3 Page 85 4 Pp 85—100.

not endeavor to mar the beauty of these sketches by the introduction of a few of his *little* notes! Perhaps the good bishop deemed this a work of supererogation, since Mr. Palmer, here as elsewhere, takes special pains to spoil his own work. He seizes the brush, and recklessly bedaubs his own picture, until scarcely a lineament of its former beauty remains.

Confession was one of the cherished practices of medieval piety. It was this great act of self denial which prepared the sainted men and women of that period for the heroic sacrifices which excite the admiration of our historian; — sacrifices to which, by the way, cold and lifeless Protestantism can offer no parallel. Let us see how our Oxfordite discourses on this subject:

"During these ages, the practice of private confession to a priest was not held generally to be a matter of necessity. We have already seen this custom abolished (as a pre-requisite to the reception of the Eucharist) in the east, by Nectarius, patriarch of Constantinople, in the fourth century, and by the majority of the eastern church. It was still practiced in many parts of the west, but was not regarded as an essential of religion. Bede and Alcuin recommended Christians to confess to the ministers of God all the grievous sins which they could remember. But others, as we learn from Alcuin and Haymo, would not confess their sins to the priest," &c.[1]

We would ask, do Protestant preachers now-a-days, with Bede and Alcuin, "recommend Christians to confess to the ministers of God *all* the grievous sins which they can remember?" Or rather, do they not inveigh, in season and out of season, against this whole practice of confession, as popish and encouraging sin? Do not the parsons of the church of England also join in the general outcry, although their own Prayer Book, in the order for the visitation of the sick, strongly recommends the practice?[2] Do they not rather belong to that class of negligent Christians, whom Alcuin and Haymo reproached, because "they *would not* confess their sins to the priest?" Catholic priests, at the present day, often feel it to be their duty to make a similar reproach to negligent Catholics, which fact, instead of disproving the general belief in the obligation of confession among them, on the contrary, clearly establishes its recognized existence.

The whole statement just given, is, in fact, untrue and unfair from beginning to end.

1. It is not true, that "during these ages, the practice of private confession to a priest was not held generally to be a matter of necessity." It would be very easy to accumulate proof to establish the fact, that, from the very beginning of the Church, the obligation of confession to a priest was generally recognized among Christians. The most ancient fathers, both Greek and Latin, bear unequivocal testimony, not only to the fact that confession was generally practiced in the ages in which they

1 P. 81.

2 This part of the Prayer Book has been *expunged* from the American editions. It was too *popish* to suit this latitude!

severally wrote, but also as to the other more important one, that its obligation was generally believed and felt. These two facts are indeed intimately connected with each other; for it would have been utterly impossible to induce men generally to adopt so painful an observance, unless they had been previously convinced of its obligation and necessity.

Out of a host of evidence bearing on the subject, our space will allow us to refer only to the testimony of Tertullian and of St. Cyprian, who wrote in the second and third centuries. Both of these fathers agree with all the others who have written on the subject, in enforcing the obligation of *exomologesis*, or confession to a priest. Tertullian says of confession:

"Wherefore confession, (*exomologesis*[1]) is a discipline for the abasement and humiliation of man, enjoining such conversation as invites mercy: it directs, also, even in the manner of dress and food — to lie in sackcloth and ashes, to hide the body in mean garments, to cast down the spirit with mourning, to exchange for severe treatment the sins which he has committed; *to fall down before the priests and to kneel before the beloved of God.*[2] All these things does *exomologesis* (confession) perform, that it may commend repentance; that by fearing danger it may honor God; that by itself pronouncing judgment on the sinner, it may act in the stead of God's wrath; and that, by means of temporal affliction, it may, I will not say frustrate, but clear off the eternal penalties."

Speaking of those who defer confession through shame, he says:

They "are more mindful of their shame than of their salvation, like those who, having contracted some shameful malady, avoid making their physicians acquainted with it, and so perish with their bashfulness. It is, forsooth, intolerable to modesty, to make satisfaction to their offended Lord! To be restored to the health which they have wasted away! Brave art thou, in thy modesty, truly, bearing an open front in sinning, and a bashful one in praying for pardon! . . . Verily, the concealment of a sin, promises a great benefit to our modesty! Namely, that if we withdraw any thing from the knowledge of men, we shall also, of course, conceal it from God! And is it thus, then, that the thoughts of men and the knowledge of God are compared? *Is it better to be damned in secret, than to be absolved openly?*"[3]

To extinguish this false shame and encourage the sinner to make his confession, he alleges the following strong motive; — which clearly proves the belief universally prevalent in the second century, that confession of grievous sin was necessary, and of Divine obligation:

"If thou drawest back from confession (*exomologesis*), consider in thy heart *that* hell-fire which confession shall quench for thee;[4] and first imagine to thyself the greatness of this punishment, that thou mayest not doubt concerning the adoption of the remedy. . . When, therefore, thou knowest that against hell-fire, after that first protection of the baptism ordained by the Lord, there is yet in confession (*exomologesis*) a second

1 The Greek word for confession, often used by the early fathers.

2 Presbyteris advolvi, et caris Dei adgeniculari. For *caris — beloved*, some editions read *aris — altars*.

3 An melius est damnatum latere quam palam absolvi?

4 Quam tibi exomologesis extinguet.

aid, why dost thou abandon thy salvation? Why delay to enter on that, which thou knowest will heal thee?"[1]

St. Cyprian writes not less clearly of the faith and practice of Christians on this subject, in the third century:

"None can escape the eye of God. He sees the heart and breast of every person; and He will judge, not only our actions, but also our words and thoughts. He regards the minds of all, and the wishes concealed even in the hidden recesses of the breast. In fine, how much loftier in faith, and superior in the fear (of God) are those who, though implicated in no crime of sacrifice, or of accepting a certificate, yet, *because they have only had the thought thereof, this very thing sorrowingly and honestly confessing before the priests of God, make a confession (exomologesis) of their conscience,* expose the burden of the soul, seek out a *salutary cure even* for light and little wounds, knowing that it is written, "God will not be mocked. . . . I beseech you, most dear brethren, let each confess his sin, whilst he that has sinned is yet among the living; while his confession can be admitted; while the satisfaction and the remission, made through the priests, are pleasing before the Lord."[2]

Many similar passages from the writings of these two and of other fathers might be alleged; but these will suffice to show that, even from the very earliest period, the obligation of confession to a priest was generally recognized. And it is not to be supposed, that this obligation was less sensibly or extensively felt during ages which, Mr. Palmer himself assures us, constantly "appealed to the sentiments of the ancient fathers and councils in the interpretation of the Bible."[3]

2. Nor is it at all true that "this custom was abolished in the east by Nectarius, patriarch of Constantinople, in the fourth century, and by the majority of the eastern church."[4] This is a most glaring perversion of history. Nectarius never even dreamed of abolishing *private* confession to a priest; nor did the majority of the eastern church ever think of any such thing. Such confession continued to be general throughout the Greek church after the death of Nectarius, as we learn from his successor, St. Chrysostom, (A. D. 397), and from all the historians of that period. This is altogether certain from incontestable evidence, which we could easily accumulate; and Mr. Palmer should be ashamed to assert the contrary.[5] Both the historians, Sozomenus and Socrates,[6] who relate the fact of Nectarius, plainly bear us out in our assertion.

The former introduces his account of the affair in the following words: "As to avoid all sin is more than human nature can do; and God has commanded pardon to be granted to those that repent, though they have often sinned; and as, in begging pardon, *it is necessary that sin should be at the same time confessed, it, from the beginning,* deservedly seemed to the priests a heavy burden, that sinners should proclaim their sins, as in a

1 De Pœnitentia, n. 8 — 12.

2 Confiteantur singuli delictum suum, dum adhuc qui deliquit in sæculo est dum admitti confessio ejus potest, dum satisfactio et remissio facta per sacerdotes apud Dominum grata est. — *De Lapsis*

3 P. 78, *sup. citat.*

4. Mr. Palmer had asserted the same thing more in detail on pages 32, 33.

5 See "Faith of Catholics," vol. III, p. 28, *et. seq.*, and Catholic theologians, *passim.*

6 They wrote in the fifth century, and continued the Church History of Eusebius.

theatre, in the presence of all the multitude."[1] He then goes on to state how, some time in the third century, a public penitentiary was appointed to receive the confession, and to enjoin suitable public penance; and how, from a great scandal which occurred in the church of Constantinople, Nectarius was induced, by the popular clamor and indignation, to suppress this office of penitentiary. This functionary presided over the distribution of *public* penances, and was a kind of *censor morum* His office once suppressed, things returned to their usual course, and Christians still believed, as the historian who wrote after the event, assures us, that "it was *necessary* that sin should be confessed." By the act of Nectarius, the office of *public* penitentiary alone was abolished, and with it the discipline of *public* confession, "as in a theatre," was done away with; but the obligation of private confession was still generally felt and acted on. You might as well argue from the breaking of an unworthy magistrate or judge, that the whole administration of justice was abolished, as to argue the general suppression of confession from this fact of Nectarius.

Socrates relates the whole occurrence in almost the same manner; and he unites with Sozomenus in expressing his decided disapproval of the conduct of Nectarius[2]. What both historians add, that after this suppression of the penitentiary, Christians in the east "were permitted to confess their sins to a priest, before communion, as their own judgment might direct them," besides that it had, as they both explicitly avow, no relation whatever to the western churches, could only be meant to imply that *public* confession to the penitentiary was no longer enjoined in the east.[3]

Mr. Palmer is heartily welcome to all the benefit, he or his admirers may be able to derive from these stubborn facts. His version of the matter is the same old stale and hackneyed charge, which had been already repeated and refuted a hundred times; and which, in spite of all evidence to the contrary, will perhaps still be repeated to the end of time by prejudiced smatterers, who may write what they will call *history*.

It is really curious to see how our author applies his strange Oxford theory in regard to the holy Eucharist, to the facts of Church History, during the period in question. If any one can clearly understand his real opinion on the subject, he must have clearer optics than ourselves, even with the aid of our Roman glasses; and Bishop Whittingham, as we shall see, only makes confusion worse confounded. Neither of them seems either to admit or to deny the real presence; they both halt *somewhere* between these two things; but whether they hold to the absurd system of Lutheran consubstantiation, or to the wholly unintelligible opinion of Calvin of a *real figurative* presence; or whether they have

1 Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. vii. cap. xvi.

2 Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ, lib. v. cap. xix For all the facts and evidence on the subject see Palma *Prælectiones*, vol. i, part ii, p. 141, *et. seq.*

3 See the notes of the learned Henry Valois on the ecclesiastical histories of Socrates and Sozomenus

struck out a new path or new paths for themselves, we are really not prepared to say. As our readers may, however, be more acute than we are, we will give them an opportunity of judging for themselves; merely recording our decided conviction, that there is, and can be, no rational medium between the full admission of the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation, and the unqualified rejection of the real presence altogether.

Mr. Palmer thus writes on the subject:

"In the ninth century, the doctrine of the holy Eucharist became the subject of discussion. It had never been denied by the Catholic Church, that this sacrament, when consecrated, continues to be bread and wine, according to the words of the apostle: 'the *bread* which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?' and of our Lord, 'I will drink no more of the *fruit of the vine*,'" *etc.*[1]

We humbly enter our solemn protest against the putting of this absurd interpretation, or rather perversion of the Scriptures, into the mouth of the Holy Catholic Church. The passage from St. Paul, and what the apostle farther says on the subject in the following chapter, clearly establish the Catholic doctrine of the real presence; and his calling the holy Eucharist *bread* after the consecration, only proves that it continued to have all the appearances and sensible qualities of bread; while the words of our blessed Lord, as clearly appears from St. Luke's gospel, do not refer to the consecrated wine at all, but merely to that used in the paschal supper, which preceded the institution of the holy Eucharist. All this has been proved over and again; nor does our present scope require or allow us to enter fully into a subject, which has been already fully elucidated.

The historian next proceeds to state, that Paschasius Radbert, a French monk, first introduced the doctrine of transubstantiation (!), and to censure Scotus and Berengarius for falling into the opposite extreme, of "declaring the Eucharist to be a *bare* sign of the body and blood of Christ, contrary to the universal belief of the Church."[2] Here the Right Reverend note-maker feels aggrieved, and undertakes to defend Berengarius after this wise:

"This was long held to be the case; yet not without doubt. (See *Mosheim.*) But it has lately been disproved by the publication of a treatise of Berenger, fuller and later than any before known, which plainly shows his view of the sacrament to have been different from that of Scotus."

The bishop here again proves himself much wiser than all antiquity, —wiser than the bishops of the eight different councils which successively condemned the errors of Berengarius from the year 1050 to the year 1080,—wiser than Berengarius himself, who repeatedly quotes and praises the opinions of Scotus. We are left to our conjectures as to the character of this "publication of Berenger, fuller and later than any

1 Page 80. 2 Ibid, page 81.

before known;" but we presume that it is not "fuller or later" than the unequivocal recantation of his errors, and profession of the Catholic faith made by him in the council of Bordeaux, in 1080; which confession of faith was satisfactory to the assembled fathers, and obtained his readmission into the bosom of the Catholic Church, from which he is not recorded to have again departed. This is surely the fullest and latest edition of the opinions of Berengarius.

But the bishop evidently wished to catch, in the meshes of Puseyism, the cunning arch-heretic of the eleventh century. If the facts of history would warrant it, we would cheerfully give him, not only Berengarius, but all the heretics of the olden time. In fact, the crafty and versatile archdeacon of Angers (Berengarius) would, we humbly think, have made an excellent Puseyite, had he only chanced to be born at Oxford in the nineteenth century! He had all the qualities requisite for a genuine Oxfordite. He had the knack of so wrapping up his real opinions in obscure verbiage, as to mystify and deceive his cotemporaries, including even many bishops. But Pope Gregory VII. was as cunning at least as he: he caught him at last, won him by kindness, convinced him of his errors, and caused him to recant, first in the Roman council held in 1073, and then, more fully and explicitly, in that of Bordeaux, in 1080. If the Puseyites, who have imitated him in his wanderings, would likewise imitate him in his return to Catholic unity, they would find Pius IX. as kind and paternal as was Gregory VII. But whether the Protestant bishop of Maryland be disposed to follow this "latest" example of Berengarius or not, we at least wish him more success in his effort to make Berengarius a Puseyite, than he has had in a late similar attempt on one Ratramn.[1]

On another page, the bishop gives, in a note, a very curious explanation of the manner in which, what he calls the "unholy tyranny" of Rome originated. As a specimen of sagacious reasoning, it is, in truth, a perfect curiosity in its way. Mr. Palmer had said that during this period "the bishops began to assume temporal authority—"[2] he would have said, more truly, that emperors and princes and circumstances *forced* it upon them. Now here is the editor's sapient note on the subject:

"It was clearly through these usurpations of the bishops that the unholy tyranny of Rome grew into being. The episcopal claims were gradually concentred in the one apostolical see of the west; and all the power that the weakness or wickedness of temporal princes had thrown into the hands of the spiritual rulers, was thus drawn to a single focus."

Well, we humbly think, and we say it with all due respect, that the bishop's wits were not "drawn to a focus," when he penned this strange note. To us it sounds like something very nearly akin to

1 For a learned and satisfactory account of Berengarius, see Palma, *Prælectiones*, vol. iii, part i, page 33, *et seq.*

2 Page 103.

downright absurdity. The bishops throughout the world acquired more power, and therefore more independence; and hence the Roman Pontiffs were enabled the more easily to establish their "unholy tyranny" over them! We would as soon undertake to extract logic and sense from the vagaries of Puseyism itself, as to gather either from this precious piece of argument!

Mr. Palmer attempts to account for the origin of this "unholy tyranny" in another way: he brings up again, for the hundredth time, the stale argument drawn from the spurious decretals, ascribed to Isidore Mercator. This argument had been dead and buried centuries ago; but our Oxfordite calls it up again from the tomb, hoping by the exhibition of the ghastly spectre to frighten — old women and children! for men of sense have long since learned to view it with a steady nerve; that is, if they can check the rising disposition to merriment, at the absurd importance attached to it by some superficial persons! Here are his words:

"The power of the Roman see in the western church was greatly augmented in the ninth century, by the fabrication of a large body of decretal epistles or ecclesiastical laws, which purported to have been written by the Popes during the first three centuries, and in which the judgment of all bishops, the holding of all councils, and a right to hear appeals from all ecclesiastical judgments, were claimed for the Roman Pontiffs," etc.[1]

Mosheim had gone a step farther, and boldly asserted, what our modest historian only plainly intimates, that the Popes themselves were concerned in this fabrication. The truth is, the Popes had nothing at all to do with the collection in question; nor can it be proved that Nicholas I. ever declared those decretals genuine, as Mr. Palmer asserts he did.[2] They were composed and circulated, some time in the eighth century, by some person calling himself *Isidore Mercator* or *Peccator*,[3] — a man so obscure that the learned are not yet agreed as to his origin, or even his name. He appears to have composed the work somewhere in Germany

1 Pages 103—4.

2 Ibid. The spurious decretals were circulated in conjunction with many other documents of undoubted genuineness; and the whole collection was soon received as having the force of law. Nicholas I. merely insisted on its authority as law, which it had already acquired by custom. The fact of its genuineness was not so much discussed as assumed. (Cf. *Epist. Nicholai I. Hincmaro Rhemens.*) Some additional light is perhaps thrown on this whole transaction by the fact, that it was not unusual in the fourth, fifth, and following centuries, for authors to write under assumed or fictitious names. Thus the writer who put forth the collection of canonical regulations, called the *Apostolical Constitutions*, probably some time in the fourth century, ascribed those laws to the apostles themselves: though they merely embodied the ecclesiastical discipline of the first four centuries; chiefly that of the Greek church. This collection is certainly spurious; yet it has considerable authority from the fact just named, and from the additional circumstance, that it had great weight in the fourth and following centuries. Isidore's collection borrowed largely from the one just named. In the fifth century, Vigilius Tapsensis composed several works under the fictitious name of *Athanasius;* and some critics believe that he is the real author of the works ascribed to Dionysius, the Areopagite. In those times, men did not care so much for the name of the author, as for the intrinsic merits of his book: and this circumstance may aid us in understanding, why the collection of Isidore was not more critically examined.

3 Some think that the real author of them was *Benedictus Levita.*

He states himself that his object in writing it was, — not to exalt the privileges of the Roman Pontiffs,—but to save the bishops from being annoyed with unnecessary litigation.

Will it be believed that a man so obscure, and writing in a part of the world so remote from Rome, would have been able to revolutionize public opinion in regard to the power of the Popes? Would a mere pettifogger of the present day be able, by putting out a new body of laws, to change the whole face of the science of jurisprudence, and to make men believe what they had hitherto rejected? It will be said, that this is an enlightened, and that the eighth century was a dark age. But even admitting all this, for the sake of argument, the parallel still holds good; for it requires not enlightenment, but mere common sense,— and men we presume always had common sense,— not to be led away by every driveler who may choose to broach a new system, or to publish a new book.

Had the spurious collection of Isidore contained aught that was not fully conformable to the canonical usages of the eighth and ninth centuries, it would certainly never have obtained the approbation it did receive. It passed current unchallenged, because it did but embody the principles of those and of previous ages. Nor was it entirely a fabrication; it was chiefly a tissue of passages extracted from the councils and fathers of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries. The only fault of the writer was, to have placed these words in the mouths of the Popes of the first three centuries. This, though a serious fault in criticism, was yet not one which seriously affected the substance of things. Something more than mere assertion will be necessary to prove that the principles embodied in this collection were new and before unheard of; or that the action on them by the Roman Pontiffs was generally resisted by "the bishops, especially those of France,"— as Mr. Palmer tells us.[1]

It could be easily proved, that all the prerogatives of the Roman Pontiffs,—"the judgment of all bishops, the holding of all councils, and a right to hear appeals from all ecclesiastical judgment,"— which our flippant historian assures us were first introduced by these false decretals, had been already generally recognized and brought into action for many centuries before.

Had not the third and fourth canons of the great council of Sardica, in the middle of the fourth century, expressly recognized the right of the Roman Pontiffs to receive appeals from all parts of Christendom, especially in controversies regarding bishops? Had not the Bishops of Rome exercised this right of their see from the very beginning, not only in the west but also in the east? Had not Pope Julius I. written to the Arians of the east, who had condemned St. Athanasius, as follows: "Were you ignorant that *it was customary* that we should be written to first, that *hence the first decision might issue?*" And does not the

1 Ibid.

Greek historian, Sozomenus, speaking of this letter of Julius, say: "There was a sacerdotal law, that those things should be held *null* and *void*, which were done *against* or *without the sanction of the Roman Bishop?*"[1] Had not the legate of the Roman see, in the general council of Chalcedon, (A. D. 451,) composed almost entirely of Greek bishops, insisted successfully on the exclusion from the council, of Dioscorus, patriarch of Alexandria, on the ground that he "had presumed and dared to celebrate a general synod without the authority of the holy see, *which never had been allowed, never had been done?*"[2]

A volume might be filled with such facts; but these will suffice to prove, that the spurious decretals effected no change whatever in the relations of the Church to the Roman Pontiffs.[3]

We must briefly advert to one more topic, and then we will close our remarks on the present epoch. Mr. Palmer tells our roundly, that the Greek schism was caused by the ambition of the Roman Pontiffs: "the east and the west were estranged by the ambition of the Roman Pontiffs."[4] Nothing could be more unfounded than this assertion. All the documents of history conspire to prove, that it was the unhallowed ambition of the bishops of Constantinople, and not that of the Roman Pontiffs, which originated and consummated this deplorable division of the Church. The see of Constantinople — called Byzantium before it became the seat of empire under Constantine the Great in 330 — was not even one of those which had been founded by the apostles or their immediate disciples. Originally it had no pre-eminence whatever; its bishops were merely the suffragans of Heraclea, the metropolis of Thrace. For the first three hundred and fifty years of the Christian era, it was never even mentioned among the principal sees. During all this time, there were only three great patriarchates, which ranked as follows: first, that of Rome; second that of Alexandria; third, that of Antioch.[5] This order of pre-eminence was generally recognized, and was followed in the proceedings of the first general council, — that of Nice, in 325.

It is curious to mark the various successive steps, by which this original order of things was disturbed, and the bishops of Constantinople arose to eminence by their own restless ambition, aided by the influence of the Greek emperors. This powerful influence repressed, if it did not silence, the murmurs of the bishops of Alexandria and Antioch, who could not but view with some displeasure this sudden elevation of the bishops of the imperial city, to the prejudice of their own long established rights. The first step was taken in the second general council convened at Constantinople, in the year 381, for the condemnation of the heresy of Macedonius, bishop of that city,— and we may remark here, *en passant*,

1 Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. iii, cap. x.

2 "Quia præsumpsit, et ausus est synodum generalem facere sine auctoritate sedis Apostolicæ, quod *nunquam licuit*, *nunquam. factum est.*" — *Concil. Chalced. Act.* i. Cf. Archbishop Kenrick "on the Primacy."

3 This whole subject is handled by Palma with his usual learning and ability. — *Prælectiones* tom. ii, part II, p. 124, *et seq.* See also Archbishop Kenrick "on the Primacy."

P. 5.

5 That of Jerusalem was of subsequent date.

that the bishops of Constantinople originated three at least, if not more, of the great heresies which disturbed the early Church!

The third canon of this council enacted, that "the bishop of Constantinople should have the first place of honor *after* the Roman bishop, because Constantinople is the new Rome." This is, to say the least, a very insufficient reason for a plain usurpation: but it marks the *real* source of the pre-eminence claimed by the Constantinopolitan bishops. The Roman see, and the Western Church, never approved of this canon. It was justly viewed as the commencement of an innovation fraught with danger to the Church. The forecast of the Roman Pontiffs has been, alas! but too sadly confirmed by the event.

Emboldened by this partial success, the ambitious bishops of Constantinople went a step farther. After the council of Chalcedon had closed its sessions in 451, and the legates of the Roman see had departed, Anatolius, then bishop of Constantinople, assembled a portion of the eastern bishops, and clandestinely enacted the famous 28th canon of that council which gave to the bishops of the imperial city, for the reason assigned above, *equal* honor and authority with those of Rome: and this too in the face of the solemn declarations of the same council in its sixteenth *action* or session: "We all see that, before all things, the primacy and the principal honor should, according to the canons, be confirmed to the most beloved Arch-bishop of ancient Rome!" It is needless to observe, that Pope St. Leo the Great, and with him all the western Church, strongly condemned this canon.

We pass over the arrogant assumption by John the Faster, — another bishop of Constantinople, — of the lofty title of *œcumenical* or *universal* bishop, — an attempt for which he was well rebuked by Pope St. Gregory the Great. We omit also to refer to some further indications of a similar pride in the proceedings of the Greek council in Trullo, in 692; or to the ambitious attempts of the bishops of Constantinople to encroach on the jurisdiction of the Roman patriarchate.[1] We come down immediately to Photius in the ninth century, who was certainly an ambitious usurper, foisted into the see of Constantinople by the power of the imperial court. His consecration was in every respect uncanonical and irregular; Rome very properly raised her voice against it, and succeeded in having the sainted Ignatius, the lawful bishop, re-established in his see. The schism was thus crushed for a time; but Photius was a man of great talent and versatility, and as untiring in his efforts as he was unprincipled. He succeeded, but too well, in poisoning the minds of many among the Greek bishops against Rome; and he was enabled to exercise this baneful influence the more effectually, after he had succeeded, by his arts, in being again constituted bishop of Constantinople, on the death of St. Ignatius.

Two centuries later, this suppressed animosity broke out into an open, and, with two brief intervals excepted, a final rupture with Rome, under

1 This is acknowledged in substance by Mr. Palmer himself — pp 104, 105.

the Constantinopolitan bishop, Michael Cerularius. Mr. Palmer himself admits, that this proud man was the aggressor, in the controversy which arose between him and Rome. He tells us that

"When Cerularius, bishop of Constantinople, wrote to the bishop of Trani in Italy condemning several of the rites and ceremonies of the Roman Church, and shut up the Latin churches and monasteries in Constantinople, the legate of the Roman see, Cardinal Humbert, insisted on his implicit submission to the Pope; and, on his refusal, left an excommunication on the altar of his patriarchal church of St. Sophia at Constantinople."[1]

Among the "rites and ceremonies of the Roman Church" censured by Cerularius in his letter to John, bishop of Trani, were the following:

"That the Latins did not abstain from things strangled and from blood; that they consecrated in unleavened bread; that *their monks eat hogs' lard;* that their *priests shaved their beards;* that their bishops wore rings like bridegrooms; that fast was kept on Saturday; and that *Alleluia* was not sung in Lent!"[2]

With this brief summary of undoubted facts, we leave our readers to decide, whether it was the ambition of the Roman Pontiffs which caused the Greek schism. We could easily show that in *all* the first eight general councils, composed too almost entirely of Greek bishops, the primacy of the Roman Pontiffs was distinctly and repeatedly recognized; and that in *all* of them the legates of the Roman see presided.[3] We must be content with one or two remarks on the proceedings of the first general council,—that of Nice, in 325.

The sixth canon of this council has often been cited against the primacy; though, even as it now stands, it says nothing opposed to this tenet. In many of the oldest manuscript copies of the Nicene canons, the phrase, "THE ROMAN CHURCH ALWAYS HELD THE PRIMACY,"[4] is inserted at the beginning of this same canon. It was found in the copy used by the Roman Church in the fourth century; and it was read and approved of in the sixteenth session of the council of Chalcedon. The passage which we quoted above from this council, immediately follows the reading of the Nicene canon with the clause referred to. That this clause was also found in the older collections of the Nicene canons, used in the east in the fourth century, would appear from a decree of the Emperor Valentinian against St. Hilary of Arles, in which instrument distinct allusion is made to this portion of the canon: "the *authority of the sacred synod* has confirmed the primacy of the apostolic see of Peter," &c.[5]

But our observations on the present epoch have already extended far beyond what we had originally intended, and though many things yet remain to be noticed, we must hasten on to the next æra.

1 P 106. 2 See Palma, vol. iii, part i, p. 62 *et seq.*

3 See, among other writers, Cabassutius—*Notitia Ecclesias.* p. 103, *et seq.* and Archbishop Kenrick "on the Primacy."

4 Η εκκλησια Ῥωμης παντοτε ειχε τα πρωτεια.

5 Cf Cabassutius, ibid, p. 111, *et seq.* vol. i, fol. Edit. Lugduni, 1702.

EPOCH IV, A. D. 1054—1517.[1]

Our remarks on this period will be necessarily very brief. It was signalized by the final conversion of many of the northern nations, and by the holy lives of such men as St. Anselm, St. Bernard, St. Laurence Justinian, and Thomas à Kempis. Our author furnishes beautiful sketches of the lives of all these illustrious men. We have room only for the following touching anecdote of St. Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, who died, A. D. 1109:

"He often retired in the day to his devotions, and not unfrequently continued the whole night in prayer. An anecdote has been preserved which shows how continually his mind was engaged on the great and awful realities of religion. One day as he was riding, at one of his manors, a hare pursued by the hounds ran under his horse for refuge; on which he stopped, and the hounds stood at bay. The hunters began to laugh at the circumstance; but Anselm said weeping 'this hare reminds me of a poor sinner on the point of departing this life surrounded by devils waiting to carry away their prey.' The hare going off, he forbade her to be pursued, and was obeyed. In this manner every circumstance served to raise his mind to God; and, in the midst of noise and tumult, he enjoyed all of that tranquility and peace which naturally arose from the continual contemplation of his God and Saviour, and which elevated him above the cares and anxieties of this life."[2]

This is a pretty good specimen of the good old Catholic piety in the middle ages. We doubt very much whether any Protestant archbishop of Canterbury has been endowed with any such sanctity; or whether any one of the modern fox-hunting parsons of the Anglican establishment was ever known to pause in the chase, to make any such pious reflections! What says Bishop Whittingham on this subject? He has not thought it necessary to append a little note here, for our special enlightenment.

We have much fault to find with many of our author's statements during this period; but, strange to say, we have little cause to blame his Right Reverend editor. This probably arises from the fact that his lordship, exhausted perhaps by his previous labors in the field of history, rests his wearied mind during these 364 years somewhat after the manner of the seven sleepers of old. The four small notes which he has dropped might have been penned *inter somnum et vigilias*, for all the importance they possess, or the information they convey! One of them seems to have been written, when he was just beginning to awake from a horrid dream of papal tyranny and "Romish" abominations. We must record this incoherent "note of a dreamer," and then we will leave his lordship to enjoy his slumbers undisturbed.

Mr. Palmer had, in the text, praised the refusal of the Greek church to submit to the primacy of Rome.[3] The episcopal note-maker here breaks forth in the following pious strain:

"It ought not to be overlooked, how the providence of God thus made the Roman attempts at usurpation (!) provide an insuperable bar

1 From p. 106—146. 2 Pages 120, 121 3 Page 130

to the subsequent claim of Catholicity to Romish (!) corruptions in doctrine and practice. The latter *might* have become universal but for the hostility awakened by the former."[1]

We will pass over the rhetoric of this passage. Now for the logic. If the "Romish" Church was not then Catholic, pray what church was? Was the Greek church, — confined as it certainly was to a comparatively small portion of the earth, —endowed with this attribute of universality? Though even this would not be so palpably absurd, as the pretension of the Anglican church to be the Church Catholic! As well might Bishop Whittingham pretend that Maryland is the whole world! Or had the Catholic Church, which the bishop professes to believe in, as often as he recites either of the two creeds still held by his church, vanished entirely from the face of the earth? What then became of the solemn promises of Christ? Besides it is truly unfortunate for the worthy editor's argument, that the Greek church then held, and still holds those identical "corruptions in doctrine and practice" which so much excite his bile against the "Romish" Church; and, as far at least as these are concerned, she agreed and yet agrees with the Roman Church. Perhaps the obstinate repugnance of the Greeks to the shaving of the beard, and to the use of hogs' lard by the monks, destroyed the Catholicity of the Church! We had quite forgotten this! We give it up!

We will now glance rapidly at some of the leading inaccuracies of our historian in matters of fact. Speaking of the primacy, he uses this sweeping language:—

"As for the eastern churches they rejected and denied this novel(!) doctrine which was never declared to be an article of faith by any general synod; for the synod of Lyons, in which this doctrine was advanced by the ambassadors of the Greek emperor to gratify the Pope, and by some Greek bishops who acted under intimidation; and the synod of Florence, in which it was forced on those Greek bishops who were present, were rejected by the Greek church. The latter synod, indeed, was of doubtful authority even in the west, as it consisted only of Italian bishops, while the rival synod of Basle was sitting at the same time."[2]

There are at least six palpable misstatements in this extract, besides other smaller ones expressed or implied.

1. It is not true, that this was a *novel* doctrine, as we have already shown. 2. It is not true, that this article was not defined by any general synod: it had been expressly declared to be the faith of the Church, and had been acted on as such, in every one of the six first general councils, which our author himself admits to have been œcumenical. This we have also seen. 3. It is not true that the Greek church, at least at first, rejected the general synod — the second of Lyons — held in 1274. They subsequently refused to admit its authority, but they had already approved of it, through their regular representatives at the council. 4. The same must be said of the council of Florence, which was only subsequently

1 Note, *ibid.* 2 Page 116.

rejected by the Greeks, chiefly through the perfidious conduct of Mark, bishop of Ephesus. This instability of the Greeks only proved the proverbial Greek faith — the *Græca fides ;* but it did not invalidate the acts of the councils in question, any more than the rejection of the first general council of Nice by the Arians had rendered null its doctrinal decisions.

5. There is no evidence to prove that, in the general council of Lyons, "the ambassadors of the Greek emperor" advocated the primacy to "gratify the Pope," or that in it "the Greek bishops acted under intimidation." This is all a paltry suspicion unworthy of an historian. This same council of Lyons was one of the most numerous that was ever convened : it was composed of five hundred bishops, both Latin and Greek, besides one thousand abbots and distinguished divines : and it certainly clearly represented the whole Church.

6. It is not true, that the council of Florence "was of doubtful authority, even in the west." The "rival synod of Basle" had degenerated into a schismatical conventicle, which had very few adherents ; and the whole western Church very soon after received the decrees of the Florentine council. Its canons were universally viewed as having emanated from a general council ; at least those which had been enacted before the departure of the Greek bishops ; — including the famous definition on the primacy, which was signed by the bishops of both the Greek and Latin churches. It is not true, that this synod "consisted only of Italian bishops;" the Greek church was certainly represented in it by some of its bishops ; and after the departure of these, the Armenian and Jacobite, and subsequently the Abyssinian bishops sanctioned its decrees, and were re-united to the Roman Church.[1] Were not the six general councils which Mr. Palmer receives, composed almost entirely of Greek bishops ? Was the Latin Church as fully represented in any of them, as was the Greek Church in those of Lyons and Florence ?

We should be endless were we to undertake the refutation of all the historical blunders, which our author has scattered over the pages that treat of this epoch. Here, for instance, is another curious extract from the same page as the one just given :

"The synod of Florence, just alluded to, was the first which taught the doctrine of purgatory as an article of faith. It (*not the synod, but the doctrine*) had indeed been held by the Popes and by many writers ; and it became the popular doctrine during the period under review ; but it was not decreed by any authority of the universal, or even the whole Latin Church. In the eastern church it was always rejected."

Even admitting, for the sake of argument, that the council of Florence was the first which defined this doctrine as an article of faith, would it thence follow that the doctrine itself was of recent origin ? It could only be inferred that it was never before questioned ; and that, therefore, there was no need of any definition on the subject. Would it follow from the fact, that the council of Nice was the first general synod which

1. Cabassutius, *Notitia Ecclesiastica*, in Concilia Lugdun. II, et Florentinum.

defined the doctrine of the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father, that this too was a new doctrine, unknown to the three previous centuries? Mr. Palmer himself admits, that this tenet of purgatory "had become the popular doctrine during the period under review;" which, in connection with the solemn promises of Christ to guard his Church from error, clearly proves that it was an article of divine revelation, — on the principles even of our Oxford divine!

It is not true, that "it was always rejected in the eastern church." The Greek church admitted it in the council of Florence, and, at least, impliedly, in that of Lyons. It had never been a bar to union between the churches, however their theologians may have differed on the secondary question, — whether the souls detained in this middle place of temporary expiation, are purified by a material fire? The ancient fathers, both of the Greek and Latin Church, who had occasion to refer to the subject, had unanimously agreed in maintaining the doctrine, as could be easily shown by reference to their works.[1] All the ancient liturgies of both churches had embodied this same article of faith. And even at present, not only the Greek church, but all the oriental sectaries still hold it as doctrine, and practice accordingly.

We are prepared to prove all this, and more besides. Let Bishop Whittingham only deny *one* of these facts, and we promise him proof to his heart's content.

We are also amply provided with proof to establish the falsity of the following statement, which we merely give as a specimen of Oxford skill in mystification:

"The council of Lateran (the fourth of that name, A. D. 1215,) indeed, had made use of the word *transubstantiation* to express the change by which the bread and wine become the sacrament of Christ's body and blood; but this word might be, and in fact was, used in many senses inconsistent with the Romish interpretation of it; and the object of the synod itself seems to have been merely to establish the old doctrine of the presence and reception of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament, in opposition to the Manichean errors."

This is, indeed, a curious piece of absurdity. It is worthy of Dr. Pusey himself. So Rome, we presume, must go to Oxford, before she can learn her own doctrines aright! This same doctrine of transubstantiation, besides being perhaps the clearest of all the doctrines contained in the Bible, could be also established by whole volumes of ancient testimony.[2]

Our historian tells us the truth, — who would have thought it? — about the doctrine of indulgences; but he complains, singularly enough, that their too great extension ruined the ancient penitential discipline of the Church:

1. See their testimonies accumulated in the "Faith of Catholics," *sup. cit.* See also the learned work of the Greek, Leo Allatius — "De Consensu Orientalis Ecclesiæ, &c., in dogmare Purgatorii." 1 Vol. 12mo. This work exhausts the subject. Wonder if Mr. Palmer ever heard of this learned publication!

2 See "Faith of the Catholics." — *sup. cit.*

"The plenary indulgence which the Popes issued, first to the crusaders, but afterwards to many other persons, completed the ruin of the penitential discipline of the Church. These indulgences, or pardons, were the remission of the lengthened works of penitence imposed by the ancient canons. All that was necessary to obtain them, was to confess to a priest all past sins (with true sorrow and purpose of amendment, we add,) to go to the crusade in Palestine or in some other country, or to perform some other work assigned by the Pope."[1]

One would think that this *all* was a great deal. Protestants have granted a much more ample indulgence than this: — they have abolished penitential works altogether, and with them every thing that is in any way painful to human nature! Theirs is at least a very easy way to heaven, provided it be only safe. They — the Anglican "Church Catholic" (!) always included — have swept off entirely, at one fell stroke, the whole ancient "penitential system of the Church." Why does not Mr. Palmer, and why does not the Protestant bishop of Maryland, make *some* effort to restore this same ancient penitential system?

Our author says, that the scapular "was now worn by some persons as a sort of charm;"[2]—we thought it was worn only as a *badge* of a pious confraternity. He ridicules the idea of the commutation of one penance for another, and laughs at St. Peter Damian for affirming,— for which fact we have only his bare word, — "that the repetition of the psalter twenty times accompanied by discipline (that is, scourging,) was equal to a hundred years of penitence."[3] This he calls an ingenious way of "paying the debt."[4] Protestants have discovered a far more ingenious way of paying this same debt of penance,— they have *repudiated* it altogether!

He cannot bear the idea of "sackcloth or haircloth worn next the skin, by way of voluntary mortification."[5] It is absolutely shocking to his delicate nerves, only to think of this cruel infliction! Nor can he relish the devotion of the rosary, introduced by St. Dominic. The Protestant sense of smell has become, alas! too obtuse to perceive the delightful fragrance of this sweet chaplet of *roses*, woven in honor of her, —"the pure and holy one,"— who is

"Our tainted nature's solitary boast."[6]

Though, in truth, the honor is given chiefly to her divine Son, from whom all her beauty is borrowed, and on whom it is again reflected back. "The sensual man perceiveth not the things which are of the Spirit of God: for it is foolishness to him, and he cannot understand; because it is spiritually examined."[7]

Our author complains of the power of the Popes during this period; he denominates it "the grand and crying evil of these ages."[8] He tells us two or three "rousing" ones, about the sainted Gregory VII;[9] which he would have himself detected as such, had he only opened the life of

1 P. 138. 2 P. 142. 3 P. 141. 4 Ibid. 5 P. 142.
6 Wordsworth. 7 1 Cor. ii, 14. 8 P. 132 9 P. 133

this great Pontiff, lately written by the Protestant historian, Voigt. He gives us an absolutely incredible account of some disputes between the Pope and the bishops of England:[1] but he takes special care not to give us the name of the Pope in question, though we *guess* he means the great Innocent IV.; nor does he furnish any authority whatever for his statement. We enter a simple denial of the entire account, and challenge proof. The author, in fact, seems to become absolutely unsettled in mind, whenever the Popes and his own dear England come into collision; or even when, without coming into actual conflict, they appear at all on the arena.

He should have borne in mind, that, but for the efforts of the Popes, and for the power they acquired in temporal matters by the free consent of the European nations, Europe would, in all human probability, never have arisen from barbarism nor progressed in civilization. That power was almost always put in requisition to check tyranny, and to succor the oppressed. The voice of Rome liberated the captive, struck off the chains of the serf, cheered the oppressed, and struck terror into the hearts of tyrants. Protestants have admitted all this.

Though we have marked many other passages for animadversion, yet we must here close our imperfect notice of the present epoch.

1 P. 135, *et seq.*

III. CHURCH HISTORY.*

ARTICLE III. — THE REFORMATION AND SINCE.

Necessity of calm impartiality — Protestant and Catholic views of reformation — Wickliffe and Huss — Oriental languages — Foreign and British reformation — Luther and Carlostadt Curious anachronism — Luther and Episcopacy — Anglican branch of the reformation — "Scruples of Henry VIII." — The new Gospel light — The Anglican Pope — Royal prerogative predominant — Cromwell Vicar General — Base servility of first Anglican Bishops — Fisher and Moore — Burning Protestants and Catholics — Palmer's theory of Anglican reformatiou examined — Downright tyranny — Trait of noble independence — Edward VI. — Married clergy — *Improvements* of Anglican liturgy — Return to unity under Mary — Bull of St. Pius V. — Henry's divorce — Reformation in Ireland — How the Anglican church was *persecuted* in Ireland — Dr. Lingard's testimony and proofs — Anglican saints — Ridley — McCauley's portrait of Cranmer — A parallel — Infidelity of Protestant origin — Anglican infidels — Suppression of Anglican convocation — Church and state — Where Voltaire learned infidelity — Infideis in Protestant Europe — French clergy during the Revolution — Did the French Revolution make any *Protestant* martyrs? — Conclusion.

We have now reached the fifth and last epoch of Church History, according to Mr. Palmer's division. It embraces the period intervening between the year 1517, — the date of the reformation, *so called*, — and the year 1839, — when our historian's work was published.

This is the most important and exciting era of ecclesiastical history. It is difficult to approach it with that even temper of mind, which is absolutely necessary to form a right judgment on its many startling events. Men are too apt to view these through the medium of their preconceived opinions; and we are not at all astonished that our Oxford historian, who had already given so much evidence of deep prejudice, should here have exhibited himself the thorough partisan. He hazards the following opinion as to the general character of this whole period: —

"Fifthly, the epoch (1517 — 1839) when a reformation being called for, was resisted by those who ought to have promoted it; when the western Church became divided; and at length infidelity came to threaten universal destruction."[1]

We would have drawn a different picture altogether of the period in question. We would have designated it as the epoch when a reformation having been called for in a violent and tumultuous manner, — by persons too who wished, under pretext of reform, to undermine the ancient faith, and who could not agree among themselves as to the nature or measure of the reformation asked for; — the demand was met by the Church in

**A Compendious Ecclesiastical History, from the earliest period to the present time.* By the Rev. William Palmer, M. A., of Worcester College, Oxford. With a Preface and Notes, by an American Editor. New York, 1841, republished. 1 Vol., 12mo. pp. 228.

1 P. 5. *sup cit.*

the only legal way, — by convening a general council to decide on the doctrinal points called in question, and to devise the most suitable remedies for existing evils in local discipline or morals; — when the decisions of this council having been rejected by those who had clamored for reform, and who had themselves appealed to its authority, these became estranged from the Church, and split up into sects almost innumerable; — and when finally the unsettling of faith, caused by this multiplication of sects, led men naturally to the frightful abyss of infidelity. This picture is much more conformable to the facts of history, even as Mr. Palmer reads them; and this we hope to prove in the course of the present paper.

Of Wickliffe and Huss, the boasted precursors of the reformation, our author writes as follows:

"Wickliffe had, in the preceding century, declaimed against the Popes and against several abuses, and he was closely followed by Huss and Jerome of Prague: but their opinions were mingled with much that was exceptionable, and they seem to have been unfitted rightly to conduct the mighty work of reformation."[1]

This is a very mild censure of men who were firebrands in society, and whose principles led directly to sedition, and to the breaking up of all social order. But still, mild as was the reproof, it seems greatly to have shocked the sensibility of Bishop Whittingham, who here drops this little note: "More ought to have been said of this great precursor of the reformation."[2] We think ourselves that the great Captain of the Lollards was treated with some neglect by the Puseyite historian; and merely to satisfy the bishop, we will here give a few, out of the many strange doctrines, broached by this great precursor of the reformation. They are taken, almost at random, from a list of forty-five propositions extracted from his writings, and condemned in the council of Constance,[3] in 1415.

"Prop. IV. If a bishop or priest be in the state of mortal sin, he does not validly ordain, nor consecrate, nor administer the sacraments, nor baptize.

"Prop. VI. God ought to obey the devil. (!)[4]

"Prop. XXVII. All things happen through absolute necessity.

"Prop. XXIX. Universities, places for study, colleges, taking out degrees, (*graduationes*) and professorships, were borrowed from paganism, and are of as much profit to the Church as the devil. (!)

"Prop. XXXII. To endow the clergy is against the law of Christ.

"Prop. XLIII. Oaths are unlawful, when they are taken to confirm contracts among men, or for commercial purposes."

We wish the bishop much joy of his "great precursor," who seems to have had a wonderful taste for letters, and to have taken a strange fancy for the evil one! The bishop would do well, before he attempt to administer the sacraments in future, or to make his visitation, to examine

1 P. 146. 2 Ibid. 3 Sessione VIII. 4 Deus debet obedire diabolo.

carefully whether he be in the state of sin, otherwise his acts might be wholly invalid ; and if he have any worldly gear, we would advise him by all means to give it to the poor without delay, as he would be else sinning against the law of Christ!

Among the causes which prepared the way for the reformation, Mr. Palmer places the following : —

"The introduction of the Greek and Hebrew languages (entirely unknown during the middle ages) rendered the study of the Scriptures in the original languages possible."[1]

In the assertion made in *parenthesis*, there is either a woful ignorance of history, or a willful misstatement. The Oxford divine may select between these two horns of the dilemma : — there is no escape. We might accumulate evidence to prove, that not only the Greek and Hebrew, but other oriental languages, were cultivated to a considerable extent during the middle ages. Is Mr. Palmer ignorant of the fact, that Cassiodorus, as early as the sixth century, revived the study of Greek literature in Italy, and that Theodorus, archbishop of Canterbury, introduced the same study into England, in the seventh century ? *Can* he have been ignorant that many men, during that whole period, copied and collated the Greek and Hebrew manuscripts of the holy Scriptures ? Has it wholly escaped him, that, about the year 1285, Pope Honorius IV., founded, in the university of Paris, a distinct professorship for the cultivation of the oriental languages, with a view to prepare missionaries for the provinces of Asia;[2] and that Pope Clement V., in 1311, founded professorships of Hebrew, Greek, Arabic, and Syriac ? How, in fact, could the missions of the east, which we know flourished greatly in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, have been carried on at all, without an extensive acquaintance with the oriental languages ?

Our historian speaks very differently of what he calls the "foreign reformation,"[3] and of that which took place in the British churches. He finds much to censure in the former, more however as to its manner than its matter ; the latter is entirely after his own heart. We said in our first paper, that his book was Church History set to Puseyism ; and his whole account of the reformation, both on the continent and in England, affords a clear proof of our assertion. He grievously misstates on almost every page. We have not space to notice, much less to refute *all* his errors in matters of fact. We will briefly unfold his theory, and then advert to some of his more egregious blunders.

He laments the manner in which the foreign reformation commenced:—

"At length the reformation began; but not as it could have been desired ; not promoted by the heads of the church, not regulated by the decrees of councils."[4]

1 Pages 146—7.

2 It is but fair, however, to say, that this design of the enlightened Pontiff was not immediately carried into full execution, at least in the university of Paris.

3 That in Germany, and on the continent of Europe. 4 P. 174.

After having spoken of the papal bull against Luther, he remarks:—

"Luther and his friends Melancthon, Carlostadt, and all who were of the same sentiments, were thus separated from the communion of the Pope, and of his adherents in Germany not voluntarily, or by their own act."[1]

A little further on he says:—

"It is to be lamented, however, that the Lutherans after a time forgot that their system was merely provisional, and designed only to last till a general council could be lawfully assembled. They then began to pretend that their ancestors had separated *voluntarily* from the western church, and justified this act by reasons which sanctioned schism and separation generally."[2]

These passages exhibit the gist of his theory. Perhaps the reader will incline to the opinion, that the Lutherans were much better judges of their real position than the Oxford divine. If the latter has read history aright, he must have come to the conclusion, that Rome had exhausted every expedient of clemency and forbearance, ere she struck the blow which separated the adherents of Luther from the Catholic Church; and that even after the bull had been fulminated, she left no means untried to reclaim those deluded men who were obstinately bent on separation. For this purpose embassy after embassy was sent into Germany; nor did this commendable solicitude cease until after the year 1535, when the outrageous treatment by Luther of the legate Vergerio, sent by Pope Paul III., cut off all hopes of conciliation.[3] The appeal by Luther to a general council,—as the event proved,—was merely a crafty expedient to gain time: his real and fixed purpose, almost from the beginning, was to FORCE a separation from the Church; and not all the efforts of the Roman Pontiffs and of the general council of Trent subsequently convened, could prevent this unhappy result.

The reader, who is at all conversant with the history of those times, can scarcely repress a smile when he hears it gravely asserted, that "Luther and his friend Carlostadt were of the same sentiments." They agreed about as well as fire and water; and the same may be said of all the leading reformers. It would puzzle even a Puseyite to reconcile Mr. Palmer's assertion, that the bull of excommunication against Luther was fulminated in the year 1521,[4] with the notorious fact, that Luther had burned this same bull at Wittemberg on the 10th of December, in the previous year 1520! Still greater ingenuity would be required to reconcile our author's flippant assertion, that "episcopacy was never rejected by the Lutherans,"[5] with the certain fact, that Luther, the father of the sect, was violently opposed to it during his whole life, and wrote a most inflammatory work against it.[6] This, with some other works of a similar character, drew from the Protestant historian Hallam the pungent

1 Ibid. 2 P. 150. 3 See Audin's Life of Luther, p. 472, *et seq.*
4 P. 147. 5 P. 150.
6 '*Contra falso nominatum ordinem episcoporum.* Though leveled chiefly at the Catholic bishops, this violent pamphlet aims at nothing less than the destruction of the episcopacy itself.

remark, that the arch-reformer's writings were little more than "a bellowing in bad Latin."

For the special edification of Mr. Palmer's admirers, we will give one short extract from the publication of Luther just alluded to :

"Listen, bishops; listen, you vampires and devils! The Doctor comes to read for you a bull, which will make your ears tingle. The bull of Doctor Martin is this : whoever aids with his corporal strength, or with his property, to destroy the episcopacy, and slay the order of bishops, is a cherished child of God, and a good Christian. If he cannot do that, at least let him condemn and avoid this body. Whoever defends the episcopacy, or obeys its mandates, is a minister of Satan. Amen."[1]

We might remark on many other false or unfair statements of our historian in reference to the foreign reformation, for which, notwithstanding his dislike of some of its proceeedings, very feebly expressed, he evidently cherishes a sympathetic feeling, But we must hasten on to his account of the reformation effected in the "British churches," under which name he includes those of Ireland and Scotland. We have already remarked, that whenever his own dear England is concerned, he seems to become absolutely unsettled in mind : and we defy any one to read his very lengthy account of the progress of the reformation in England, Ireland, and Scotland, without being convinced that a little learning and much bigotry "have made him mad." He devotes two whole chapters,[2] extending through thirty-eight pages, to this portion of his history,—if that can be called a history, which is a tissue of false statements almost from beginning to end. His account of what he calls the "Irish church,"[3] is well worthy of the man, who had the heartlessness to write the atrocious libel on the Irish clergy and people, which sometime ago appeared in the London Quarterly Review. Its perusal is enough to make one's blood boil in his veins, even if those veins are not Irish.

He gravely tells us of the "scruples of Henry VIII. as to the lawfulness of his marriage with Catharine, the widow of his elder brother,"[4] and of the manner in which Pope Clement VII. "protracted the affair by various expedients for six years," for which course he can find no better motive than the influence of the Emperor Charles V., Catharine's uncle; and this wise delay of the Pontiff he can ascribe to naught but "the arts and chicanery of the court of Rome."[5] He next proceeds to state that Henry was sustained in his application for divorce by "the universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Paris, Bologna, Padua, Orleans, Angiers, Bourges, Toulouse, &c., and by a multitude of theologians and canonists;" that the Pontiff still proving untractable, Henry "privately married Anna Boleyn," and that "the convocation of the church of England immediately afterwards declared his former marriage null, and approved that recently contracted."[6]

It is really difficult to have patience with a man, who thus glaringly

1 Cf Audin *ut sup.* p. 248. 2 Chapters xxii and xxiii, from p. 157 to 195.
3 P 167, *et seq.* 4 P. 158. 5 P. 158—9. 6 Ibid.

perverts, or miscolors the plainest facts of history. The *scruples* of Henry the VIII., forsooth! The *scruples* of the man, who was subsequently the murderer of his wives, and the unmitigated tyrant over his people! The *scruples* of the man, of whom it has been truly said, "that he never spared man in his anger, nor woman in his lust!" The *scruples* of the man, who wantoned in the sacrilegious spoliation of the monasteries and sanctuaries of religion, and whom all impartial men of every shade of opinion have long since branded as the Nero of the sixteenth century! The *scruples* of the man, who had already lived in perfect quietude of conscience with Catharine, the best of women and most virtuous of wives, for eighteen long years! She was a woman, too, whom even *he* could not accuse of any crime, except that of having grown old, and of having presented him no male issue;—a woman whom even *he* was compelled to respect to the hour of her death; whose gentleness, magnanimity, and piety, extorted homage from all her cotemporaries and from all posterity; and whose death caused even *him* to relent, to drop the unwilling tear, and to order his whole court to go into mourning!

And then, how did these pretended scruples awaken in his mind, after having lain dormant for so many years? How did the new gospel light break upon his hitherto clouded soul? How did he become so very scrupulous all of a sudden? Alas! it is useless to disguise the fact; all history proclaims it, and Henry's own conscience proclaimed it to him at the time. As the poet has caustically, but truly said,—

"The gospel light
First beamed from Anna Boleyn's eyes!"

Tired of an aged and virtuous wife, the royal founder of Anglicanism panted for new nuptials with another, whose youthful charms had already captivated his heart, and whose wily arts had rendered her inexorable to his wishes, except on the condition of supplanting the lawful queen, and becoming herself his queenly consort. The Pontiff was appealed to, to second the plan of the English king, and to grant the necessary dispensation: but the Popes had never flattered the vices of princes; and in this particular instance, Clement VII. would not consent to sacrifice his conscience, to trample upon the holy laws of God, and to be recreant to his duty towards a virtuous and much injured woman. After protracting the affair for some years, during which he tried every possible means to dissuade Henry from his purpose, he was at length compelled to decide against the divorce, on which the English king had already resolved. Henry became indignant; he sacrilegiously usurped the office of head of the Church in England; and the majority of the English bishops, won over by intrigue, worn out by harassing solicitations, or intimidated by menaces, were weak enough to sanction his wicked conduct.

Such is the true history of the origin of the Anglican church. We

wish it joy of its first founder and *pope;* — for Henry usurped the office of Pope in England, seized on the first fruits of the benefices which had hitherto been paid to the Roman Pontiffs, and pushed his *papal* prerogative much farther than ever Pope had done before. Instead of the mild and paternal authority of the Roman Pontiffs, who had ever been the champions of the poor and of the oppressed against the rich and tyrants, the Anglican bishops had now to wear, rivited on their necks, an iron yoke which they themselves had aided to forge. The sovereigns of England, whether male or female, whether infants or of mature age, whether sane in mind or idiotic, thus became absolute both in church and state! The only barrier to their tyranny was removed, and the liberties of England, which had been established by Catholics three hundred years before, now lay prostrate and crushed.

The champions of freedom, both civil and religious, were now doomed to atone for their rashness with their blood. The royal prerogative now became unlimited in its extent; it swallowed up every other element of government; and the parliament of England, once the fearless advocate of popular rights, now crouched with mean servility at the foot of a tyrant! And England had to pass through all the horrors of repeated civil wars and oceans of bloodshed, for one hundred and fifty years, ere the kingly power could be again restrained within its ancient constitutional limits, and her parliament could again assert the independence, which had so strongly marked its proceedings in the good old days of Catholicity.

This picture is not only not exaggerated, but it even falls short of the truth, as any one must be convinced who has but glanced at the pages of English history. Mr. Palmer tells us: —

"The convocation of the clergy in 1531 had acknowledged the king to be head of the Church of England, as far as it is allowable by the law of God;"[1] and that "in virtue of this office, which Henry seems to have understood in a different sense from that of the convocation, he appointed Lord Cromwell his vicar general and visiter of monasteries," &c.[2]

A small portion of the truth here leaks out. Had he been disposed to tell the *whole* truth, he would have stated, that this same Lord Cromwell, from having been the son of a fuller, had, by pandering to Henry's passion, become the first lord of the realm, — placed over the heads of all the princes both spiritual and temporal, and second only to the king himself! He would have told us of the unworthy arts, by which this creeping creature slandered the inmates of the monasteries, and thus succeeded in seizing on their immense property; a large portion of which he embezzled to his own uses, or that of his associates in the sacrilegious robbery. He would have told us, how this same lay vicar general lorded it over the bishops, and compelled them to resign their

1 P. 160. 2 Ibid.

authority, and to sue out new episcopal powers from the crown:[1] how those bishops were servile enough to submit to this exaction, and humbly to lay their mitres at the foot of the throne; and how the royal letters patent, which contained the strange new episcopal commission, assigned as a reason for this *indulgence* granted to the bishops, "that the king's vicar general, on account of the multiplicity of business with which he was loaded, could not be every where present, and that many inconveniences might arise, if delays and interruptions were admitted in the exercise of his authority."[2]

Alas! for the sycophancy of the first Anglican bishops. How it contrasts with the undaunted courage of the English bishops in the good old Catholic times! Where was then the spirit of an Anselm, of a Langton, and of a Thomas à Becket? Was there no *man* among the English bishops of that day? There was one, and but one, — we are pained to avow it, — a venerable octogenarian, the cherished counselor of Henry's father, and his own early preceptor, Fisher, bishop of Rochester: — honor to his gray hairs! *He* would not sacrifice his conscience at the bidding of a tyrant: and his head, which would not bow to an unholy despotism, was struck off by order of Henry! The despot had the heartlessness to taunt this venerable man, who in cosnideration of his transcendent merits had just been named cardinal by Pope Paul III., with this inhuman jeer: "Paul may send him the hat, I will take care that he have never a head to wear it on."[3]

Another illustrious hero, perhaps the greatest man then in England, fell a victim to Henry's tyranny. Sir Thomas Moore, lately lord chancellor of England, would not subscribe to the new doctrine of the king's supremacy. After a mock trial, in which all the forms of law were openly set at defiance, he was condemned to die the death of a traitor. And this hard lot befel every man, who had the conscience and the courage to resist Henry's will, in this or in any other particular! Protestants and Catholics were tied together and burnt at the same stake, if they ventured to believe more or less than suited the royal standard. No one *can*, or will even *dare* deny these facts; and yet we hear men coolly talking of Henry's scruples!

Is it possible, that a church, which originated under these circumstances, was the Church of Christ? Is it credible, that that was the Church of Christ, which came into existence at the bidding of a tyrant, which changed in each successive reign according to the royal pleasure and the will of the parliament, and the liturgy of which was moulded and remoulded, time and again, according to the caprice of the sovereign, male or female, who chanced to be reigning at the time?

We know now what value to set on the oft repeated assertion of our author, that by the general consent and voice of the English bishops and clergy, "the ordinary jurisdiction of the Pope over England was

1 See Lingard's History of England — Henry VIII., p. 178. First American edition. Philadelphia, 1827. 2 Ibid. 3 Lingard, ibid. p. 171.

regularly and lawfully suppressed."[1] This is, in fact, according to his theory, the distinguishing feature of the English reformation; this the greatest boast of its advocates. These contend that the English church reformed itself by its own free and spontaneous act; and that in asserting its independence of Rome it merely re-established its ancient rights. We have already seen how entirely unfounded is the pretension set forth in the last clause. It is easy to show that the other assertion, on which the theory mainly rests, is a mere assumption, wholly unsustained by evidence.

Was that a *free* consent, which was extorted by menaces, backed by the halter and the stake? Was that a regular and lawful proceeding, which was every where marked by violence? The English bishops had but the alternative; to subscribe to the supremacy of Henry, or to lay their heads on the block. Most of them chose the former, yet not without great and manifest reluctance. The opposition to the arbitrary proceedings of the king and of his vicar general, was both wide spread and deeply seated; but its murmurs were soon stifled in the blood of those who thus had the courage even to whisper dissent.

To silence this opposition, Henry issued injunctions "that the very word *Pope* should be carefully erased out of all books employed in the public worship; that every schoolmaster should diligently inculcate the new doctrine to the children entrusted to his care; that all clergymen, from the bishop to the curate, should on every Sunday and holiday teach that the king was the true head of the Church; and that the authority hitherto exercised by the Popes was a usurpation, tamely admitted by the carelessness or timidity of his predecessors; and that the sheriffs in each county should keep a vigilant eye over the conduct of the clergy, and should report to the council the names, not only of those who might neglect these duties, but also of those who might perform them indeed, but *with coldness and indifference*."[2]

Was there ever tyranny like this? We know of scarcely a parallel to it, save in the similar proceedings which were adopted towards the bishops and clergy in the subsequent reigns of Edward VI. and Elizabeth. If there is any truth in history, or any reliance to be put in the statute book of England, the whole reformation in that country was the offspring of guilty passion, and the work of violence and tyranny. Had there been in that kingdom a greater number of such men as Fisher and Moore, or had the English bishops possessed aught of the spirit which did so much honor to many of the monks, the bluff old tyrant, Henry, and his mischievous and barren progeny,—Edward and Elizabeth—might have been foiled in their wicked attempt to break up Christian unity.

Every one knows the noble reply of the two friars, Peyto and Elstow, to the barbarous threat of Cromwell—"that they deserved to be enclosed

1 P. 160

2 Statute 26 Henry VIII., 1, 3, 13. Wilk. Con. iii. 780—782. Apud Lingard. *ibid.* p. 168.

in a sack and thrown into the Thames." "Threaten these things," they said, "to rich and dainty folk, which are clothed in purple, fare deliciously, and have their chiefest hopes in this world. We esteem them not. We are joyful, that for the discharge of our duty we are driven hence. With thanks to God, we know that the way to heaven is as short by water as by land, and therefore care not which way we go."[1]

We have not a doubt, that had the monasteries in England been less wealthy, they would never have been suppressed; and that the body of English bishops would never have apostatized as they did, had they not unhappily belonged to the class of "rich and dainty folk." The wealth munificently bestowed on the Church by Catholic piety during the middle ages, and which, before the reformation, had been employed in erecting noble edifices to religion and to charity, thus became ultimately injurious in its influence on the English church. It was a rich bait to the avarice of those who clamored for reform, and the fear of its loss was a powerful inducement to the bishops and higher clergy to side with Henry VIII. The apostacy once consummated, this same mass of wealth was a golden chain of iniquity, which strongly and sweetly bound the Anglican bishops to the new order of things.

And we really know of no means by which the Anglican church can be again restored to Catholic unity, but the breaking of this same chain by the state, and the abandonment of that church to its own resources. Timid Puseyism would then probably ripen into open Catholicism; its crooked ways would then be made straight; and its many tortuous windings would give place to the one straight path which leads to the holy city of God. Till the English church establishment be broken up, — till this great fountain of evil be removed, we are far from being sanguine in the hope, that England is likely to return to the bosom of Catholic unity. Here and there, a disinterested and generous individual may break his chains, and assert his independence of a corrupt establishment; but, at least humanly speaking, we see little reason to believe that this blessed result will become general in England.

We should be endless were we to notice all the unfounded and absurd statements of our author on the English reformation. He says:

"On the death of Henry VIII., in 1547, and the accession of Edward VI., the work of the reformation proceeded freely. . . . . The clergy were permitted to marry, and the public prayers were translated from the old Latin offices of the English church, with various improvements(!) from the Greek and oriental liturgies."[2]

The permission of the clergy to marry was a decided improvement, not only on the ancient discipline of the Catholic Church, but also on the example and earnest advice of St. Paul.[3] Henry VIII., though he dearly prized the privilege of a young wife for himself, was so cruel as

1 Apud Lingard. *ibid.* p. 169. 2 P. 161. 3 See 1 Cor. vii, entire chapter.

to deny this indulgence to his clergy ;[1] but the "boy king," it seems, was more tender-hearted !

The improvements in the English liturgy were indeed many and various : first, the idea of the real presence and of a true sacrifice, which had been deemed essential to every previous liturgy, whether Latin, Greek, or Oriental, was carefully excluded ; and secondly, the liturgy itself was studiously *amended* at least three times, just as the English parliament happened to become more enlightened ! There was surely no lack of improvement !

It is really curious to observe, how our author laments the return of the Anglican church to Catholic unity under Mary.[2] The voluntary consent of the parliament and bishops; which had "regularly and lawfully" suppressed the power of the Pope, was incompetent, it seems, to restore that same power: the bishops who were then put into the sees which had been desecrated by intruders under the reign of Edward VI., were themselves but "popish intruders," who, under the "illustrious Elizabeth, were expelled by the civil power :"[3] and under this *virgin* queen, the Church of England was again established on a permanent basis ! We scarcely have so poor an opinion of Mr. Palmer's intellect, as to suppose, even for a moment, that he could really have been serious while writing out these palable absurdities.

If any thing can surpass the cool assurance of the following passages, we must say, that we have not chanced to meet with it in all our reading. We give them for what they are worth ; merely premising, that in the first he is speaking of the bull of St. Pius V., which excommunicated Elizabeth and her adherents : —

"This bull caused the schism in England ; for the popish party, which had continued in communion with the Church of England up to that time, during the eleven past years of Elizabeth's reign, now began to separate themselves. Bedingfield, Cornwallis, and Silyarde, were the first popish recusants ; and the date of the Romanists in England, as a distinct sect or community, may be fixed in the year 1570."

"King James I. wisely (!) discouraged the Roman schism, and forbade the residence of its bishops, priests, and Jesuits in his dominions ; but under his successor Charles I., a relaxation of this wholesome severity encouraged the schismatics to insult and disturb the Church, and ultimately, in 1641, to massacre in cold blood one hundred and fifty thousand of its adherents, and to break into insurrection."[4]

We had also intended to insert here another extract[5] breathing a similar spirit, in which Mr. Palmer clearly approves of the late high-handed tyranny of the king of Prussia in imprisoning some Catholic bishops ; and we had also purposed to examine his flippant statements in regard to the opinions of the universities in the matter of Henry's divorce. But want of space compels us to omit the former, and for the latter, we must be content with a reference, in the margin, to Dr. Lingard's

1 Cranmer, however, outwitted him in this.

2 P. 162. 3 P. 163. 4 P. 170. 5 P. 200.

luminous proofs on the subject.[1] He abundantly establishes the fact, that the opinions of all the universities, including the two in England, were obtained by bribery, or were reluctantly given, after the practising, by Henry's agents, of the vilest arts and the lowest trickery.

We must hasten on in our rapid notice of Mr. Palmer's statements. He devotes four pages[2] to an account of the "churches of Ireland," — and such an account! We sincerely believe that there is nothing to equal it, in reckless mendacity and utter atrocity, in all the volumes which the press has sent forth since it was first put in operation. He begins his history of the reformation in Ireland, in these words:

"The churches of Ireland have been suffering severely from the persecutions of Romanists for many years past."

And he ends it with this memorable passage:

"From that period (1798), the Romish party has acquired great political power, and the church has been almost continually persecuted, especially within the last few years, in which the clergy have been reduced nearly to starvation; some have been murdered, and many placed in peril of their lives. To add to their afflictions, the government, in 1833, suppressed ten of the bishoprics on pretense of requiring their revenues for the support of ecclesiastical buildings; although the bishops of Ireland in a body protested against such an act, and offered to pay the amount required from the incomes of their sees, provided that so great an injury were not done to the cause of religion."[3]

The reader may judge of the spirit which pervades the whole account from these two specimens. Only think of it! The miserable faction of self-called reformers, which was thrust upon Ireland by open violence, and by that government too which has ever been the most deadly enemy of her dearest rights, both temporal and eternal; — the faction which has, for the last three hundred years, been sitting, like an *incubus*, upon the green ocean Isle, weighing down her energies, and crushing her people in the dust; — the faction which has been draining her treasure, and, vampire like, sucking her very blood; — the faction which has sowed religious dissensions and civil feuds broadcast on her lovely soil; — the faction which has reveled in the misery and wretchedness of her people, and wantoned in the blood of her murdered sons and daughters: — this same miserable faction now has the effrontery to stand forth, and unblushingly to cry out persecution! O shame! O shame!!

If it was a bitter curse for Ireland, when the Saxon first set foot upon her green soil, it was a curse a hundred fold more dreadful, when the myrmidons of the reformation seized on and desecrated her beautiful churches, and after having plundered them and destroyed her monasteries and houses of education, sat down with complacency amidst the ruins they had caused. And now, for the children of these sacrilegious spoilers of all that she deemed sacred and held dear, to have the assu-

1 History of England — Henry VIII. — p. 135, *et. seq.*, and note D.
2 P. 167, *et. seq.*
3 P. 170

rance to come forth, and to taunt her, whom they have so atrociously injured, with persecution, is really too bad, — it is intolerable. The less the Anglican church says about its doings in Ireland, the better for its advocates. The very name of Ireland should raise a blush upon the cheek of every Anglican, — if English Protestant cheeks *can* blush for any atrocity of which England has been guilty towards that unhappy country.

It would be easy for us to prove, that almost every important statement which our author makes on this subject, is not only wholly unfounded, but utterly false. We will notice only a few out of many. Of the first attempt to introduce the reformation into Ireland, under Henry VIII., he says:

"Henry VIII. caused the papal jurisdiction to be abolished, in 1537, by the parliament (Irish). The bishops and clergy generally assented (!) and several reforms (!) took place during this and the next reign." [1]

Dr. Lingard, himself an Englishman, proves by incontestable evidence, that "Henry's innovations in religion were viewed with equal abhorrence by the indigenous Irish, and the descendants of the English colonists;" that the parliament which abolished the jurisdiction of the Pope was not the true representative of Irish opinion, but the mere echo of English feelings,— a miserable body of mere creatures of the English court, which "one day confirmed the marriage of the king with Anne Boleyn, and the next, in consequence of the arrival of a courier, declared it to have been invalid from the beginning;" that it was impossible to enforce among the Irish people this parliamentary enactment; and that "the two races combined in defence of their common faith," causing "repeated insurrections." [2] All this he proves from the Irish statute book, and from other authentic documents; and, so far as we know, his statement on this subject has never been controverted; his proofs have certainly never been met, nor his arguments answered.

Our author tells us, that —

"When Elizabeth succeeded, the former laws were revived, the papal power again rejected, and the royal supremacy and the English ritual again introduced. These regulations were approved by seventeen out of nineteen Irish bishops in the parliament of 1560, and by the rest of the bishops and clergy who took the oath of supremacy, and remained in the possession of their benefices. The people also generally acquiesced, and continued to attend on divine service for several years." [3]

We unhesitatingly pronounce all that is contained in the two last sentences utterly untrue, which qualification we apply with still greater emphasis to almost everything that follows on the subject. Dr. Lingard shows from the statute book of Ireland, that "both the nobility and the people abhorred the change in religion, and that the new statutes were carried into execution in those places only where they *could be enforced*

1 Page 167. 2 History of England—Henry VIII.—pp. 246, 247. 3 Page 167.

at the point of the bayonet."[1] Even the heartless tyrant, Henry VIII., could not, either by menaces or bribery, induce more than one of the Irish bishops to apostatize,—Brown, archbishop of Dublin,—and he was an Englishman by birth.[2] Under Edward VI., this supple courtier-prelate induced four other Irish bishops to become as reckless as himself;[3] but in both cases, the archbishops of Armagh,—Cromer and Dowdal,—as well as the great body of the Irish bishops, and clergy remained faithful to the ancient Church and the holy See. Is it to be believed, that during the intervening reign of the Catholic Queen Mary, the Irish Catholic bishops became more inclined to apostatize?

Mr. Palmer devotes an entire chapter[4] to rather lengthy sketches of the lives of various Anglican *saints* and divines. Nicholas Ridley, *the martyr*, stands at the head of the list. He winds up his account of this man with the following pious rhapsody:

"Thus died the illustrious martyr—or rather thus did he enter eternal life; and it may be said with truth that never, since the days of the apostles, was there a nobler manifestation of Christian faith and heroism. It was worthy of the brightest days of the primitive Church; and not even Polycarp, in the amphitheater of Smyrna, exceeded the glory of Nicholas Ridley."[5]

We apprehend that Polycarp did not change his religious creed, like Ridley; nor, like him, assist in persecuting others for believing more or less than himself. Lingard tells us, on the authority of the State Papers and of Wilkins, that "as under Henry VIII. Ridley had been employed to examine and detect sacramentaries, so, under the son of Henry. (Edward VI.,) he sate in judgment on the condemnation of heretics.' We nowhere read that Polycarp retracted his belief to save his life, as Ridley did in prison;[7] much less that he ever turned traitor to his lawful sovereign, and sought to stir up civil war. It was for this crime of treason chiefly, that Ridley suffered death. He had preached openly against Queen Mary, at St. Paul's Cross, London; and he was one of the most influential of those traitors who assisted in setting up the unfortunate Lady Jane Grey. He may do for an Anglican saint; he could never pass the rigid ordeal requisite for canonization in the Catholic Church.

By the way, why did not Mr. Palmer let us have a sketch of the great patriarch of Anglicanism,—a sort of spiritual vicar general under Henry VIII., and the ever pliant tool of this real founder of the Anglican church,—Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury? Was this unscrupulous courtier too bad to be placed even on the calendar of Protestant saints? Was the Oxford divine frightened by the striking likeness drawn of him by the distinguished Protestant

1 Elizabeth, p. 95. Irish Statutes, 2 Eliz. 1, 2, 3.
2 Lingard, *sup cit.*—Henry VIII.—p. 246. 3 Ibid.—Edward VI.—p. 78. 4 Chap. xxiii.
5 Page 179. 6 History of England, vol. vii, p 195. Edit. Dolman, London, 1845.
7 He subsequently retracted this retraction, and died with courage.

writer, Macaulay? He was almost as great a saint as Ridley; in fact, in many respects the former far outstripped the latter.

We subjoin Macaulay's estimate of the English reformation in general, and of the character of Cranmer in particular. :—

"They (the English Reformers) were,—a king, whose character may be best described, by saying, that he was despotism itself personified; unprincipled ministers; a rapacious aristocracy; a servile parliament. Such were the instruments by which England was delivered from the yoke of Rome. The work, which had been begun by Henry, the murderer of his wives, was continued by Somerset, the murderer of his brother; and completed by Elizabeth, the murderer of her guest.

"If we consider Cranmer merely as a statesman, he will not appear a much worse man than Wolsey, Gardiner, Cromwell, or Somerset; but when an attempt is made to set him up as a saint, it is scarcely possible for any man of sense, who knows the history of the times well, to preserve his gravity. The shameful origin of his history, common enough in the scandalous chronicles of courts, seems strangely out of place in a hagiology. Cranmer rose into favor by serving Henry in the disgraceful affair of his first divorce. He promoted the marriage of Anna Boleyn with the king. On a frivolous pretence, he pronounced it null and void. On a pretence, if possible still more frivolous, he dissolved the ties which bound the shameless tyrant to Anne of Cleves. He attached himself to Cromwell, while the fortunes of Cromwell flourished; he voted for cutting off his head without a trial, when the tide of royal favor turned. He conformed backwards and forwards, as the king changed his mind. While Henry lived, he assisted in condemning to the flames those who denied the doctrine of transubstantiation; when Henry died, he found out that the doctrine was false. He was, however, not at a loss for people to burn. The authority of his station, and of his gray hairs, was employed to overcome the disgust, with which an intelligent and virtuous child regarded persecution.

"Intolerance is always bad; but the sanguinary intolerance of a man who thus wavered in his creed, excites a loathing to which it is difficult to give vent, without calling foul names. Equally false to political and to religious obligations, he was first the tool of Somerset, and then the tool of Northumberland. When the former wished to put his own brother to death, without even the form of a trial, he found a ready instrument in Cranmer. In spite of the canon law, which forbade a churchman to take any part in matters of blood, the archbishop signed the warrant for the atrocious sentence. When Somerset had been, in his turn, destroyed, his destroyer received the support of Cranmer in his attempt to change the course of the succession.

"The apology made for him by his admirers, only renders his conduct more contemptible. He complied, it is said, against his better judgment, because he could not withstand the entreaties of Edward! A holy prelate of sixty, one would think, might be better employed by the bedside of a dying child, than in committing crimes at the request of his disciple. If he had shown half as much firmness when Edward requested him not to commit murder, he might have saved the country from one of the greatest misfortunes that it ever underwent. He became, from whatever motive, the accomplice of the worthless Dudley. The virtuous scruples of another young and amiable mind were to be overcome. As Edward had been forced into persecution, Jane was to be seduced into usurpation. No transaction in our annals is more

unjustifiable than this. To the part which Cranmer, and unfortunately some better men than Cranmer, took in this most reprehensible scheme, much of the severity with which Protestants were afterward treated, must, in fairness, be ascribed.

"The plot failed, Popery triumphed, and Cranmer recanted. Most people look upon his recantation as a single blemish on an honorable life,—the frailty of an unguarded moment. But, in fact, it was in strict accordance with the system on which he had constantly acted. It was a part of a regular habit. It was not the first recantation that he had made; and in all probability, if it had answered his purpose, it would not have been the last. We do not blame him for not choosing to be burnt alive. It is no very severe reproach to any person, that he does not possess heroic fortitude. But, surely, a man who liked the fire so little, should have had some sympathy for others. A persecutor who inflicts nothing which he is not ready to endure, deserves some respect; but, when a man who loves his doctrine more than the lives of his neighbors, loves his own little finger better than his doctrines, a very simple argument *a fortiori*, will enable us to estimate the amount of his benevolence.

"But his martyrdom, it is said, redeemed everything. It is extraordinary, that so much ignorance should exist on this subject. The fact is, if a martyr be a man who chooses to die rather than renounce his opinions, Cranmer was no more a martyr than Dr. Dodd. He died solely because he could not help it. He never retracted his recantation, till he found he had made it in vain. If Mary had suffered him to live, we suspect that he would have heard mass, and received absolution like a good Catholic, till the accession of Elizabeth; and that he would then have purchased, by another apostacy, the power of burning men better and braver than himself."

In this whole matter of Anglican saints, we cannot fail to observe, even in the highly-wrought portraits of our author, a sad want of those qualities which, in the Catholic times, invariably marked the true saint:—humility of heart and action, mortification, disinterestedness, self-devotion, penitential austerities,—such as fasting, long prayers and corporal maceration,—and an entire abstraction from the world.

Mr. Palmer himself furnishes us ample materials for making this comparison. Let the reader only peruse his well-written sketches of the lives of Saints Francis Xavier, Charles Borromeo, Francis de Sales, and Vincent de Paul,[1] and compare their lives and conduct, as there set forth, with the lives and conduct of the Anglican saints alluded to, and he will at once detect which is the genuine, and which the counterfeit. We wish that our limits permitted us to make the comparison in full; but we must forego this pleasure, and leave the readers of Mr. Palmer's book to make it for themselves.

There is, however, one point on which we must dwell for a few moments, ere we bid a final adieu to Mr. Palmer's "Compendious Ecclesiastical History;" we mean the downward tendency of Protestantism, even of Anglican Protestantism, as admitted by himself. Catholic writers have often declared that infidelity is of Protestant origin; and we would ask no better proofs of this assertion than those

1 Chapter xxv.

afforded by our historian's own avowals. We will allege a few of his testimonies bearing on this point. He speaks of the practical tendency of Lutheranism as follows:

"In the middle of the following century (the eighteenth), a spirit of false liberality and skepticism began to infect the Lutheran communities. The Confession of Augsburg, and other formularies of the sixteenth century, to which their ministers had subscribed, lost their authority, and an unbounded freedom of opinion on all points was encouraged. The result was, the rise of a party headed by the notorious Semler, who, under the mask of Christianity, explained away all the doctrines of revelation, denied the miracles and other facts of sacred history, and subverted the genuineness and authenticity of the Bible. This infidelity became dreadfully prevalent among the Protestants of Germany and Denmark, in the course of the last and present centuries; the universities were full of it, the ministers of religion tainted with it; and the Lutheran faith seems under an eclipse, from whence we fervently pray that it may be delivered." [1]

The Calvinistic branch of the reformation did not bear any better fruits. Here is Mr. Palmer's testimony:

"It may be observed, in general, of the reformed communities in Switzerland, France, and the United Provinces, that they have too generally fallen away from the doctrines originally believed by them, into the Socinian or Arian heresies." [2]

One would have thought, that at least the hopeful branch of the reformation, established by parliament, and by the bayonet,[3] halter, and stake in England, would not have suffered a similar degeneracy. Let us hear what our historian says on this subject,—and surely *he* is an unexceptionable witness.

"In 1717, a controversy arose on occasion of the writings of Hoadley, bishop of Bangor, in which he maintained that it was needless to believe any particular creed, or to be united to any particular church; and that sincerity or our own persuasion of the correctness of our own opinions (whether well or ill founded), is sufficient. These doctrines were evidently calculated to subvert the necessity of believing the articles of the Christian faith, and to justify all classes of schismatics or separatists from the Church. The convocation deemed these opinions so mischievous, that a committee was appointed to select propositions from Hoadley's books, and to procure their censure; but before his trial could take place the convocation was prorogued by an arbitrary exercise of the royal authority, and has not been permitted to deliberate since. The temporal government, influenced by the schismatics, protected and advanced Hoadley and several persons of similar principles. In 1766, Archdeacon Blackburn, who was supposed to be an Arian, anonymously assailed the practice of subscribing the articles; and in 1772, a body of clergy and laymen petitioned parliament to put an end to it; but their request was refused. Many of these petitioners were secret disbelievers in some of the Christian doctrines." [4]

1 Pp. 150, 151. 2 P. 152

3 In Edward's reign, German troops were employed to enforce the reformation, and to crush an extensive insurrection in Devonshire and Norfolk. 4 P. 165.

A humiliating avowal, truly, for an Anglican to be compelled to make! At one fell stroke the royal head of the Anglican church swept away forever the convocation of bishops; and for more than a hundred years, this boasted "church Catholic" has been voiceless, and a mere dumb slave, doomed to do the bidding of an inexorable task master. She has been well punished for having cast off, in an evil hour for her, the mild and paternal authority of Rome. She has, unlike the Israelites of old, gone out of the blooming land of the Catholic paradise, and entered again into the dark land of Egyptian servitude. She is a hopeless slave, bound hand and foot: she has no life even, but that which the capricious whim of her royal master or mistress may think proper to breathe into her nostrils! We do not wonder that she is beginning to grow weary of her bondage, and to sigh again for her former independence. It is, in fact, to this aspiration after spiritual freedom, that we are mainly indebted for the recent Oxford movement. Let us hear what Mr. Palmer, — who ought to know, — testifies on the matter in question: —

"The church has been suffering much for a long time from appointments to its offices made from unworthy motives. The bishoprics and other dignities were[1] bestowed by the ministers of the crown on men distinguished only by birth or connections. Patronage, in general, was distributed on low and worldly considerations. Theological learning received no encouragement, and active zeal was viewed with jealousy as an approximation to Methodism . . . . The aspect of the times has since contributed to stimulate the activity of the church. The weakness of the temporal government, and the influence which parties hostile to the church have for the last twenty years exercised over it, have taught the church to depend less on the protection of the state than on the divine blessing," &c.[2]

God grant that the unholy alliance may be forever dissolved, and then we may hope for England's conversion!

It is curious to trace to its proper origin that modern infidelity which lately desolated France, and threatened to ingulf Christianity itself. Nothing is more certain than that it originated in the principles of Protestantism, and first in Protestant countries. Mr. Palmer himself will aid us in proving this position, and in establishing the two following propositions: —First, that in point of time, infidelity obtained a footing in England and Germany much sooner than it did in France; and second, that those who subsequently propagated it in France, had imbibed their false principles, and learned the specious sophistry by which they sought to maintain them, in Protestant England or Germany, but principally in England.

In support of the first proposition, the truth of which every one who has but glanced at history must admit, we have the authority of Mr. Palmer: —

"England had been already disgraced by the writings of some

1 *Have been* would have been, perhaps, more grammatical, and the same remark should be made as to the following clauses.

2 P. 166.

unbelievers ; but the works of Herbert and Bolingbroke, of Collins and Trindal, had produced little effect on the good sense and religious principles of the English nation."[1]

We deem the latter assertion of very doubtful authority. It is well known that many of the bishops and clergy themselves, whom our author praises for their able advocacy of Christianity,[2] were tainted with infidel principles. Mr. Palmer admits all this, as we have already seen ; and we have likewise heard how he speaks of rationalism and infidelity in Germany and other Protestant countries.

The second proposition is no less certain. It was in England, as the associate and boon companion of Bolingbroke and other English infidels, that Voltaire conceived his impious purpose of attempting the destruction of Christianity. This is a very important fact, for which we have again Mr. Palmer's testimony : —

" After he (Voltaire) had left college, he associated only with persons of infamous morals ; and having published some infidel opinions, which gave offense to the ruling powers of France, he retired to England, where he became acquainted with several unbelievers like himself. *Here he formed his resolution to destroy Christianity;* and on his return to Paris in 1730, he made no secret of his design and his hopes."[3]

Here we perceive that a noxious weed, plucked from the fertile garden of Catholic France, was carefully replanted in England, where it was nurtured to maturity ; whence it was again, in an evil day, transplanted into France. Voltaire plied the very arguments, and used almost the identical language, which had been employed, with so much effect by the early reformers, for exciting popular indignation against Rome. Let us hear our author : —

" Voltaire invited men to forsake their religion, by promising them liberty of thought. He declared that 'Nothing was so contemptible and miserable in his eyes, as to see one man have recourse to another in matters of faith, or to ask what he ought to believe.' Reason, liberty and philosophy, were continually in the mouths of Voltaire and D'Alembert."[4]

It is remarkable, that when Voltaire was again under the necessity of leaving France, he found an asylum in Protestant Prussia and Switzerland. There seemed to exist a certain congenial feeling between him and the leaders of the Protestant party.

Mr. Palmer bears evidence also to the rapid spread of infidel principles among the crowned heads and the higher orders, in most Protestant countries of Europe.

" Infidelity now spread rapidly through France and through every part of the continent of Europe ; several of the crowned heads were more or less favorable. The empress of Russia ; the kings of Prussia, Denmark, Poland, Sweden, and *all* the princes of Germany, were either admirers of Voltaire, or avowed infidels."[5]

Our historian scarcely does justice to the Catholic clergy of France

1 P. 215 2 Ibid. 3 Ibid. 4 P 220. 5 P. 221.

during the revolution; and he lays too much stress on the apostacy of a few among their number. Yet he cannot help avowing that—

"The majority of the Roman clergy throughout Europe retained their faith, and, under the most grievous afflictions and persecutions for the name of Christ, evinced an increased measure of zeal and piety."[1]

We doubt very much, whether the Protestant clergy of the Anglican establishment would have stood the fiery ordeal half so well. We never yet heard of one of these "rich and dainty folk," who coveted the crown of martyrdom, or who was willing to die when he could avoid it; though we have read of many among them, who with remarkable liberality, were willing to bestow upon others that crown which was too thorny for their own delicate brows. During the horrors of the French revolution, hundreds and thousands of the French clergy and of religious men and women cheerfully laid down their lives for the faith, in the midst of the most excruciating tortures; but we have not yet heard of *one* Protestant clergyman, who during that whole period received the crown of martyrdom. If there was *one*, history is wholly silent on the subject. How are we to explain this singular phenomenon, but on the ground that modern infidelity is the daughter of Protestantism,—a daughter degenerate indeed, but still cherishing a tender feeling for her parent.

We have now completed our very rapid notice of Palmer's "Compendious Ecclesiastical History." As we have already intimated more than once, we have been compelled to pass over in silence many things upon which we had originally intended to animadvert. Our limits have necessarily confined us to a very brief review of the more prominent assertions of the book. We think we have said enough, however, to enable our readers to form some idea of the Oxfordite's Ecclesiastical History, as well as of the accuracy, learning, and impartiality of his Right Reverend editor and note-maker.

1 P. 222.

IV. LITERATURE AND THE ARTS IN THE MIDDLE AGES.*

Importance of the subject — Writers who have treated it — Division — A Colossus falling — Incursions of the Northmen—A deluge —Beautiful Italy—Awful devastation — New dynasties — Christianity triumphant over barbarism—Civilization—Literary history—Tenth century—Gradual revival—Its causes—Golden age of Leo X.—Latin language in liturgy—And the Monastic institute — Elevation of woman — Modern languages—And Poetry—Paper—Art of Printing - Illuminated manuscripts—Universities—Schools of Law and Medicine--Musical Notes—Organs—Bells—Mariners' Compass—Geographical discoveries—Commerce—First Bank—Post-Office—Newspapers—Spectacles—Gunpowder—Stone Coal—Arithmetical Numbers—Algebra—Glass—Stained Glass—Agriculture—Botany—Clocks—Painting revived—Silk introduced--Gothic Style of Architecture—Leaning Tower of Pisa—Conclusion.

Literature and the Arts during the middle ages supply a theme at once vast and important: vast, because it comprises a period of nearly one thousand years; and important, because it exhibits the rise and progress to perfection, of institutions intimately connected with civilization and political liberty. That period was the nursery of nations, the parent of civilization and of empire. From the partial chaos of those ages, sprang into existence systems of government, which, by their harmony and adaptation to the wants of mankind, are the admiration of the present century.

The attention of the literary world has been lately awakened to the importance of this subject. Italy, as usual, pioneered the way. About the middle of the last century, the learned Muratori published, in thirty huge folio volumes, the hitherto inedited works of the middle ages, to which he annexed copious and learned commentaries of his own. This herculean labor was followed by another work from the same author, in which this giant of modern literature spread out, in six large folio volumes of Essays, the results of his researches into the manners, customs, and antiquities of that period. The very vastness of this work, as well as the size of its tomes, would make one of our modern literati, who loves meager volumes with fine covers, shudder with horror! Muratori was followed by Tiraboschi, another illustrious Italian, whose classical and extensive History of Italian Literature, has, I think, no equal, and even no parallel in any other language. These works constitute a complete repertory, where the studious inquirer into the history of the middle ages may find all that he can reasonably ask for. Among the Germans who have labored to illustrate this subject, we may name Frederick and

* A Lecture delivered some years ago in Lexington, Ky.; and subsequently before the Catholic Institute of Baltimore and the Mechanics' Institute of Louisville, in 1854.

William Schlegel, Meiners,[1] Eichorn,[2] Heeren,[3] ; and among more recent writers, Voigt and Hurter,[4] learned Protestant divines. The French have also done much in this field; it is sufficient for our purpose to name Michaud's History of the Crusades, and to allude to some learned articles in a periodical work now published in France,—and which would reflect honor on any country,—"The Annals of Christian Philosophy." Among English writers, Hallam and Maitland have, perhaps, succeeded better than any others; though their works, learned and excellent as they are in many respects, are but pigmies compared to some of those named above.

The beginning and end of the period called the Middle Ages, has been variously assigned by chronologists and historians. We prefer, as the most natural and conformable to the great outlines of history, the opinion which dates the commencement of that period from the downfall of the Roman Empire in the west in 476, and fixes its termination at the fall of the same in the east, in 1453,—a space of 977 years. The western empire, which had commenced with Augustus, terminated about 500 years afterwards in Augustulus, or the little Augustus; and the eastern, founded by Constantine the Great, when he removed the seat of empire from Rome to Constantinople in 330, terminated 1123 years afterwards in Constantine Paleologus, who might also be called with some propriety Constantine the little.

That the reader may more easily follow the remarks we have to make upon this subject, we will endeavor, 1st, to trace the causes which brought about the decline of Literature in those ages : 2dly, to present a rapid historical sketch of the literary condition at various epochs of the period in question : 3dly, to point out the causes which prompted the gradual rise of letters : and 4thly, to take a general survey of the subject, and to answer the question,—how much do we owe to those ages ?

I. The causes of the partial decline of letters during the period of which we are speaking, must be obvious to every reader of history. They are almost identical with those agencies, which gradually weakened, and finally overthrew the Roman empire in the west. This vast Colossus, which stood with one foot upon the heart of Europe, and the other upon Asia, grasping with one hand northern Africa and with the other the Britains, was destined to share the fate of all earthly institutions. It trembled upon its base, tottered and fell,—the victim of its own vastness, and innate tendency to decay. The German and northern hordes had ever been the most formidable enemies of Rome. The same spirit seems to have animated the Goths and Vandals under Alaric and Genseric, Attila and Totila, as had many centuries before brought Brennus with his Gauls before the walls of Rome.

While Rome continued to be the seat of empire, the efforts of the Northmen through centuries proved unavailing. As often as they

1 Vergleichung der sitten, etc., des mittelalters mit denen unsers Jahrhunderts.
2 Allgemeine Geschichte der Cultur und Literatur.
3 Geschichte des studium der Classischen Literatur
4 Since become a Catholic.

attempted invasion, they were met by the Roman legions under an Adrian, a Marcus Aurelius, or a Septimius Severus, and were driven back to their northern fastnesses. But no sooner had Constantine removed the seat of government to Constantinople, than the western branch of the empire was devoted to destruction. Franks, Goths, Vandals, Visigoths, Ostrogoths, Alans, Huns, Lombards, Danes, and Normans, successively swept like torrents over the most beautiful provinces of Europe. Nothing could resist their force, or check their headlong career. They carried everything before them. They conquered but to destroy. They demolished almost everything; for more than two centuries they built up nothing.

From the year 400 to the year 600, was a sad period for Europe. The first conquerors did not occupy the soil which they had subdued; they pushed on to new conquests, or rather to new devastations. The territory they had last left was immediately invaded by another tribe more rapacious than themselves; and thus pushing each other on, as wave driving wave, they covered the face of Europe with the waters of a deluge of barbarism for centuries. It was only after the apparently inexhaustible population of the North had been almost drained, that the different tribes began to settle down permanently on the soil which they had hitherto only occasionally occupied.

Italy suffered most, as she was the favorite land with the Northmen; she was always aimed at because always beautiful,[1] as an Italian orator lately said; there was scarcely a tribe, which did not trample down her lovely fields and rich vineyards. During the brief space of twenty years, Rome was taken by assault and pillaged five times! Yet a late American writer has well said: —

"There was, in that period of general social dissolution one country, in which the work of devastation commenced much later, and ended much sooner. Italy in the middle ages was like Mt. Ararat in the Deluge, — the last reached by the flood and the first left. The remains of the Roman social world were either never utterly dispersed in that country, or far later than any where else; and if we are to date the close of the middle ages from the extinction of feudalism, that revolution was effected in Italy, no less than three centuries before the time of Charles V. — the epoch assumed by Hallam, as the conclusion of his work. It would then, perhaps, be expedient to refer the history of Europe in the middle ages to Italy, as the history of the ancient world has always been referred to Rome. The great ascendency of the papal power, and the influence of Italian genius on the literature and the fine arts of all countries, made Italy essentially the center of light — the sovereign of thought — the Capital of Civilization!"[2]

The justice of this tribute to Italy is confirmed by Hallam, who says:

"It may be said with some truth, that Italy supplied the fire from which other nations in this first, as afterwards in the second era of the

1 "Sempre bersagliata, perche sempre bella."
2 North American Review, 1840 — Art. Hallam's Middle Ages.

revival of letters, lighted their own torches. Lanfranc, Anselm, Peter Lombard, the founder of systematic theology in the twelfth century, Irnerius, the restorer of jurisprudence, Gratian, the author of the first compilation of canon law, the school of Salerno, that guided medical art in all countries, the first dictionaries of the Latin tongue, the first treatise of Algebra, the first great work that makes an epoch in Anatomy, are as truly and exclusively the boast of Italy, as the restoration of Greek literature and of classical taste in the fifteenth century."[1]

The Northmen not only arrested agriculture and pillaged cities, but they often destroyed libraries, and tore or defaced the finest monuments of Literature and the Arts. They spared nothing in their ruthless career of destruction. Occasionally, indeed, an Attila, calling himself *"the Scourge of God,"* would pause with awe before a Leo the Great pleading with a divine energy, that his flock might be spared by the wolf; and even a Totila, the last ravager of Rome, (A. D. 554) would quail before the humble sanctity of a Benedict; but these are only exceptions to a general rule. Even the monasteries, those sanctuaries of learning, though often spared, were sometimes pillaged and destroyed. The famous monastery of Mt. Cassino, in Italy, to which even Totila had made a pilgrimage of reverence, was afterwards plundered by the Lombards, (A. D. 580).

The confusion of society, — the perpetual tumults which distracted Europe, the destruction of agriculture and manufactures, and the misery and wretchedness thereby induced, — the tears and cries of the widow and orphan, — and the other evils of that period, are feelingly deplored by cotemporaneous writers. So great was the distress in Europe, that about the beginning of the tenth century, many believed the end of the world was at hand.

These causes seemed to act with but little intermission, until towards the end of the tenth century, or during a period of nearly 500 years. It required this long period to enable Europe to settle down, and to become adapted to the new order of things, brought about by a series of revolutions till then unparalleled in history.

In the midst of continual agitation and revolution, men could not find time to apply to the cultivation of letters. From necessity, their hands were better trained to the use of the sword than to that of the pen. From the continual devastation of wars, books, which could then be multiplied only by the copyist, became exceedingly scarce. The venerable Alexandrian library was destroyed by the Saracens in 641, and its fate was unhappily shared by many other valuable libraries in Europe. Books were so dear that they could be procured only by the wealthy, precisely because they had become so scarce. A memorable instance of this occurs in the case of the Dutchess of Anjou, who for one copy of a book of Homilies, gave one hundred sheep and eighty bushels of wheat. The

1 Introduction to the Literature of Europe in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries; 2 vols. 8vo; — Harper's Edition, vol. 1. p. 58.

loan of books itself, became sometimes a matter of diplomatic negotiation..

Another fact must be kept in view. Not only did new dynasties arise on the ruins of previous institutions, but a new race peopled Europe, with new manners, customs, laws, and religion ; whilst the miserable remnant of the original population was reduced to a degrading vassalage. Who can wonder, if under these circumstances, literature declined ? The great marvel is, that it was not entirely and forever prostrated. And but for the finger of God, acting through the divinely reactive energies of Catholic Christianity, we sincerely believe that this would have been the case.

Christianity was trampled in the dust by the armies of the infidel or semi-infidel[1] Northmen, but her divine spirit was not subdued. She conquered like her Founder, by being seemingly conquered for a time, by death ! She bent her heavenly form to the tempest, but did not quail under its violence ; and when its utmost fury had been spent, she raised her head, and exhibited her divine countenance and heavenly features to the barbarians who held her captive ; — they paused, and, —

"God ! how they admired her heavenly hue."[2]

They were stricken with awe, they reverently took off her chains, fell down before her, worshiped at her shrine, and swore eternal fidelity to her cause ! Their enthusiasm was turned into another and better channel; and the subsequent history of Chivalry and the Crusades contains the record of its mighty results.

After having subdued her conquerors by converting them, Christianity had to tame their ferocity, and gradually to civilize and enlighten them. And nobly did she accomplish these results. But she determined wisely to proceed gradually and slowly in the great work. She knew that all great beneficial changes, which are intended to affect whole masses, are slow and gradual in their operation, and that nothing which is violent is permanent. The sturdy oak, which has vanquished a thousand storms, has been for centuries acquiring its present firmness and solidity ; while the earthquake and the tornado are the work of a moment.

A striking confirmation of this principle is exhibited in the literary history of the Middle Ages. Letters continued to decline for nearly five hundred years, until they reached their lowest stage in the tenth century; and then they gradually improved for about the same period, until they arrived at their highest point, or zenith, in the golden age of Leo X., about the beginning of the sixteenth century.[3] And this naturally leads us to the second point of our division, in which we will endeavor to give a rapid historical sketch of the various epochs of literature during the period in question.

1 Some of the Northmen had been partially imbued with the Arian heresy.

2 Dryden's Hind and Panther.

3 Hallam thinks that "the seventh century is the nadir of the human mind in Europe," though he admits that in England the darkness was greatest in the tenth. — Introduction, &c., sup cit. I, 26.

II. In the fall of Rome, and the establishment of the Gothic kingdom in Italy under Odoacer, in 476, Literature received a heavy blow. Yet amidst the turmoil of war, and the storm of revolution, many were found in different parts of the fallen empire who devoted their time to letters.

In the sixth century, Vigilius Tapsensis wrote and published in Africa many works of considerable merit. Dionysius Exiguus, or the Little, became famous by inventing the Pashal Cycle, and settling the Christian era, about the year 516; and though his chronology has been thought to be slightly erroneous, yet it has been followed by all Christendom ever since his time. He was alike distinguished as an astronomer, historian, and theologian, and he would have reflected honor on any age. In the same century, Gregory of Tours wrote his History of the Franks, which is the foundation of all early French history. Italy was rendered conspicuous in the same age by two names, illustrious in philosophy and polite learning: Cassiodorus and Boethius, both of noble family and senatorial rank, but more illustrious far by their piety and devotion to letters. The former writing to the latter, praises him for having re-established Greek learning in Italy, and for having translated, for the benefit of his countrymen, the works of Pythagoras, Ptolemy, Euclid, Plato, Aristotle, and Archimedes.

About the middle of the seventh century (A. D. 669), Greek literature was introduced into England by Theodorus, the seventh archbishop of Canterbury, himself a Greek. St. Gregory the Great, by his virtues, enlightened mind, and patronage of learning, shone like a bright luminary in the center of Italy about the beginning of this century; while St. Isidore of Seville, by valuable works on almost every subject, laid open the treasures of learning to his countrymen in Spain. The compendious and encyclopedical character of his writings, was well adapted to an age, in which books were scarce, and could not be obtained without great difficulty. Towards the close of this century flourished the venerable Bede, the father of English history, whose name is in itself a sufficient eulogy. Beside his famous history, he wrote several works on Grammar, Music, Arithmetic, and other branches. The monastery of Lindisfarne became, under him, a radiating point of literature to all Europe.

St. John of Damascus, who is considered by some as the reviver of the dialectic or Aristotelian method of reasoning, flourished in the eighth century. In the same age Paul, the Deacon, wrote his valuable history of the Lombards, and Paulinus of Aquileia published several Latin poems of respectable merit. The close of this century is famed for a praiseworthy effort made by the emperor Charlemagne to stay the downward tendency of letters, and to infuse a new literary energy into Europe. Who has not heard of Alcuin, the learned English monk, employed by that great prince to carry into effect his intentions; of Peter the Deacon, of Pisa, his preceptor; of Eginhard, his secretary

and historian; and of many others whom this munificent patron of letters attracted to his court? He established in his palace regular conferences on literary subjects among the literati whom he gathered around him, and thereby laid the foundation of those academies and literary associations, which have subsequently done so much for the advancement of learning. Before the reign of Charlemagne, schools had been established in many of the monasteries and parishes in Italy, France, England, Ireland, Spain, and Germany; and he ordered by a public law, that seminaries of learning should be opened at every cathedral church throughout his vast empire.

Towards the close of the following century, a similar effort was made by Alfred the Great, of England, to re-establish learning in his kingdom. He was one of the most extraordinary men that ever lived. He fought fifty-four pitched battles with various vicissitudes of fortune, and yet, whether in the camp or in his palace, he invariably devoted one-third of his time to prayer and study. He made a law, that every man who owned two hides of land should send his children to school until they were sixteen years of age, and that his sheriffs and officers should apply to letters, or quit their offices. He translated many works into his vernacular language, and wrote several poems.[1]

It was the fate of the great men just named, to have their benevolent intentions in a great measure frustrated, by the imbecility and domestic feuds of their children and successors, and by the rude and evil nature of the times.

The tenth century is generally reputed the darkest of all the Middle Ages. It was natural that it should be so. The causes which brought about the decline of letters had been steadily operating for nearly five hundred years; and during this century unhappy Europe, already scourged for long ages, and bleeding at every pore, was invaded in the north by the Danes, in the center by the Normans, and in the south by the Saracens. Yet even in this iron age there were many illustrious men: Otho the Great, of Germany, whose praises were celebrated in a Latin epic poem of some merit, still extant, by Roswida, a cotemporary Saxon poetess; Ratherius and Luitprand of Italy, the latter of whom was a writer of considerable spirit and much wit, though his style is infected with much of the grossness of the age. Even during this century, the monks kept up their constant occupation of copying books; as is proved by the fact, that when the Saracens took and pillaged a monastery, near Novara in the north of Italy, they found, among the works in its library, copies of Virgil, Horace, and Cicero. The Poles, Hungarians, and a portion of the Russians, were also converted to Christianity during this century.

Hallam does not subscribe to the more generally received opinion, that the tenth was the least enlightened of the Middle Ages, at least so far as France and Germany are concerned. He says:

1 See Burke's Works, vol. ii. Abridgment of English History.

"But, compared with the seventh and eighth century, the tenth was an age of illumination in France. And Meiners, who judged the Middle Ages somewhat perhaps too severely, but with a penetrating and comprehensive observation, of which there had been few instances, had gone so far as to say, that 'in no age, perhaps, did Germany possess more learned and virtuous Churchmen of the episcopal order, than in the latter half of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh century.' Eichorn points out indications of a more extensive acquaintance with ancient writers in several French and German ecclesiastics of this period." [1]

III. From the beginning of the eleventh century, the prospects of Literature began to brighten. That and the following centuries could boast the names of Gerbert, Anselm, Lanfranc, St. Bernard, Alexander of Hales, Albertus Magnus, Roger Bacon, Scotus, and St. Thomas Aquinas. The last name alone would immortalize any age or country. How subtle and well balanced the mind, how deep the research, how accurate the reasoning of Aquinas! In strength, depth, grasp, and clearness of mind, he was the equal, in many other respects he was the superior, of Lord Bacon and Sir Isaac Newton, the much vaunted giants of English scientific literature.

The causes which brought about this favorable change in the literary condition of Europe are obvious. When, as above stated, she had been reduced to the lowest point of misery, a reaction was naturally expected. A practice, which obtained very extensively during that period, contributed much to bring about this reaction. Christians were in the habit of making pilgrimages to Rome and Jerusalem, to renew on the spots were they occurred a remembrance of the sufferings and triumphs of the apostles, martyrs, and of the Great King of Martyrs. This custom afforded the double advantage of causing men to visit or pass through places where literature was still cultivated, and of bringing them into more frequent contact with each other.[2] Whatever brings the masses of mankind into continual intercourse, tends to elicit talent, to stimulate inquiry, and to promote learning. The law of physical nature,—that inactivity produces disease, stagnation, or death, and that motion promotes health, vigor, and life,—is true also of the moral and literary condition of mankind.

The pilgrimages paved the way for a series of great and mighty events, which aroused Europe from her lethargy, united all her jarring elements, and concentrated her energies on one great object. The Crusades did more than this. They broke down the feudal system, enlarged the boundaries of dynasties, and drained Europe of most of those fiery spirits, who were conspicuous for nothing but stirring up civil feuds, or causing open wars. They originated a spirit of enterprise, stimulated commerce, threw men on their own resources, and taught them how to make those resources available. The old adage that "necessity

1 Introduction to Literature, etc., i, 28.

2 See Burke's works, ibid, ch. 2, v. 2. p. 514. et seq.

is the mother of invention,"—was never more fully verified, as we shall see in a subsequent part of this Lecture. In a political point of view, the Crusades were equally advantageous. They were a decisive blow in the great struggle which continued for centuries, between barbarism and civilization, between Asia and Europe, between the Crescent and the Cross! When the heroes who fought under Godfrey de Bouillon planted their glorious banner on the battlements of Jerusalem, in 1099, and made it float there triumphantly for nearly one hundred years, they planted a thorn in the side of Islamism, that did more perhaps than any thing else, to cripple that warlike monster, which was marching with giant strides, cimetar in hand, over the world, blighting and destroying every thing in its course. The fall of Constantinople was thus retarded perhaps for centuries, and while the Mussulmans were engaged at home with the invaders of their own territory, the Christians of Europe had time to repose, and to prepare for the still coming struggle.

That master stroke of policy,—that "carrying of the war into Africa,"—will reflect immortal honor on the political wisdom and searching forecast of Gregory VII. and Urban II., who planned and carried into execution those expeditions.[1]

The invention of the art of printing, by Guttenberg and Faust, in 1436;—the munificent patronage of letters by the houses of Medici, of Este, and of Gonzaga, and by the Popes in Italy;—the vast number of learned Greeks who fled to Europe on the taking of Constantinople by Mohammed II. in 1453, and the welcome which these men received, especially in Italy,—completed what the Crusades had begun. Literature progressed with giant strides in Italy, which had shone as a beacon light to the rest of Europe throughout the long period of the Middle Ages, and towards its close blazed up so brilliantly, as to excite the surprise, and to dazzle the eyes of mankind. There was a galaxy of genius in the golden age of Leo X., in the beginning of the sixteenth century,—very properly styled the second Augustan Age of Roman literature.

> But see each Muse in Leo's golden days
> Starts from her trance, and trims her withered bays;
> Rome's ancient genius o'er its ruins spread,
> Shakes off the dust, and rears his rev'rend head.
> Then sculpture and her sister arts revive,
> Stones leaped to form, and rocks began to live.
> With sweeter notes each rising temple rung;
> A Raphael painted, and a Vida sung.
> Immortal Vida! on thy honored brow,
> The poet's bays and critic's ivy grow;
> Cremona now shall ever boast thy name,
> As next in place to Mantua, next in fame!

1 That this motive was combined with the enthusiastic desire to recover the holy land, desecrated by the Mussulmans, is manifest from the Acts of the Council of Clermont in 1095, and from the speech of Urban II., in this council, which is a master piece of eloquence and political wisdom.

IV. Were the middle ages as *dark* as they are usually represented by Protestant historians? How much do we owe to that period? I might rather ask, what is there in Literature and the Arts that we do *not* owe to those ages? We owe to them the ancient Grecian and Roman Literature, which but for the care and indefatigable industry of men who deserve every praise, and who receive nought but sneers, would have been utterly and irretrievably lost, amidst the storms and revolutions which swept over Europe during the greater part of that period.

Two institutions of the Catholic religion greatly contributed to this happy result: the preservation of the Latin language in the public service, and the monastic orders. The former imposed upon all candidates for orders the obligation of learning the Latin language and of studying the ancient Roman literature, and thereby afforded them a powerful inducement to preserve the master-pieces of Roman composition;[1] while the latter opened sacred retreats and holy sanctuaries for learning, while the rude storm of war was sweeping over the world, destroying in mankind all relish for letters, and desolating the proudest monuments of Literature and the Arts.[2] The monasteries were generally situated in remote solitudes, or amidst mountain rocks and torrents; they offered little inducement to the plunderer, besides being almost inaccessible to his clans. It was one of the stated rules of the monks of St. Benedict, to devote a portion of their time to study and to copying books, and in the quietness of their cells, by their untiring industry, they preserved and transmitted to us the precious treasures of ancient classic Literature. Enlightened men of every religious creed have done justice to the monks. And yet it is the fashion at the present day to sneer at these deserving men, in season and out of season; and every valiant knight, who, booted and spurred, mounts his fiery Rosinante; and dashes in among the hooded monks of the dark ages, scattering them hither and yon, as he of La Mancha did the flock of sheep, thinks that he has achieved a brilliant exploit!

We have now before us a list of TWENTY-FIVE great improvements and inventions, which we owe to those much abused ages, many of them of vast and paramount importance to society.

1st. At the head of the list deserves to be placed, on account of its great influence on modern refinement, the elevation of female character, for which we are mainly indebted to the chivalry of the Middle Ages. When the Northmen were converted to the Catholic faith in the fifth and the following centuries, they learned, along with other teachings of Christianity, that the Saviour God whom they adored vouchsafed to be born of a woman, to call her *Mother*, and to be subject to Her. The high honor thus divinely conferred upon MARY, was reflected from her upon her whole sex; just as the disobedience and consequent dishonor of Eve had bowed down woman to the dust, marked by the serpent's

1 See Burke's works, vol. 2, Abridgment of Eng. History, c. 2, p. 514 et seq.
2 Burke, ibid.

trail. The generous Northmen caught up at once this idea, so just and so beautiful, and their enthusiasm in honor of the sex was aroused. The principles of medieval chivalry were developed; but the feeling outstripped the principle, and woman suddenly found herself raised as much above her true level in society, as she had hitherto been degraded below it. The humble daughter of Mary was thus far exalted above the proud daughter of Eve. But the extravagant excesses of chivalrous devotion to the sex were curbed by the holy principles of religion; and the result of these elements and causes, is the station which woman now occupies in society. Under Paganism she was the slave or toy of man; the creature of his caprice, or the victim of his tyranny. Even the more polished society of ancient Greece and Rome afforded but very imperfect exceptions to this remark. Thanks to Christianity and to the Middle Ages, she has ceased to be the slave, and has been made the companion of man: from being the drudge of society, she has become its ornament and refiner.

The restoration of woman to her proper station in society had a powerful influence on civilization and Literature. Even the extravagancies of chivalry had their beneficial results. Female influence not only prompted to deeds of valor, but also stimulated men to triumphs in poetry and Literature; the delicate hands of woman wove not only the chaplet which decorated the warrior's brow, but also the laurel and the ivy wreath, which adorned the brow of genius.

Women did more at that period than exert a mere influence; they acted their own parts. Who has not heard of the famous Joan of Arc, the maid of Orleans, who at the tender age of seventeen, led the disheartened troops of France to deeds of heroic valor, retrieving the fortunes of her country conquered by a foreign foe; driving the English from more than half of France, and finishing her mission by crowning Charles VII. King of France, at Rheims, which but a few months previously was in the very heart of the territory conquered by the enemy? Nor are her laurels stained by the fact, that when taken by her enemies, she was, at the instigation of the Duke of Bedford, condemned and inhumanly burned as a sorceress and witch![1] Who has not heard of Queen Margaret of Sweden, the Semiramis of the north, who in the thirteenth century, by her political prowess, united all the jarring elements of northern Scandinavia into one vast kingdom? Or of Anna Comnena, the authoress of the famous Alexiad, in the twelfth century? Or of more than one lady who during that period taught philosophy and belles lettres in the University at Bologna[2]—not to mention Heloise, skilled in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew learning, upon whose story many moderns have raised so man extravagant and ridiculous fictions?

1 Twenty years afterwards, in 1451, Pope Calixtus III, had her sentence revoked, and pronounced her a patriot and martyr.

2 The most famous of these femmes savantes, were Modesta di Pozzo, Cassandra Fidele, Isabella di Cordova, Isabella de Roseres, Catharine Ribera, and Aloysia Sigea.—[See Robelot, Influence de la Reformat. p. 339.]

2. We owe all our Modern Languages to the Middle Ages: the Italian, with its sweetness; the French, with all its grace and delicacy; the Spanish, with its stern dignity; the German and English with all their force and richness. The Italian may be considered as the first daughter of the Latin, the most soft and comely; the French as the second daughter, less fair than her elder sister, but possessed of more tact and more varied graces; and the Spanish, not as the *daughter*, but as the *son*, of the Latin, with the stern features and manly voice of the parent. It is a matter of surprise, how languages so beautiful and perfect could have sprung from amidst the constant turmoil and confusion of those ages; and especially, how the Italian, so sweet and musical, could have resulted from the union of the Latin, itself not remarkable for sweetness, with the harsher sounds of the North. We are forcibly reminded of a fable in heathen mythology: — as the Cytherean Venus, the *beau ideal* of ancient perfection in beauty, was fabled to have sprung from the froth of the sea; so the Italian, the softest and most beautiful of modern languages, may be said to have sprung, in all its symmetry and beauty of form, from the froth of a sea agitated by continued storms and revolutions.

Whatever theory we may adopt on the question, whether language be a divine gift, or merely a human invention, or a result of both agencies combined, there can be no doubt as to the merit which attaches to its full development and cultivation. A rich, strong, precise, or melodious language indicates corresponding qualities in the people who employ it as a medium of thought; and we know of no instance in which a fully developed and highly cultivated language does not betoken a refined literary taste.

3. We owe all our Modern Poetry, and also the introduction of rythm into poetry, to those ages. Italy, as usual, led the way. The rude laws of the Troubadours, in the twelfth, prepared the world for the *Divina Commedia* of Dante, in the thirteenth century. His effusions were followed by the noble strains of Petrarch, who was crowned with laurel at Rome in the fourteenth century. The English poet Chaucer was the friend, but by no means the equal of Petrarch; his taste was often vitiated by too great attachment to the rhymes of the Troubadours, and he imitated too servilely his great Italian cotemporary.

4. The Paper upon which we write was invented in the Middle Ages. From ancient MSS. it appears that cotton paper was used in Italy as early as the tenth century, while linen paper seems to have been introduced in the fourteenth.[1] We now reap the fruits of an invention, which has made the material upon which we write and print so cheap, as to be accessible to all. Before the invention of paper, parchment, and papyrus, the latter an article manufactured from a plant in Egypt, were chiefly used; but they were both rare and expensive. When the Saracens over-

1 This date for the invention of linen paper is assigned by Tiraboschi. Hallam fixes it earlier. — In 1100. — Introduction, &c, 1. 50, supra cit.

ran Egypt, in 641, the importation of papyrus into Europe seems to have ceased ; and, to the inventive genius of the Italians, thus thrown on their own resources, we owe the present material, superior to it in every respect.

5. The glory of having invented the Art of Printing, also belongs to the period of which we are speaking. I allude not only to the Art as invented by Guttenberg or Faust, in 1436, at Strasburg and Mentz, but also to an invention of a much earlier date, which was only extended and improved by the persons above named. I mean the invention of *Chirotypography*, or printing by hand, of which undoubted traces are found in many ancient diplomas, as old as the tenth century, and in some illuminated works of equal antiquity, hitherto viewed as manuscripts. A learned Italian, the Abbate Requeno, in a work published a few years since at Rome, has amply established this fact ; of which, however, I have been unable to find mention in any work of standard English literature : — and yet it is fashionable for our standard writers to sneer at the ignorance of the Italians, though to them Literature certainly owes more than to any other nation. Requeno proves that two kinds of hand printing were in use, — the impression was sometimes taken by plates with letters carved on them, sometimes by moveable types of wood, or ivory, or metal. Only one step was wanting to render this invention valuable, and to multiply copies, — *the Press;* and Guttenberg made this step. It should be recollected, however, that it is easy to add to inventions already made : *facile est inventis addere.* It is a remarkable fact, in both stages of the history of this invention, that the first mode adopted was that which afterwards constituted the highest perfection in the art : viz., the use of stereotype plates, which Guttenberg abandoned in favor of moveable types, because he knew of no way of casting the former, to render them available.

6. The Illuminated Manuscripts of the Middle Ages show that the art of penmanship was then carried to a degree of perfection, which it has never since attained. Who that has seen those manuscripts, has not admired their splendid pictorial illustrations, their taste and exquisite beauty ! The use of gold and silver ink, seems also to have been common at that period; and in the Vatican library, at Rome, there is preserved a splendid illuminated manuscript copy of the New Testament in Greek, as old as the eleventh century, and written entirely in letters of gold ! I doubt whether our modern artists could produce any thing equal, or even similar to this splendid specimen of art.

7. Universities were first founded in those ages. To them we owe the two great English Universities ; Oxford, founded in 886 by Alfred the Great, and Cambridge in 915 ;[1] the famous University of Paris, said to have been first established by Charlemagne, about the year 800 ;[2] — and

1 Some writers believe that the schools founded by Alfred did not become universities until some time in the twelfth century. See Hallam — Introduction to the Literature of Europe, &c., vol. 1, p 32.

2 The same remark may be made in regard to this famous school, which, though claimed to have been founded by Charlemagne, did not probably acquire a charter of rights as a university, until about two centuries later. See Hallam, *ibid.* p. 30.

the perfect galaxy of Italian Universities, at Rome, Bologna, Padua, Pavia, and Pisa, which became famous in the twelfth and following centuries, and which counted their students not by hundreds, but by thousands. The University of Padua, the *alma mater* of Christopher Columbus and Americus Vespuccius, is said to have contained, at one time no less than 18,000 students. The University of Oxford contained, in the thirteenth century, according to the testimony of its historian Anthony Wood, a Protestant, no less than 30,000 students.[1]

The Pandects of Justinian were discovered in the eleventh century: and the study of the civil and canon law was shortly after revived by the famous Irnerius or Werner, in the University of Bologna. Youths from all parts of Europe frequented this and the other Italian Universities, and returned to their native countries, to diffuse among their countrymen the stores of knowledge they had thus accumulated. Italy thus became the radiating point of Literature to all Europe, and her Universities contributed, perhaps as much as any other cause, to the revival of learning and to the march of civilization. The University of Paris deserves great praise for having contributed its full portion to the good work. Medical schools were also established at Salerno, in the south of Italy, in the eleventh century, (some say the seventh), and at Montpelier and Paris, in the twelfth; and thus the science of medicine was revived. In all these improvements, the monks acted a very conspicuous part.

In concluding this subject, I will remark, that of the two English Universities, Oxford has five halls and twenty colleges, aud that *all her halls*, and twelve of her Colleges, were founded and endowed before the year 1516! Cambridge has seventeen colleges, of which twelve were founded before 1511;—from which fact it would appear that, notwithstanding all our boasting, the *dark* ages have done more for Literature than a more *enlightened* period!

8. Who is so dull of ear, as not to be delighted with the harmony of musical sound? We owe to the *dark* ages, an invention unknown to the ancients, by which Music has become a science, taught upon regular principles. Guido of Arezzo, an Italian monk, by inventing the notes of the *gamut*, in 1124, did for Music, what the inventor of alphabets did for language,—reduced sounds to simple and systematic rules. He also invented many musical instruments, such as the cymbal and heptachord. While on this subject, we may remark, that Organs were either invented in Italy, or at least introduced into Europe by the Italians, in the eighth century; and that the use of Bells in churches may be dated back to the year 605 of the Christian era.

9. But we are indebted to those abused ages, for another invention, which has perhaps had as great an influence as any other in advancing the cause of civilization, and extending the boundaries of human knowledge. And it is in consequence of this invention that we tread the soil of this vast continent, which but for it, would never probably have been

1 *Athenæ Oxonienses.*

discovered by the civilized world. We mean the Mariner's Compass. The precise date of this invention is not known; but it is spoken of by French and Italian writers in the twelfth century. The Amalfites, enterprising mariners in the south of Italy, seem to have been the first to apply it to navigation.

The invention at its first stage was rude and simple enough. The magnetized needle was placed in a vessel of water, upon pieces of straw or two split sticks; and it was evidently of little use when a vessel was agitated by a rough sea. About the close of the thirteenth century, *Flavio di Gioja*, an Italian of Pasitano, a village near Amalfi, devised a method by which this inconvenience was obviated: he suspended the needle on a pivot placed at its center, and it thus became available under all circumstances. The box, with the points of the Compass marked on its rim, was added, and thus the invention was completed, though it was subsequently much improved. The *fleur de lis* is said to have been placed at the North Pole, in honor of the royal house of France, which then controlled the government of Naples, whose subject *di Gioja* was.

The ancients knew something of the loadstone, but never thought of applying it to navigation. Sôme writers, whose spirit leads them to detract as much as possible from Christian nations, and to give the merit of every thing to Pagans, have contended that the Chinese invented the Mariner's Compass. It is, however, certain, from the letters of the earliest missionaries to China, that the species of compass formerly used by the Chinese was entirely different from our magnetic needle. And if we consider the truly wonderful progress which this *very enlightened* people have since made in navigation, with their beautiful junks, as broad as they are long, plowing the deep, we will certainly feel disposed to award them every honor and glory; especially as they make themselves some thousands of years older than the world!

10. The invention just mentioned led to other great improvements. The frequent and extensive voyages undertaken by Italian navigators, greatly increased the amount of geographical knowledge. The travels of Rubruquis, and Marco Polo, the famous Venetian navigator, as well as the written account of the Catholic missionaries, who, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, penetrated into the very heart of Asia, threw additional light upon the history, manners and customs, and geography of those distant nations. From the ancient map made by Marco Polo, and recently published, with learned essays, by the late Cardinal Zurla, it appears manifest that Polo doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and visited Madagascar. The Canary Islands were also discovered by the Portuguese, in the thirteenth century. Thus was the way prepared for the discovery of America by Columbus, in 1492.

11. Commerce was also carried on with spirit and vigor from about the same time, and the products of the whole world flowed into Europe. Italy here also led the way. The Venetian, Genoese, and Pisan republics, carried on an extensive trade with Asia and Egypt. The Venetians,

from the year 1096, the era of the first crusade, became the carriers of Europe. Another powerful commercial league sprang up in the thirteenth century, in the north-western part of Europe. The Hanseatic league, which began in 1241, with the two cities of Hamburg and Lubeck, comprised in 1370 no less than sixty-four cities and forty-four allies.

12. The first Bank was founded at Venice in the year 1157. To facilitate commercial intercourse, bills of exchange (lettere di cambio) were also introduced into Italy about the same time.

13. The increased intercourse among mankind for commercial purposes, and the necessity of carrying on regular correspondence with distant persons, suggested the idea of a Post-Office. We read that the University of Paris, and the Italian Universities, as early as the twelfth century, established regular *couriers* through all parts of Europe, for the purpose of enabling the students to correspond with their parents, and to collect money to pay their expenses. Such was the humble commencement of an institution, which has since been so far extended and perfected, as to ramify throughout the whole world, and to furnish a regular medium of intercourse for the most distant nations. We may here remark, *en passant*, that the first Newspapers were published in Venice, in 1562.

14. We also owe to the period of which we are speaking, an invention which enables old persons to read, and prevents those who are afflicted with shortsightedness from falling into many disasters, which would otherwise beset this afflicted class of human beings. Spectacles for the old and shortsighted were first constructed by Salvino, a monk of Pisa, in Italy, in 1285. Some writers award the merit of this invention to the famous English monk, Roger Bacon. It is, however, probable, that he never constructed spectacles; though in his *Opus Majus* he certainly explains the principle upon which they should be made. He also unfolds the principle of the telescope, microscope, and magic lantern; and he speaks of a certain inextinguishable fire, which is generally understood to mean phosphorus. In the same work he speaks of a certain composition of saltpetre, sulphur, and charcoal, which would imitate the sound and brilliancy of thunder and lightning, and one square inch of which ignited would destroy a whole army or city. Hence some have considered him the inventor of

15. Gunpowder, of which he certainly had a clear idea. It is however probable that his knowledge was confined to theory and a few experiments.[1] Schwartz, a monk of Cologne, seems to have been the first who manufactured gunpowder, about the year 1320. Cannons were used in the battles of Crecy and Poictiers, towards the close of the fourteenth century. If the Chinese historians deserve any credit, the celestial empire had the merit of inventing gunpowder, long before this world was made! As early as the year 688, a composition, called the

1 He died in 1292.

Greek fire, was employed by the orientals, especially in sea fights: but all agree that it was not *our* gunpowder. A work is still preserved in the University of Oxford, England, written in the ninth century by one Gracchus, who describes a compound nearly resembling that of which we are treating.

No invention has perhaps exerted a more powerful, and I believe a more beneficial influence on the destinies of the world, than that of this terrific agent. It has entirely changed the aspect of war. It has affected fortification, ship building, and has wholly changed military tactics. Besides its beneficial influence on internal improvements, it has, strange to say, softened and mitigated the horrors of war, and greatly diminished the number of those who fall in battle. Armies formerly engaged in mortal combat face to face, and fought for whole days, often returning to the combat, nor was victory obtained until one or the other army was nearly annihilated; men now fight at a distance, and the contest is soon decided. Thousands fell formerly, where hundreds fall now. Compare any great ancient battle with any decisive modern engagement, and you will be convinced of the truth of this remark. Take for example two of the most decisive engagements recorded in history: the battle of Waterloo, and that between Poictiers and Tours in 732, when Charles Martel defeated the Saracens. In the former, the total amount of killed and wounded on both sides was about 55,000, of whom perhaps not half were killed; whereas in the latter the Saracens alone had 100,000 — some say 300,000 killed.

16. Stone Coal, which has since proved so extensively useful, in private residences and in manufactories, was discovered in England in 1307.

17. The Arabian arithmetical Numbers were introduced into Europe by the famous Gerbert, afterwards Pope Sylvester II., about the year 991. Thus the foundation of arithmetic was laid, and the science of mathematics began from this time to be extensively studied. Algebraic calculation was also introduced into Europe by the Italians, in 1412.[1]

18. Though the ancient Greeks and Romans were acquainted with Glass, yet they seem never to have used it in windows. This improvement in the comforts of life, was generally adopted in Europe in the Middle Ages. The first mention of glass windows occurs in writers of the third and fourth century.

19. A method of staining glass was generally known and employed during that period, which has since been lost. Efforts were made during the last century in Germany and France to revive this beautiful art, but with very imperfect success. The solemn and mellow light of the old Gothic churches, which tends to inspire us with pensive, yet pleasing emotions, is owing to the use in them of stained glass.

1 The Arabians have the credit of these inventions. They also excelled in medicine. They learned much from the works of the ancient Greek authors, whom this active and enterprising people translated This is about all that can be said in favor of the literature of the fanatical followers of Mohammed, at least in its relation to the European literature of the Middle Ages. Yet some authors would wish to convey the impression that what we do not owe to the Chinese, we have derived from the Arabs!

20. The chief sufferings of Europe during the Middle Ages grew out of the neglect of Agriculture. The monks applied themselves early to this useful art, and taught others how to practice it. The monasteries were generally situated in remote and desert places; the monks reclaimed the soil, drained the marshes, fertilized even the rocky mountain tops, and improved whole districts. They also taught the people other useful arts. Thus, when the people of Sussex in England were perishing with hunger during a famine, in 605, Bishop Wilfrid at the head of his monks, plunged into the sea in presence of the assembled multitudes, and thus opened to them a new source of subsistence, of which their ignorance or druidical superstitions had hitherto deprived them.[1]

21. The monks also cultivated Botany, and studied the medical qualities of plants. The clergy were in many places the only physicians. It is a remarkable feature in that age, that every pursuit was referred to, or connected with, religion. The names of flowers were taken from some supposed aptitude to recall religious reminiscences. The passion-flower, the marygold, and others are examples of this. How beautiful and poetical the turn of thought, which suggested the idea of the Floral Calendar, by which the plants, in their different times of flowering, marked the division of time, and pointed to the holy festivals of religion! This was truly giving to the flowers a *language*, which spoke of God and his saints — of religion — of Heaven!

"What a lovely thought to mark the hours,
As they floated in light away;
By the opening and the folding flowers,
That laugh unto the summer's day!"

22. The Clock was invented in the Middle Ages. The invention is prior to the twelfth century, though the author of it is not clearly known. The phrase, "the clock has struck," was common in the twelfth century. Some award the honor of the invention to the famous Gerbert, already mentioned, who certainly put up a clock for Otho the Great, at Magdeburg, about the year 1000. Others ascribe it to the Italian monk Pacificus, and others to the Abbott William, of Hirschau in Germany. It is probable that they all contributed their share to the invention, at nearly about the same time. It is a remarkable fact in the history of human knowledge, that in its progress many learned men in different places hit simultaneously upon the same invention. Every scholar has heard of the controversies between the friends of Gallileo and Huygens about the application of the *pendulum* to clocks; between Newton and Hook and the Bernouillies, about the first discoverer of the laws of attraction; and between Newton and Leibnitz about the authorship of the *fluxional or integral calculus*. Before the invention of clocks, the sun-dial, the hour-glass, and the Clepsydron, constructed on the principle of water dripping through a small orifice,— were the only instruments used for measuring time.

1 See Burke's Works, Vol. II, p. 514, et seq.

23. In the thirteenth century, Painting was revived in Italy by Giunta of Pisa, Guido of Sienna, and the great Cimabue of Florence. Thus was commenced that great Italian school of painting, which afterwards produced a Raphael, a Titian, a Michael Angelo, a Domenichino, a Hannibal Caracci, and a Leonardo da Vinci.

24. Silk was almost unknown to the ancients. Among the unpardonable extravagances of the Roman emperor Heliogabalus, in the third century (A. D. 222), historians enumerate his having had a garment entirely of silk! The silk worm was brought from the East Indies or China to Constantinople in 552, and the Italians first introduced its culture into Europe in the twelfth century. Roger, king of Sicily, deserves to be mentioned, as the first who called the attention of Europe to this subject. The silk manufactures of Italy, France, and Flanders flourished to a wonderful extent in the thirteenth and following centuries, and the beautiful specimens of gold lace, and splendidly flowered and variegated silks of that period, equal, if they do not surpass, anything of the present enlightened days. Many of them may be seen in the old cathedrals and museums of Europe.

25. Those ages had the merit of originating and carrying to the greatest perfection, a new style of Architecture. Who has not admired the splendid specimens of Gothic architecture still visible throughout Europe; specimens which, even in the ruins, which the fanatical vandalism of the sixteenth century has left of many of them, in England, Ireland and Scotland, are imposing still! How massive, and yet how light, is that order of architecture. How complicated the parts, and yet how simple the effect of the whole! The massive walls and the vast pilasters, as well as the pointed arch, the delicate creeper, the clustered column, and the fairy tracery,—all contribute their parts to the effect. Take for example, the famous cathedral of Pisa, with its leaning tower, or rather the latter only. Can modern skill and architecture rear a pile like that: upwards of 200 feet high, six stories high besides the basement and pinnacle, with 209 beautiful marble columns encircling it, and leaning between fifteen and twenty feet from the perpendicular! It was built by William of Norimberg and Bonanno of Pisa, in the twelfth century, and has been standing for more than six hundred years.

Let men of the present day build an edifice like this; let it stand six hundred years, and then, if it be still firm and uninjured, they may sneer at the darkness of the Middle Ages!

V. LITERATURE AND THE CATHOLIC CLERGY.

WHAT HAVE THE CATHOLIC CLERGY, AND ESPECIALLY THE MONKS, DONE FOR LITERATURE?

Modern history unfair—A great conspiracy against the truth—Whence this unfairness in English writers—Robbery and sacrilege—Origin of modern mammonism—Persecution of slander—What Protestants have said in favor of the Monks—Leibnitz—Ellendorf—Edmund Burke—Raising up the lowly—Giving asylum to the oppressed—Bishop Tanner—Mallet—Drake—Sharon Turner—Bates—Quarterly Review—Origin of Libraries—Ancient Christian Libraries—Cathedral and Monastic Libraries—Monks transcribing books—And collecting them into libraries—Care of books enjoined by rule—Zeal of monks in saving books—Principal monastic collections of Manuscripts—Scarcity of books—Agency of the Universities—Religious women engaged as copyists—Writing with golden and silver ink—Illuminated margins—The *Scriptorium*—Means of augmenting Libraries—Encouragement afforded by Roman Pontiffs—What we owe to patient monastic labor—Summary of what the Clergy and Monks have done for literature.

Since the time of the self-called reformation, the very fountains of history have been polluted. Writers with violent prejudices have been too much in the habit of viewing the history of the good old Catholic times through the gross and distorting medium of their preconceived opinions; and the result has been, that the pictures they have drawn of those times have scarcely one light or shade true to nature. So false are these, in fact, and so hideously deformed, "*Ut nec caput, nec pes uni reddatur formæ;*" — "nor head, nor foot is placed aright."

Without taking the trouble to consult the original documents, they have, in most cases, blindly and servilely copied one another's statements; and thus error has been perpetuated from generation to generation. The public taste in regard to every thing Catholic has been so long, and so deeply, and so widely vitiated, that it requires some moral courage now-a-days to depart from the beaten track of error, and to tell the whole truth, according to the records of faithful history. The man who undertakes this laudable task, runs the risk of having his production treated with neglect by the community, and abandoned to the moth and dust of some neglected shelf. Books, to be purchased and read, must pander to popular prejudice; and hence it is that the infection has spread so widely. Avarice in book-makers and book-publishers has been a fruitful source of historical errors, and consequent popular deceptions.

To convince ourselves that this is not an exaggerated or unfair statement, we have only to open any of our works of popular literature, in the English language. From the primer and first books of history

taught in our preparatory academies, up to works on philosophy and science used in our colleges, almost all are tainted with this stain of prejudice. It is the seasoning which gives them zest. Perhaps, too,—just to infuse into the tender minds of children a holy horror of "Popery,"—the pages of school-books will be occasionally adorned with *beautifully executed* wood cuts, representing some scene of horror, in which priests and monks are exhibited as exulting over the agony of tortured victims! "Popish cruelty, monkish ignorance and superstition, the tyranny, the corruptions and abominations of the Church of Rome, the poor priest-ridden people, the avaricious exactions of the Popes,"—and a thousand such malicious exhibitions of cant, crowded together often without measure or reason,—meet our wearied eye at every page. It is unhappily but too true, then, as the accomplished De Maistre has well said, that during the last three hundred years, history has become a great conspiracy against truth. This is especially the case with historical works written in the English language, in which, as William Cobbett has bluntly, but truly said, "there are more lies than in books written in all other languages put together."

Whence this combination against truth among English writers? Whence this deep and abiding prejudice against Catholicity, transmitted as a fatal and poisened heritage from England to America? To detect its source, we need only glance at the history of the so called reformation in England.

At the beginning of this revolution, the Catholic Church was immensely rich. The property of the churches and of the monasteries had been accumulated during centuries of Catholic charity and liberality. The Church, however, held it only in trust, for the benefit of the public, and especially of the poor. It had been bestowed for this special purpose. The Catholic bishops and clergy, having no families to provide for, naturally left their property to the Church, or for charitable purposes. The spirit, and even the letter, of the canon law compelled them to do this. The poor were thus supported out of a fund, which the piety of ages had created for their benefit. There was then little pauperism, and there were no poor laws in England. The charity and the liberality of the Catholic Church, which was ever the tender mother of the poor, supplied the place of legal enactments and of heavy taxation for their support. Well, when the storm of the reformation broke over England, this vast property was seized upon by the officials of Henry VIII., who pounced upon it, as a falcon on its prey. It exchanged hands. It was violently torn from the Church and from the poor, and given to the courtiers and *courtesans*. In one instance, Henry VIII. gave a church estate to a woman, who had made a pudding to suit his royal taste! Sir Miles Partridge won a ring of church bells from him, by a throw of the dice! During his reign, and that of his son and successor, Edward VI., the work of sacrilegious spoliation was begun and consummated.

The Church was thus violently robbed, and her property, diverted from its proper channel of public charity and utility, went to enrich the spoilers, who fattened upon the bounty of a court whose vices they flattered. Avarice was thus seated, in sacrilegious triumph, on the altars which it had stripped and desecrated. And it has been the besetting sin of the world ever since the reformation. It is the image, in fact, stamped upon the minds and characters of mankind by this violent revolution. We refer those who may think this picture exaggerated, to the acts of Parliament, and to the statute book of England.[1]

Can we wonder that those, who thus became enriched with the spoils of the Church, should have labored to asperse the character of her ministers, who were the previous holders of the property? It is a principle of perverse human nature, *to hate those whom we have injured;* and the spirit of English Protestant writers, in regard to the Catholic Church, exhibits a frightful carrying out of this wicked maxim. Add to this, that, for nearly two hundred years after the reformation, the Catholic press was gagged in England, and the English Catholics themselves, and especially their natural defenders, the clergy, were subjected to a most cruel persecution; and you have a full solution of the whole problem,—a satisfactory reason, drawn from the nature and facts of the case, for this wide-spread, unchecked, and long-continued persecution of slander against Catholics, and against every thing Catholic. In shaking off the yoke of English tyranny, what a pity that we did not throw off also the more galling yoke of English prejudice! Alas! instead of ridding themselves of this thraldom likewise, our countrymen have courted it rather, and have delighted even to chew the rejected cud of English bigotry!

As the world advances in knowledge, and as mankind become calmer and more earnest in their inquiries after truth, it is to be hoped that a better spirit will dawn, and that the clouds, which now envelop modern history, will be dissipated.

We propose, in this paper, to lend our humble aid to the bringing about of this blessed consummation, by briefly showing what the Catholic Clergy, and especially the Monks, did for Literature before the dawn of the reformation, *so called.* And that our readers may the more readily follow our line of illustration, we will first show what enlightened Protestant writers have testified on the subject; and secondly, we will endeavor to prove, from original documents, that the judgment of these distinguished Protestants is based on the genuine facts of history.

I. Amidst the dark and cloudy night of Protestant prejudice against the Catholic Church, the attentive observer may notice here and there,

1 William Cobbett has triumphantly established all this and much more: and his two volumes containing "The History of the Reformation in England," though the spirit they breathe might have been less harsh, have never been answered, for the very obvious reason that the facts they disclose are wholly unanswerable. The second volume contains an elaborate catalogue of the church and monastic property that was seized on or destroyed; the rental of which he estimates at one-third that of the entire kingdom.

in the openings of the clouds, a star brightly glimmering, and filling his bosom with hope. The great Leibnitz was one of those "bright, particular stars." His vast and luminous mind not only led him to eschew prejudice, but conducted him to the very portals of the sublime temple of Catholic truth.[1] To understand his testimony, we must remark, that the Abbé Rancé, the founder of the order of Trappists in France, was opposed to the special cultivation of Literature by the monks of his order. He wished them rather to spend their time in prayer, and in agricultural pursuits. His opinion was singular, and in fact unprecedented in monastic history, as we trust to make appear in the course of this essay. The learned Benedictine, Mabillon, entered the lists, and in a very learned and able work on "Monastic Studies,"[2] completely demolished the position of his adversary. Leibnitz, adverting to the same opinion, says: "If that opinion had obtained, we would have no erudition at the present day. For it is manifest that both books and letters have been preserved by the aid of the monasteries."[3] He instances the famous monastery of Corbeia, "which, through its monks, excelling not less in learning than in piety, spread the light of the faith throughout the entire north" of Europe.[4]

To this splendid testimony in favor of the monks, we add that of Ellendorf, another distinguished German Publicist. He testifies that, "without the clergy, and chiefly without the monks, we would not have now the works of the fathers, nor of the classics."[5] We might also, were it deemed necessary, add the testimonies of Voigt, of Hurter,[6] and of many other late German Protestant writers. Their works are comparatively recent and are well known to the learned; and besides, the passages from their writings which would illustrate our subject, are too numerous and too copious to find a place in a paper which must be necessarily brief. Thus the first part of Europe which rebelled against Catholicity, was also the first to do it a measure of justice.

Turn we now to England, of which we may say with some truth, what St. Leo the Great said in substance of Pagan Rome: that she has afforded an asylum to sects of every hue, and has patronized and defended the errors of all innovators. One of the most accomplished Protestant writers, Edmund Burke, in his "Abridgment of English History,"[7] bears abundant testimony to the services which the English monks of the *"dark"* ages rendered to Literature and to civilization. He proves that, besides copying books and gratuitously teaching the poor

1 In his Systema Theologicum, which the writer of this paper possesses, in German and Latin, this great Protestant Philosopher explains and defends almost every doctrine of the Catholic Church. The work was published after his death, and its authenticity is unquestioned.

2 De Studiis Monasticis, vol. i, 4to.

3 "Si ea invaluisset opinio, nullam hodie eruditionem haberemus. Constat enim libros et literas monasteriorum ope fuisse conservatos."—Tom. v, Opp. Ep. 14.

4 "Quæ, monachis doctrina non minus quam pietate præstantibus, fidei lumen per totum septentrionem sparsit."—Ibid.

5 De Hierarchia, tom. i, c. 4.

6. He has since become a fervent Catholic.

7 See his works, in three volumes, octavo. Vol. ii, ch. ii, p. 514, et seq.

in their schools, they instructed the people in agriculture, in the art of fishing, and in various other useful occupations. A desire of the people's welfare appeared in all their actions. When they received large donations of lands, they immediately baptized and manumitted their new vassals. Thus, baptism, in their eyes, broke the bonds of the slave, and restored him to freedom.[1] By pursuing this enlightened course, the monks greatly contributed to the destruction of serfism, a species of domestic servitude, which was a part of the older feudal system; and they raised up the lower orders in the scale of society. To the spirit of the Catholic Church, thus acting through them, and through various other mediums, is Europe mainly indebted for her present civilization, one important element of which was the abolition of serfism.

In enjoining penance on the great and the rich, they frequently recommended works of public utility: "Let him also repair the church of God; let him improve the public roads, and build bridges over deep waters and muddy places; let him manumit his own serfs, and pay for the ransom of those of others, so that these may enjoy liberty."[2] The monks were also austere and exemplary in their morals, spreading the "sweet odor of Christ" around their humble sphere of life, and rendering virtue lovely in the eyes of the people. They were disinterested and free from the stain of avarice. "So free," says the venerable Bede, "were the priests of that time from avarice, that they would not accept of landed property, unless through compulsion."[3] Finally, according to Burke, in those ages of disorder and civil feud, the monasteries were places of secure refuge for the afflicted and the oppressed. When hunted down by their oppressors, these could fly to the monasteries, which were sacred asylums, respected even by the most lawless. It was the same, by God's express appointment, under the old law, which provided certain cities of refuge for the forlorn outcast.

The English Protestant bishop, Tanner, has written a work expressly on the monastic institutions of England and Wales.[4] In the preface to this book, he bears unequivocal testimony to the literary merit and moral worth of the monks of England. "In every great abbey," says he, "there was a large room called the *Scriptorium*, where several writers made it their whole business to transcribe books for the use of the library. They sometimes, indeed, wrote the Leger books of the house, and the Missals, and other books used in divine service; *but they were generally upon other works: the Fathers, Classics, Histories, etc.*"[5]

He proceeds to state that John Whethampstead, abbot of St. Albans, caused eighty books to be thus transcribed; and that fifty-eight were

1 Spellman Council, p. 329; cited by Burke, ibid.

2 Instauret etiam Dei ecclesiam, et instauret vias publicas, pontibus super aquas profundas, et super cænosas vias; et manumittat servos suos proprios, et redimat ab aliis hominibus servos suos ad libertatem.—L. Edgari, c. 14. Apud Burke, ibid.

3 "Adeo enim sacerdotes illius temporis erant ab avaritia immunes, ut nec territoria nisi coacte acciperent."—Beda, lib. iii, c. 26.

4. "An Account of all the Abbeys, Priories, and Friaries, formerly existing in England and Wales."—Referred to by Cobbett in his fourth Letter, Nos. 132, et seq. 5 Preface, p. 19, et seq.

written out by the care of the abbot of Glastonbury. He says: "In all the greater abbeys, there were persons appointed to take notice of the principal occurrences of the kingdom, and, at the end of the year, to digest them into annals." The acts of parliament and of ecclesiastical councils, as well as the great charters of rights, were sent to these abbeys for registration and safe-keeping.[1] Magna Charta was preserved in them. The monasteries "were schools of learning and education; for every convent had one person or more appointed for this purpose; and all the neighbors that desired it, might have their children taught grammar and church music, *without any expense to them.* In the nunneries, also, young women were taught to work, and to read English, and sometimes Latin also. So that not only the lower rank of people, who could not pay for their learning, but most of the noblemen's and gentlemen's daughters were educated in those places."[2]

We are constrained to omit several other passages, in which the Anglican bishop bears willing testimony to the monasteries of England, as hospitals for the poor, — as houses of free entertainment for all travelers, — as places of great advantage to the common people living in their vicinity, by making them easy tenants, and by furnishing a ready market for whatever they were able to produce on the soil, — and finally, as great architectural ornaments of the country.

To this unexceptionable testimony of an English Protestant bishop, we add the following Protestant evidence on the same subject. Mallet, the historian of Switzerland, says: "The monks softened by their instructions the ferocious manners of the people, and opposed their credit to the tyranny of the nobility, who knew no other occupation than war, and grievously oppressed their neighbors. On this account the government of monks was preferred to theirs. The people sought them for judges. It was an usual saying, that '*it was better to be governed by a bishop's crozier, than by the monarch's scepter.*'"[3]

Drake assures us, on the authority of Warton,

"That the monks of Monte Cassino (in Italy), were distinguished, not only for their knowledge of science, but for their attention to polite learning, and their acquaintance with the classics. Their learned abbot, Desiderius, collected the best Greek and Roman authors. The fraternity not only composed learned treatises on music, logic, astronomy, and the Vitruvian architecture, but likewise employed a portion of their time in transcribing Tacitus, etc., etc. This laudable example was, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, followed with great spirit and emulation by many English monasteries."[4]

Sharon Turner, in his History of England, speaks of the monasteries after this wise:

"No tyranny was ever established, that was more unequivocally the creature of popular will, nor longer maintained by popular support: in

1 Ibid. 2 Ibid. 3 History of the Swiss, vol. i, p. 105. 4 Literary Hours, vol. ii, p. 435.

no point did personal interest and public welfare more cordially unite, than in the encouragement of monasteries."[1]

Bates, another Protestant writer, recommends the establishment in England of a species of Protestant nunneries for the instruction of young ladies, in order to counteract the influence of Catholic female convents. He says :

"Thus might the comfort and welfare of many individuals be promoted to the great benefit of society at large, and the interests of popery, by improving on its own principles, be considerably counteracted."[2]

Protestants, some years ago, tried this experiment in London, but the affair turned out an utter failure. However, the elopements extraordinary which broke up the attempted establishment, *were* perhaps "an improvement on the principles of popery!" The whole business, like all other previous attempts at reformation by Protestants, ended, as Erasmus had caustically observed, "in the comedy of marriage!" Alas! Protestantism has not vitality enough for such undertakings.

We will close this mass of Protestant testimony, by a beautiful passage from the Quarterly Review, for December, 1811:

"The world has never been so much indebted to any other body of men, as to the illustrious Order of Benedictine monks. . . Tinian and Juan Fernandez are not more beautiful spots on the ocean, than Malmesbury, Lindisfarne, and Jarrow were in the ages of our heptarchy. A community of pious men devoted to literature, and to the useful arts, as well as to religion, seems in those days like a green Oasis amid the desert. Like stars on a moonless night, they shine upon us with a tranquil ray. If ever there was a man who could truly be called *venerable*, it was he to whom the appellation is constantly fixed, Bede, whose life was passed in instructing his own generation, and preparing records for posterity. In those days the Church offered the only asylum from the evils to which every country was exposed, — amidst continual wars, the Church enjoyed peace, — it was regarded as a sacred realm by men, who, though they hated one another, believed in and feared the same God. . . The wise as well as the timid and gentle fled to the *Goshen* of God, which enjoyed its own light and calm amidst darkness and storms."

II. According to our plan, we will now endeavor to prove, that this Protestant homage paid to the institutions of the Catholic Church is based upon the facts of anthentic history, derived from original documents. And while pursuing this line of illustration, we will be enabled to see more in detail what the Catholic Clergy and the Monks have done for Literature.

Before the invention of the art of printing by Guttenberg and his associates, about the year 1436, the scarcity of books was perhaps the greatest difficulty with which Literature had to struggle. Books, which could be multiplied only by the tedious process of copying by hand,

1 Vol. ii, pp. 332 and 361. We suppose that hard word *tyranny* was thrown in as a *douceur* to Protestant prejudice It requires more acute optics than ours to perceive how that can be "tyranny," which is "unequivocally the creature of popular will," and which combines "personal interest and public welfare."

2 "Rural Philosophy," p. 322.

were necessarily scarce and dear. It cost a man almost the labor of a life-time, to obtain even a scanty library by this means. At the present day, when books have been so vastly multiplied, we can hardly form an adequate idea of the obstacles which our forefathers had to overcome in the middle ages. It ill becomes us to sneer at their ignorance, when, due allowance being made for the difficulty of their position in this respect, they might perhaps compare advantageously with us, in ardor and zeal for the promotion of learning. Besides, by their patient labor in the transcription of books, they preserved *for us* the treasures of ancient Latin and Greek Literature, — to say nothing of the Fathers and of the sacred writings, — and they thereby laid the foundation of modern literature, and made it *possible* for us to be learned. Gratitude for a service so important, should incline us to leniency in judging of their progress in letters. But they need not our mercy ; all they demand is our justice. If they be judged according to this standard, they will not suffer by comparison even with our enlightened age, every thing being taken into the account.

The history of the formation and preservation of libraries before the art of printing, is one of the most interesting and useful branches of literary inquiry. It is an investigation intimately connected with the advancement of learning during the middle ages, as well as with its present condition. Those who founded and multiplied libraries deserve the immortal gratitude of this age. We propose to show : 1st, how libraries were founded throughout the Christian world, at the period in question, and what agency the Catholic clergy had in their establishment ; and 2dly, how, and by what means, these libraries were increased and multiplied over the world.

1. Religion and Literature were always cultivated together. The library grew up with the school, under the shadow of the Church. Libraries were attached to most of the ancient churches, particularly to those of the patriarchal, metropolitan, and episcopal sees. Eusebius tells us of his frequent visits to the library attached to the cathedral church of Cæsarea. St. Jerome, in his Letters, often speaks of that connected with the church at Jerusalem. But the most famous collections of books among the ancient Christians were those at Rome, Alexandria, and Constantinople. That of Rome, in the famous Lateran Basilica, was founded by St. Hilary, a Pope of the sixth century. It was divided into two departments : the private, or that of the archives of the Roman church, and the public or classical, to which all could have access.[1]

Of the three libraries just mentioned, that of Rome alone has been preserved to our day. Transferred to the Vatican, it has shared the immortality of the "eternal city ;" and it is at the present day the one which is most famous for old manuscripts, and the richest in ancient lore. The *suite* of rooms in which it is contained, is nearly a quarter of a mile long, and it is surpassingly rich and splendid. The library of Con-

1 Vide Anastasius Bibliothecarius, — *in Vita Hilarii.*

stantinople, containing about one hundred thousand manuscript volumes, was destroyed in one of those popular seditions so common in that city during the middle ages. That of Alexandria, supposed to contain no less than seven hundred thousand manuscript tomes, was burnt by order of the Caliph Omar, about the year 632. Its loss was an irreparable blow to Literature. Perhaps hundreds of works of the fathers, and of the ancient classics perished in that one brief conflagration.

In Germany, the cathedrals of Hamburg, Bamberg, Cologne, Paderborn, and many others, had extensive libraries adjoining them. Those attached to the cathedrals of England were no less famous.[1] The library was often a part of the church building itself. Among ancient writers, it was called by different names; — *Secretarium, Chartarium, Archivium, Scrinium, Librarium*, etc. St. Gregory the Great, about the year 600, wrote to Eulogius, patriarch of Alexandria, who had asked him for a particular work: "That the book he sought for could not be found, either in the archives of the Roman Church, or in the other collections of the city:" — which passage proves that there were many libraries in Rome, at the close of the sixth century.

The agency of the Catholic clergy, both secular and regular, in forming the ancient libraries, is manifest from every document connected with the history of those establishments. Even in pagan times, the priesthood had been entrusted with the guardianship of books, profane as well as sacred. In ancient Rome, the temples of Apollo Palatine, of Peace, and of the Capitol, and in Egypt that of Serapis, were the depositories of books, of which the priests had charge. The Catholic clergy were always the chief librarians in the early times of the Church, and particularly in the middle ages. The Emperor Justinian ordered that copies of his laws should be kept in the principal churches of the empire, with as much care as the sacred vases. In many episcopal cities, such as Rome, Hippo, Vercelli, and Tours, the clergy lived in common with the bishop, and conducted flourishing schools under his eye. There were also schools adjoining the other cathedral, and even the principal parochial churches. This created a necessity for books. And accordingly, we find that those places were the *nuclei* of the most extensive libraries in Europe.

But the monks distinguished themselves most, both in the collection of books, and in the founding of libraries. Monasteries were founded in the east, as early as the fourth century. The rule of St. Pachomius enters into the most minute details, concerning the necessity of taking care of the books contained in the monastic library. Two monks were appointed in each house for this purpose. Each one was directed to have his own reading book. There were from thirty to forty houses belonging to this order, with an average of forty monks in each; so that the total number of monks was between twelve and sixteen hundred. The number of books was, by the monastic rule just alluded to, at least as great. And yet this monastic

1 See Heeren, Opp. 1, 65.

order made no special profession of letters; and the monks belonging to it were, many of them, simple and unlearned.

In the sixth century, the great Cassiodorus bequeathed his library, which he had collected with incredible labor, to the Solitaries; knowing "that among them alone could the faint rays of science be gathered together, increase, and form a great light, to enlighten the nations." St. Augustine, in his last will, recommended his library to the care of his priests, who lived in common with him, under a rule drawn up by himself. So great was the importance attached to the preservation of the monastic libraries, that St. Gregory the Great, himself a Benedictine monk, instituted a legal process in order to have a book restored to a monastery. The forty monks whom this sainted Pontiff sent out with St. Augustine to labor for the conversion of England, carried many books with them, and among others, a Homer.[1] We may as well state here, as elsewhere, that many ancient bishops were in the habit of carrying their books with them while traveling. This was the practice of St. Burchard, who flourished, A. D. 751; and of St. Bruno, who died 965. The disciples of Ratherius, the famous bishop of Verona, who lived in the tenth century, always sent his books before him, in his numerous journeys through Europe. Among these was a copy of Plautus, and another of Terence.

St. Bennet Biscop founded the famous Abbey of Weremouth in England, A. D. 674. He traversed Europe no less than five times, in order to collect books, and to establish a library in this his cherished monastery. The venerable Bede tells us that, by means of these peregrinations, "he brought into England an almost innumerable quantity of books of every kind."[2] These, on dying, he bequeathed to his disciples, holding them responsible before God for their preservation. His love for learning was thus his ruling passion, strong even in death. The abbots Ceolfrid and Egbert contributed much towards increasing this venerable library.

The great Alcuin, in the beginning of the ninth century, wrote in Latin verse a catalogue of the books belonging to the famous library at York. From this catalogue, which is still extant, it appears that York then possessed the works of most of the fathers, as well as of the ancient classics.

The libraries of the monasteries were often called *armoria*, or armories. The abbot of the monastery of Beaugency, in the twelfth century, assigns the reason for this name, by observing, that "libraries are as essential to monasteries, as armories are to armies in time of war." The saying of Mathias Mittner, in the sixteenth century, was a stated maxim among the monks of the middle ages: "*Ignorance is everywhere the mother of vice.*"[3]

The care which the monks were bound by their rule to take of their books, is truly astonishing. At Citeaux, a reader was not allowed to leave his book alone, even for a moment; he was obliged to replace it in the *armory*, or leave it in charge of another. St. Isidore directed that books

1 See Lingard's Antiquities of the Anglo Saxon Church. ch. x.

2 "Innumerabilem omnis generis copiam (librorum) cum apportasse."

3 "Ignorantia ubique multorum malorum est mater."

should be returned to the library every evening. The rule of the great Chartreuse monastery directs, that "books be most cautiously and diligently kept, as the food of our souls." The abbot Riquier (eleventh century), at the close of a catalogue of books he had drawn up, exclaims: "This is the wealth of the cloister,—these are the riches of the heavenly life!"[1]

These and similar facts may serve to explain to us how it is, that in entering many of the libraries of Europe at the present day, we often read over the door an inscription, threatening excommunication against any one who will dare remove a book without the proper authority. This is a relict of mediæval solicitude for the preservation of books. Our own carelessness at the present time is rebuked by the ardent love of books in the olden days, at the ignorance of which we often nevertheless most unwittingly sneer.

Towards the close of the fifteenth century, Trithemius collected no less than two thousand volumes of valuable manuscripts. In his learned chronicles of the abbeys of Spanheim and Hirschau in Germany, he shows how much we are indebted to the monks for the preservation of ancient learning. Though the monasteries were generally held sacred, even by the barbarians, yet they were sometimes destroyed. In such cases, the books were saved by the monks in preference to any other property. Trithemius tells us, that when the monastery of Rossano was destroyed by the Saracens, in the tenth century, the holy abbot Nilus retired to Rome, deeply chagrined; and he reckons the parting with his books the greatest trial which this good man ever had to encounter. In 883, the abbey of Fleury was destroyed; but the books were saved by the care of the monks. So also, when the abbey of St. Gall was attacked by the Madgars in the tenth century, the monks fled to the mountains, carrying nothing with them but their books. The monks of Monte Cassino, when this monastery was assailed by the Lombards, in 685, had likewise the good fortune to save their library. To show the value set on books by the monks, the following fact may be adduced. St. Fulard, abbot of St. Dennis, in the eighth century, in a schedule of the property belonging to the monastery at his death, places the books immediately after the gold and silver.

The library of Spanheim, in Germany, contained two thousand volumes in the fifteenth century. According to the testimony of one of its monks, that of Novalaise in Piedmont contained, in the tenth century, more than six thousand books.[2] Leland, the librarian of Henry VIII., testifies that there were seventeen hundred manuscripts in the abbey of Peterborough in England. He also states that the library of the Franciscans in London was one hundred and twenty-nine feet long, and thirty-one feet broad, and that it was "well filled with books;" and that the abbey of Wells had a library with twenty-five windows on each side. According to Ingulphus, the library of Crowland had seven hundred volumes, when it was burned in 1090.

What has become of all these once splendid libraries, collected and pre-

1 "Hæ sunt divitiæ claustrales,—hæ sunt opulentiæ vitæ cœlestis!"

2 See Eugenii de Levis, *Anecdota Sacra*. Præf. xxviii.

served with so much care by the monks of the *dark* ages? Alas! they have been, almost all of them, dilapidated or wholly destroyed. The Goths, Vandals, and Saracens, were not the only enemies of learning, nor the only destroyers of libraries. Those who have been so much in the habit of sneering at "monkish ignorance and superstition," are the very ones to whom we are indebted, in a great measure, for this work of destruction! The reformation enkindled a fire which consumed them. The spoilers under Henry VIII. and Edward VI. destroyed many of those attached to the abbeys in England;[1] and not to multiply facts, the library of St. Benedict *sur Loire*, with five thousand volumes, was burned by the Huguenots in the sixteenth century.

2. By what means were the ancient libraries augmented and multiplied over Europe? We answer unhesitatingly, that it was chiefly by the patient labor and persevering industry of the monks, who flourished in the *dark* ages. Among the ancient Greeks and Romans, slaves were employed in the irksome occupation of copying books. The task of transcribing books, in Christian times, devolved chiefly on the monks, as we shall now proceed to show by undeniable facts.

Before the invention of the art of printing, it was very difficult to become an author. He who aspired to this enviable distinction, imposed on himself a labor truly Herculean. He had to travel from place to place, in quest of the manuscripts to which he wished to refer. These he was often obliged to correct, by collating them with one another; and, as he was not generally allowed to transport them from their place, in order to make the collation, he had frequently to stop and sit down patiently to the task of transcribing them, which was a work of months,—sometimes of years. Thus whole years of indefatigable industry were required, merely as a novitiate to authorship. We doubt whether at this day half the number of books would be composed, as we know to have been written in the middle ages, if so many obstacles had first to be overcome.

The great scarcity of books, which mainly induced all this labor, continued till about the middle of the thirteenth century. From this date, manuscripts became more abundant, especially in the great cities where the universities were established. Thus, in the year 1325, there were attached to the university of Paris twenty-three *stationarii*, or stationed booksellers, of whom two were women. Besides these, there were also a great many traveling hawkers of manuscripts. In order to obtain a license to sell, these booksellers were bound by law to take an oath to observe the regulations of the university, which forbade them to sell any books to strangers, or to keep on hand for sale any works besides those commonly used by the students. The motives of these local regulations seem to have been: to make the books used in the university cheaper, by creating a greater demand for them, and to keep the minds of the students from being distracted by reading works foreign to their course of study.

What we have just said of the university of Paris, may be also observed

1 See Cobbett's History of the Reformation, vol. ii, for abundant proofs of this.

of those of Bologna, Rome, Padua, Pavia, Perugia, Naples, Salamanca, Valladolid, Alcala, Oxford, and Cambridge; attached to all of which were *bibliopolæ*, or booksellers, bound by certain university regulations.

How were the shops of these booksellers filled with books? And how were the libraries of books, not kept on sale, maintained and augmented? In those distracted times, temporal princes had neither time nor inclination to copy manuscripts themselves, nor sufficient zeal for letters to induce them to employ copyists. The bishops and the secular clergy were in general too much occupied, to devote much time to this laborious duty. This task devolved chiefly on the monks, who lived in common, and had more leisure. To render the profession of copyist permanent and generally useful, required the joint labor of many acting in concert, under a rule which enjoined obedience, and recommended labor for the love of God. The monastic institute alone possessed these requisites, and offered motives so exalted for patient industry.

Prompted by views thus lofty, even religious ladies in the convents not unfrequently employed their time in transcribing books. Eusebius, the father of church history, speaks of young virgins employed as copyists by ecclesiastical writers of the first four centuries. Even as early as the days of Tatian, in the second century, the zeal of religious women for letters excited the bile, and provoked the satire of the enemies of Christianity. In the fifth century, St. Melania, the Younger, is praised by her biographer for the exactness, beauty, and rapidity of her writing. St. Cæsaria, and her co-religious in the sixth century, acquired great reputation for the same accomplishments.[1] In the eighth century, St. Boniface, the apostle of Germany, writing to an abbess, prays her to copy in golden letters the epistles of St. Peter.[2]

We may here remark, by the way, that the art of writing with golden and silver ink, now disused if not wholly lost, seems to have been very common in the *dark* ages. Many ancient manuscripts in this beautiful writing are still preserved. The writer of this paper, some few years ago, saw in the Vatican library at Rome, a splendid copy of a Greek New Testament written entirely in letters of gold. It is said to have been executed at Constantinople, in the eleventh or twelfth century.

Who that has visited the ancient libraries, has not admired the beautiful penmanship, the tasty marginal decorations, and the splendid pictorial illustrations, of many among the old illuminated manuscripts?[3] In many of these exquisite ornaments, the delicate hand of woman is readily traced. SS. Hamilda and Renilda, two Belgian abbesses of the ninth century, employed their time in transcribing manuscripts. An abbot of the Premonstrats in the thirteenth century, while traveling to collect books, pre-

1 See Mabillon—*Acta Ord. S. Benedicti*, Tom. i, p. 668, *et seq.* 2 Epist. 28.

3 See on this interesting subject, two or three articles in that excellent French religious and philosophical monthly publication, *Annales de la Philosophie Chretienne*. The writer of those papers proves, by abundant evidence, to what perfection penmanship and miniature painting were carried in the middle ages.

vailed on several religious ladies of Flanders to aid him in transcribing them.[1]

All the monastic orders employed copyists among their inmates. St. Jerome and St. Ephrem of Edessa, strongly recommended this useful occupation to the eastern cenobites. The monks of St. Martin of Tours had no other manual labor.[2] In the sixth century, St. Ferreol laid down this rule for his monks: "let him paint the page with his hand, who does not cultivate the earth with the plow."[3] About the same time, the retired Roman senator Cassiodorus, while in his ninety-third year, wrote in his cloister of Virarium a special treatise on orthography. He was enthusiastic in recommending to the monks the employment of transcribing books. He calls it a godlike occupation, "multiplying celestial words, speaking to the absent, wounding Satan." Thus was the painful labor of the copyist ennobled and hallowed by the lofty motives of religion!

Next came the Benedictines, who, according to the testimony of St. Gregory the Great, were engaged, from the very infancy of their order, "in tilling the soil, and in transcribing manuscripts." We have already seen, from Protestant authority, how much Literature is indebted to this illustrious order. Every monastery had a *Scriptorium*, or a hall specially set apart for copying books. Alcuin recommends to those engaged in this occupation the strictest silence, in order to prevent mutual interruption, and to avoid dissipation of the mind, which, during so noble an employment, should be centered in God! The greater monasteries generally employed at least twelve copyists. For this duty, not only the younger monks, but often those of greater age and celebrity,—such as Alcuin, Dunstan, etc., were selected.

The monks were not, in fact, mere blind copyists; they were often men of learning, who carefully collated and corrected the manuscripts they were engaged in transcribing. As early as the sixth century, one of the oldest monks of the monastery of Mesmin, near Orleans in France, was employed in arranging and collating the books of the monastic library.[4] Alcuin, in the ninth age, was employed by Charlemagne in collating the manuscripts of the Bible, with a view to its correction. Charlemagne himself devoted part of his time to comparing various manuscripts of the four Gospels. About the same time, Lupus, abbot of Ferrieres, employed his leisure hours in transcribing and collating the manuscripts of the library belonging to his monastery. He mentions Sallust and other classical works, on which he was thus laboring.[5] In his Letters, he thanks Ansbald, abbot of Prum, for a copy of Cicero's Epistles; and Adalpard, for a revised copy of Macrobius.

One of the greatest literati of the middle ages, was the monk Gerbert, afterwards Pope Sylvester II. In one of his many Epistles,[6] he earnestly

1 Le Beuf, *Autogr.* c. 1. 2 Sulpitius Severus, *Vita S. Martini*—vii.
3 "*Paginam, pingat digito, qui terram non proscindit aratro.*"
4 See Petit Radel, *Bibliotheq.* p. 46.
5 *Epist. ad Regimbert*, 104. 6 Epistola, 7.

recommended a revision and correction of the works of Pliny,—a labor, says he, which required great knowledge and critical skill. St. Anselm, writing to the archbishop of Canterbury, begs the loan of various books for the use of the monastery of Bec in Normandy, over which he then presided; but he desires that only the most correct copies be sent.[1] Lanfranc's revised edition of the holy Scriptures is well known by the learned, who justly prize it for its accuracy. In the Grand Chartreuse, the corrections to be made by the copyists were decided on in full chapter of the monastery.

The *armarius bibliothecarius*, or librarian, was an officer of exalted dignity, both at court and in the libraries, especially in those of the monks. He had under his supervision a number of skillful copyists. The distance of place, and the difficulty of communication in those unsettled times. were great obstacles to the general collation and correction of manuscripts These difficulties were, however, boldly met, and courageously overcome by the monks. Books were often interchanged. Thus Servatus Lupus and Eginhard were in the habit of exchanging works between their respective monasteries of Ferrieres and Fulda. The former, in a letter to the Abbot Alsig of York, asks for the loan of the works of Quintillian, as also of various works of St. Jerome, Bede, and other fathers; and he proposes a bond of the holiest friendship, to be based upon the intercommunication of prayers and books between the two monasteries of Ferrieres and York.

Besides the *Scriptorium*, the monasteries possessed various other resources for augmenting their libraries. The liberality of princes and of the people was often successfully appealed to, for this laudable purpose. Certain seignorial rights over the territory adjoining them, were another abundant resource. Many monasteries had also special rules contemplating the same object. Some required the novice, at his entrance into the religious order, to contribute something towards the library, or to furnish a copy of some work which was rare. Others had a rule which required scholars frequenting the monastic schools, to furnish each year two volumes of manuscripts transcribed by themselves. By all these means, and above all, by the patient industry of the monks, the monastic libraries became the richest treasures of Literature in the middle ages. In what is by many considered the darkest and most barren age of this period,—the tenth century,—we have already seen that the library of St. Benedict *sur Loire* had five thousand volumes; and that of Novalaise, in Piedmont, upwards of six thousand.

Throughout that whole period, Italy was the center of Literature, as well as the grand repository of books. The zeal of the Roman Pontiffs for the diffusion of learning, and for the distribution of books throughout the Christian world, cannot be sufficiently appreciated and admired. St. Gregory the Great was written to repeatedly on this subject, from Gaul and even from Alexandria.[2] St. Martin I. received petitions for books

1 S. Anselmi, Epistolæ, b. i, 43.

2 S. Gregorii, Epistolæ, xi, 56.

from Belgium and from Spain.[1] Pope Paul I. was asked by Pepin for Greek works, to be placed in the library of St. Dennis: among them were Aristotle, a treatise on Geometry, probably Euclid, and many others. Gerbert wrote no less than thirteen Epistles,[2] some of them to Roman Pontiffs, to ask for books. Among the works he most desired, were "Mamilius,—de Astronomiá," "Victorinus,—de Rhetoricá," and those of Lupitus of Barcelona.

We have thus endeavored to show, both from Protestant authority, and from original documents,—What the Catholic Clergy, and especially the Monks, have done for Literature. The facts we have alleged must be blotted from the pages of history, before we can excuse many Protestant historians for charging the Catholic Church with fostering ignorance, and for habitually sneering at "monkish indolence and superstition." Without the generous and patient labors of these much abused men, how many of the works of the ancients, think you, would have been transmitted to us? Without them, the middle ages would have been a yawning gulf, which would have swallowed up all the literary treasures of antiquity. Without their indefatigable industry, we would not now be able to feast on the eloquence of Cicero and Demosthenes, nor to be charmed with the beautiful strains of Homer and Virgil.

The monks have been often charged with wantonly destroying many of the most valuable classical works of antiquity, in order to use the parchment on which they were written for copying out comparatively insignificant treatises on piety, or legends of the saints. But is it either just or fair to charge on the whole body of monks what was done by very few of their members, and by these only when pressed for the want of writing material necessary for transcribing books in daily use among them?[3] Are we to lose sight of the general, persevering, and almost inconceivable literary labors of this illustrious body of men, merely because, here and there, an ignorant monk could not properly appreciate a work of the ancient classics?

Besides, how can the accusers of the monks prove, that in more than one or two instances any classical work was really lost, even for a time, by the very rare act of copying another work on the same parchment? How can they show that when this took place, there was only *one* copy of the work thus mutilated, in the world? Yet they should establish all this to make good their accusation.

Again; in most of the instances in which we know of this abuse having occurred, the original work was not destroyed, but only obscured. And who was it that taught Europe how to decipher those hitherto hidden writings? Who, by skill and patient industry, revealed the hidden mysteries of the ***Palimpsests***, and discovered the lost work of Cicero,—De

1 Baronius, Annales ad Ann, 649. 2 Ep. 130, et aliæ.

3 After the subjugation of Egypt by the Saracens, in the seventh century, the supply of papyrus was cut off, and Europe suffered greatly from the scarcity of writing material. Muratori thinks that we are to ascribe, in a great measure, to the fact just mentioned the subsequent decline of letters in Europe.

Republicá? Was it one of the loudly boasting, and bitterly sneering *literati* of Protestant Germany or England? No. It was an ex-Jesuit,—a Roman priest, living at Rome,—afterwards Cardinal Mai! And this was but one of his splendid literary achievements![1]

To conclude; it was a monk,—Roger Bacon,—who first discovered and explained those principles which, a little later, led another monk,—Schwartz, of Cologne,—to invent gunpowder; and which, more fully developed some centuries afterwards by the great Catholic philosopher, Galileo, enabled him to invent the microscope and the telescope. It was a monk,—Salvino of Pisa,—who, in the twelfth century, invented spectacles for the old and for the shortsighted. To the monks,—Pacifico of Verona, the great Gerbert, and William, abbot of Hirschau,—we owe the invention of clocks, some time between the tenth and twelfth centuries. It was the monks, who in the middle ages, taught the people agriculture, and who, by their skillful industry, reclaimed whole tracts of waste land. It was the monks who first cultivated botany, and made known the hidden medicinal properties of plants. It is to the monks, that we are in all probability indebted for the paper on which we write.

It was the monk Gerbert, who first introduced into Europe the arithmetical numbers of the Arabs, A. D. 991, and who thus laid the foundation of arithmetical and mathematical studies. It was a Spanish Benedictine monk,—Pedro da Ponce,—who, A. D. 1570, first taught Europe the art of instructing the deaf and dumb. It was a French Catholic priest,—the Abbé Haüy,—who, in a work published towards the close of the last century, first unfolded the principles of the modern science of mineralogy. It was a Catholic priest,—Nicholas Copernicus,—who, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, promulgated the theory of a system of the world, appropriately called after him, the *Copernican*, which is now generally received, and which led to the brilliant discoveries of Kepler and Galileo, and formed the basis of the splendid mathematical demonstrations of Newton and La Place.

Finally, it is to the missionary zeal of Catholic priests that we are indebted for most of our earliest maritime and geographical knowledge. The Catholic priest always accompanied voyages of discovery and expeditions of conquest; often stimulating the former by his zeal for the salvation of souls, and softening down the rigors of the latter by the exercise of his heroic charity. Catholic priests were, at all times, the pioneers of civilization; and the Cross always accompanied, it sometimes went before, the banner of mere earthly dominion.

1 Those who may wish to see more on this highly interesting subject, are referred to Bingham. De Antiquis Ecclesiæ Scholis et Bibliothecis, tome iii; to Hospinianus, De Templis; to Komeier, De Bibliothecis; to Mabillon, De Studiis Monasticis, and Acta Ord. S. Benedicti; and to a series of very learned articles on the subject, in some late numbers of the Annales de la Philosophie Chretienne already mentioned.

VI. SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES IN THE "DARK" AGES.

Protestant boasting—Light and darkness—Revival of letters and the Reformation—Early and recent persecution of slander compared—Gibbon—Protestant theory—Lame argument—Early Christian Schools—Plato and Aristotle—Irish Schools—And Irish Scholars—Cathedral Schools—Charlemagne and Alfred—Councils ordering the erection of Schools—The monasteries—And monastic Schools—What was therein taught—Schools for the nobility—Signing in cipher—Female Academies—Literary ladies—Universities—In Italy—England—And France—Statement of Danielo examined—Curious incident in the history of the University of Paris—Three qualities of mediæval Schools and Universities stated and established—Who first founded Free Schools?—Glance at modern Universities.

Of all the puffs of this puffing age, none has been louder or of longer continuance, than that which has vaunted the triumphs of Protestantism in the matter of education. By dint of constant boasting, Protestant writers have almost persuaded the world, that its rise from barbarism, its enlightenment in literature, its progress in science and art, its present civilization, are all ascribable to the revolution, called by its friends the *reformation;* and that before that blessed event, all was darkness and wide-spread desolation. The Church sat down in the midst of this darkness, quite at home and at her ease: she made no effort to dissipate the gloom; she fostered it rather, as the thing above all others most suited to her wicked purpose, of infusing into the minds of men the deadly poison of error and superstition!

Such is the proudly boasting theory, which Protestant writers have sought to establish, rather by bold and reckless assertion, than by calm and solid argument. Verily, if history did not inform us, that a Catholic first invented steam navigation,[1] we should be greatly tempted to ascribe that invention also to the reformation! Since this religious revolution, there has been in the world one continual puff! puff!! puff!!!—and, amidst the accompanying noise and smoke, men's minds have been scarcely calm enough to form a correct judgment on the true facts of history. The Catholic Church, on the contrary, has boasted little, and done much; without vaunting her literary triumphs, she has really been the foundress of Schools and Universities, the fosterer of arts and sciences, and the mother of inventions; as will abundantly appear, we think, from the fact embo-

1 Blasco de Garay, a Spaniard, first constructed a Steam Engine for purposes of navigation, and in the year 1543, he made a successful experiment with it in the harbor of Barcelona, before Charles V. and all his court, and in presence of the whole city. The vessel with which he tried his experiment was of 200 *barrels* [tons?] burden. See Naverette—"Colleccion de Viages," and "A year in Spain," vol. i, p. 47.

died in this Essay. Before Protestantism was ever heard of, she had struggled single-handed for centuries against ignorance and barbarism. She had already achieved a splendid triumph over these evils, some time before the dawn of the reformation. The brilliant literary age of Leo X., which was at its meridian of glory when Luther began his revolt, has never been surpassed, — if even rivaled,—by Protestants at any subsequent epoch.

Were this the place for such an investigation, facts might be accumulated to show, that the reformation, instead of advancing, retarded the progress of learning for a whole century. Amidst the confusion, angry polemics, and bloody civil wars, to which that revolution gave rise, men had neither time nor inclination to apply to the cultivation of letters. Great minds which, during "Leo's golden days," had directed all their energies to literary pursuits, were then destined to consume their strength in acrimonious religious controversy. Instead of drinking at the pure fountains of Helicon, they were doomed to slake their thirst at the troubled waters of controversial debate. The history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, remarkably sterile in literary improvement and invention, compared with the two previous ones, affords a striking demonstration of this position.

In more modern times, in our own age and country, the course pursued by Protestant writers towards the Catholic Church, on the subject of education, has been singularly unjust and inconsistent. Sometimes they accuse her of fostering ignorance, and at others, of monopolizing education. These two charges are also not unfrequently made in the same breath, and in reference to the same time and place! In proof of this assertion, we confidently appeal to the line of argument adopted by the Protestant religious press in the United States, during the last quarter of a century. Whatever rule of conduct she pursues, the Catholic Church cannot please these fastidious gentry of the Protestant press and pulpit. Does she rear Schools and Colleges all over the land, going even beyond her means to bring education to the door of the humblest citizen? The cry is at once raised, that she wishes to monoplize education, and to use the influence thus obtained in order to make proselytes to her creed. Does she make no extraordinary efforts in behalf of learning? The old stereotype charge is rung in our ears, that she means to foster ignorance. Placed in a dilemma, analogous to that of her divine Founder and Spouse, while He was laboring for the redemption of mankind in the land of Israel, she may apply His language, in addressing the people of this age of boasted enlightenment: "But whereunto shall I esteem this generation to be alike? It is like children sitting in the market place, who cry out to their companions and say, 'We have piped to you, and you have not danced; we have lamented, and you have not mourned.'"[1]

The charge preferred against the Church,—of encouraging ignorance,—is as old as Christianity. The Christians of the first three centuries were

1 St. Math. xi, 16. *seq.*

sneered at for their poverty and their want of learning. This calumnious accusation is repeated over and over again, with singular gusto, by that heartless and sneering infidel, Gibbon; whose grandiloquent style and well rounded periods have contributed, perhaps more than the writings of any other enemy of Christianity, to poison the minds of youth, and to foster real ignorance, under the pretext of promoting philosophy. The greediness with which this and similar works are sought for and devoured in Protestant communities, is one out of many proofs, that all errorists sympathize with one another. Such works meet with very little sympathy in Catholic countries. In fact, the best refutation of the insidious history of "the Decline and Downfall of the Roman Empire," is the production of an Italian Catholic.[1]

In the fourth century, that arch enemy of Christianity, Julian the apostate, by legal enactments against the education of Christians in the Colleges and Schools of the Roman empire, sought to perpetuate this stigma of ignorance. The imperial persecutor had the heartlessness to sneer at the ignorance of Christians, and to prohibit their education in the same breath![2]

It is a singular coincidence in the history of mankind, that England, after the reformation, adopted precisely the same iniquitous course towards Catholic Ireland. By her statutes, it was penal for a Catholic to teach school in Ireland; and yet, as if exulting with fiendish delight at the mischief which this iniquitous law was calculated to produce, you might hear her loud and long protracted notes of triumph over the ignorance and debasement of the Irish;—a triumph not justified, however, by the facts, notwithstanding every English Protestant effort to foster ignorance!

The usual device of Protestant writers is, to accuse the Catholic Church of promoting ignorance, especially during the middle ages, in order that, availing herself of the general darkness of that period, she might the more easily establish her erroneous principles. This theory has been so often and so boldly stated, that it has almost passed current as truth in our *enlightened* age. Does the Catholic ask the Protestant to inform him, when even *one* of the Catholic doctrines, against which he protests, had its origin at any period subsequent to the Apostolic age? Perhaps some other response may at first be hazarded: but when driven from every other position, the answer will probably be, that the doctrine in question originated in the *Dark* Ages! And when asked further, when and *where* it was first broached during that period, the respondent shrouds himself triumphantly in the *darkness* of these ages, as in a panoply of strength, and thinks himself clad in a mail of proof! We have more than once been amused at *such* exhibitions of polemical skill.

And yet this argument, or rather subterfuge, has not even the merit of

1 Spedalieri—"Rifutazione di Gibbon," 5 Vols. 12mo. An abridgment, at least, of this work should be given to the English community.

2 And yet Gibbon, Tytler, and other historians much in favor among Protestants, are in the habit of eulogizing this apostate, as the greatest philosopher and legislator of his age; while they have little but reproach and sneers to bestow on such men as Constantine and Theodosius! Another proof this of the tender kindred feeling existing amongst errorists of different shades of opinion.

speciousness or plausibility. To borrow an expressive figure from the schoolmen of the *Dark* Ages, it is lame of both feet — *utroque claudicat pede:* the premises are not true, and if they were, the conclusion would not follow. In other words, it is not true, that the epoch in question was so *dark* as it is often represented; and even if it had been tenfold more so, it would not thence follow that Christianity could then have been more easily corrupted, than at any other more enlightened period.

To begin with this last position; did Christ any where say, that literature was intended to be a distinctive mark of His Church? Or that His promises to the Church were to depend for their fulfillment on the literary qualifications of His followers? Was the promotion of human learning a principal object of His divine mission? Had it been so, would He not have selected, as the heralds of His kingdom, men of talents and gifted with human learning, rather than poor illiterate fishermen? Would He not have sought out and commissioned, to found His religion, the philosophers and rhetoricians of Greece and Rome, in preference to twelve unlearned men selected for this purpose from the lowest walks of life in Judea? The truth is, that "He chose the foolish things of the world, that He might confound the wise, and the weak things of the world, that He might confound the strong: and the mean things of the world, and the things that are contemptible, and things that are not, that He might destroy the things that are; that no flesh should glory in His sight."[1] It was a leading maxim of His kingdom, that "knowledge puffeth up; but charity edifieth."[2] He promised, that the "gates of hell shall not prevail against His Church," built upon a rock;[3] without even once intimating that the fulfillment of this solemn pledge was to depend on the encouragement of human learning by His Church.

The other *foot* of the argument is equally *lame*. The Church has, in fact, always promoted learning, even in the most calamitous periods of her history. Men of every shade of opinion are beginning to pay this homage to truth. In Germany, in France, in Italy, and in England, writers of distinguished ability, without distinction of creed, have applied themselves with singular industry and success to exploring the hitherto neglected treasures of mediæval literature.[4] And the man who, with the result of all these literary labors spread out before the world, will still persist in calling the middle ages *dark*, only exhibits the *darkness* of his own mind

1 1. Corinth. I. 27, seq. 2 1. Corinth. viii, 1. 3 Math. xvi. 18.

4 The principal writers on this subject are in Italy, Muratori Dissertationes de Antiquitatibus Medii Ævi 6 vols. folio — Tiraboschi — Storia Della Letteratura Italiana, 28 vols 32 mo. — Bettinelli, Risorgimento, della Letteratura Italiana, 2 vols. 8 vo. — Andres, Storia di ogni Letteratura, 6 vols. 4 to. — Battini — Apologia dei Secoli Barbai 3 vols. 12 mo., — besides many others. In Germany, Heeren — Geschichte des studiums der classischen Litteratur im Mittelalter; Voigt — Geschichte Preussens, etc. etc. In England, Hallam, Maitland, and others. In France, Guizot, and. not to mention a host of others, a learned writer, who, over the signature "Achery," has lately written a series of very learned and able articles on this subject, published in the Annales de la Philosophie Chretienne, upon the treasures contained in which we shall draw copiously in this Essay. We shall also occasionally avail ourselves of Digby's great work, "The Ages of Faith," in which the reader will find every thing on this, and almost every other subject, — "gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, and stubble," put together with at least as much learning as order. This work is, in truth, an abyss of learning — *abyssus multa.*

on the subject, and resembles one who, blindfolded at mid-day, should persevere in declaring against all evidence that it was as *dark* as midnight!

We have elsewhere spoken in some detail of the services rendered to learning by the Catholic clergy, as well as of the condition of literature and the arts in the middle ages. What we purpose to do, at present, is, to furnish a summary sketch of the Schools and Universities founded by the Church during that period.

From the earliest ages, Schools and Colleges grew up under the fostering care of the Church. The most celebrated were those of Rome, Alexandria, Milan, Carthage, and Nisibis. Who has not read of the brilliant Christian Schools of Alexandria in the third century, where Christian youths, even amidst the darkening storm of persecution, were seen eagerly thronging the academic halls, to drink in the teaching which fell from the eloquent lips of the great Origen? Their ardor for learning could not be quenched, even by the blood of the almost numberless victims, who fell under the sword of a Decius and a Valerian. Who has not heard of the glory shed upon the Schools of Carthage and Rome by the great St. Augustine, in the beginning of the fifth century? Though Africa was his country, yet this illustrious man preferred the Schools of Rome, and he determined to reflect on this city the luster of his splendid talents. "The chief cause of my going to Rome," says he, "was my hearing that young men studied there more quietly, and that they were kept in order by a better discipline."[1]

In these earliest models of Christian Schools, sacred was justly preferred to profane learning; because the objects of the former were so much higher and nobler. Yet the latter was also cultivated, but was made to shine with light borrowed chiefly from the former. Great men then thought, that human learning had attained its highest standard of excellence, when its teachings were most conformable to the heavenly wisdom; when it reflected most the light of divine Truth—of God. But to meet, on his own ground, the votary of mere human learning, the Christian scholar was compelled occasionally to descend from his lofty eminence, into the arena of the Platonic and Aristotelian philosophies. The result of this condescension was, however, rather to elevate pagan philosophy, than to lower the loftier standard of Christian wisdom. At that period, Plato had the ascendant over the Stagyrite, particularly in the School of Alexandria; the latter, however, almost entirely eclipsed his more brilliant rival during many subsequent centuries. The famous Medicean School of Florence, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, restored Plato to his pre-eminence; and F. Schlegel greatly prefers him to Aristotle.[2] The Christian Schools borrowed from both what seemed best to suit their purposes; and though exclusive partiality for Plato betrayed Origen and other professors into some errors and extravagances, yet the influence of the ancient philosophy, thus moulded to the Christian standard, was generally highly beneficial

1 Confessions, B. v.

2 In his "Lectures on the Philosophy of History."

The Church allowed a reasonable latitude to her children, interposing her authority, only when the precious deposit of faith was endangered.

For three centuries after her conversion to Christianity, Ireland took the lead of all Europe in the cultivation and promotion of literature. From the middle of the fifth, to the middle of the eighth century, she carried on what might be called a crusade of learning throughout all Europe. While the tide of barbarian invasion was rushing over the continent, burying under its turbid waves the relics of ancient literature and civilization, the Emerald Isle was devoting the repose, which Providence then granted her, to the practice of religion, the founding of Schools, and the cultivation of letters, both sacred and profane. The first of the northern nations to enter into the fold of Christ, she was destined to become one chief instrument in the hands of God, for the conversion and civilization of the others. A brilliant light then shot up from Ireland, which illuminated the whole western world. To give one instance of the flourishing condition of her institutions of learning during the period in question, it is well known, that the monastery of Benchor, or Bangor, contained no less than three thousand monks, besides scholars almost innumerable. Fired with enthusiasm, Irishmen visited almost every country in Europe, leaving behind them splendid institutions of learning and religion,—for these two always went hand in hand. Irishmen established the monastery and School of Lindisfarne in England, of Bobbio in Italy, of Verdun in France, and of Wartzburg, Ratisbon, Erfurth, Cologne, and Vienna in Germany;—to say nothing of their literary labors in Paris, throughout England, and elsewhere.[1]

In England, the episcopal sees became special nurseries of learning.[2] The same may be said of these sees in general, throughout the Catholic world. Wherever a cathedral church was erected, there also a School, with a library attached to it, grew up under its shadow. This was not a mere chance: it was the natural tendency and result of the Catholic religion. Catholicity and literature always flourished together. It was also a matter of canonical enactment. Ecclesiastical councils,—provincial, national, and general,—made this the settled law of the Church during the middle ages. It would be tedious to allege all the decrees of councils bearing on this subject, which is referred to by nearly a hundred of them, held at different places, and at different times. We will only adduce a few of the more remarkable.

A council held at Rome, in 826, under the Pontiff Eugenius II., ordained that Schools should be established throughout the world at cathedral and parochial churches, and in such other places as might be suitable for their erection. Towards the close of the eighth century, a council convened at Metz enjoined the obligation of erecting Catholic Schools, to be conducted by the clergy living in common with the bishop.

1 For full particulars on this interesting subject, see Moore's "History of Ireland," vol. i. See, also, Annales de la Philos. Chret. Art. 7, sup cit.

2 Heeren, Opp. i. 65, who cites Henry's History of England.

The council of Mayence, in 813, ordered the clergy to admonish parents under their charge, that they should send their children to the Schools established, "either in the monasteries, or in the houses of the parochial clergy."[1] We gather from this and many similar enactments, that Schools were established not only at the cathedral, but also the parochial churches, as well as in the monasteries. The synod of Orleans, in 800, enacted, that the parochial clergy should erect Schools in towns and villages, in order to teach little children the elements of learning: "Let them receive," this council adds, "and teach these little children with the utmost charity, that they themselves may shine as the stars forever. Let them receive no remuneration from their Schools, unless what the parents, through charity, may voluntarily offer."[2] As early as 529, the council of Vaison had strongly recommended the erection of similar Schools. A cotemporary writer of the life of Bishop Meinwercus, represents the School of Paderborn, as "flourishing in both divine and human learning."[3]

The princes of the earth assisted the authorities of the Church, in carrying out these benevolent intentions. Charlemagne, in one of his Capitulars, ordered the erection of Schools at every cathedral church throughout his vast dominions, which extended over more than half of Europe. His successor, Lothaire I., in 823, promulgated a law, that public Schools should be established in eight of the principal Italian cities, "in order that an opportunity might be given to all, and that there might be no excuse drawn from poverty, and the difficulty of repairing to remote places." Half a century later, Alfred the Great enacted similar laws in England. Thus, during the Catholic times, the Church and the State—bishops and kings—vied with each other in zeal for the erection of Schools. They all felt that this was the best, if not the only remedy for European society, then torn by civil wars, or just emerging from the confusion caused by barbarian invasion. And if their good intentions were not always carried into effect, the impartial judge will admit that it was surely not their fault, but that of the evil times on which they had fallen. But for these noble exertions to restore learning, what would have saved Europe from hopeless barbarism? Even with all those efforts, the struggle between Christian civilization and northern barbarism, was long and doubtful. What would have been the result had not the Church interposed her powerful influence to stay the torrent?

We have seen the action of provincial and national councils favoring the erection of Schools: we will now show that general councils, representing the whole Church, made similar enactments. A canon of the third general council of Constantinople, in 680, commands priests to open Schools in country places, and to receive gratuitously all children who could be induced to frequent them. The third general council of Lateran was convened in 1179 by Alexander III., one of the greatest Pontiffs of the

1 Concil. Moguntinum, Can. x 2 Concil Aurelian An. 800, Can. xx.
3 Digby's Ages of Faith, vol. ii, pp 412–3,—American ed.,—where many similar facts are related.

middle ages. It passed the following canon: "Since the church of God, like a tender mother, is bound to provide for the poor, both in those things which appertain to the aid of the body, and in those which belong to the advancement of the soul; lest the opportunity for such improvement (*agendi et proficiendi*) should be wanting to those poor persons who cannot be aided by the wealth of their parents; let a competent benefice be assigned in each cathedral church to a teacher, whose duty it shall be to teach the clerks and poor scholars of the same church *gratuitously;* by which means the necessity of the teacher may be relieved, and the way to instruction may be opened to learners. Let this practice be also restored in other churches and monasteries, if, in times past, any thing was set apart in them for this purpose. But let no one exact a price for granting permission to teach."[1] Another great Pope of the middle ages, Innocent III., renewed this decree in 1215, and extended the law to parochial churches. Honorious III., and other Pontiffs, followed his example.

Thus, FREE SCHOOLS were established throughout Christendom by the authority of the Roman Pontiffs, and by that of general councils. The Church promoted learning through her visible head, and both in her distributive and collective capacity. And be it ever remembered, that all the Schools above mentioned were established chiefly for the benefit of the common people and of the poor. In France alone, during those ages, there were more than two hundred such Schools and Colleges.[2]

The monasteries were powerful auxiliaries in the cause of education. Wherever they were established, the most barren waste was made to smile with verdure. Their retired situation, remote from the confusion and corruption of cities, adapted them in a peculiar manner to the purposes of education. The Christian youth could there drink to satiety of the pure waters of sacred and profane learning, far away from the turmoil of the world. His health was invigorated by the mountain or country air; his morals were preserved by the example and watchfulness of the monks; and both literature and religion became lovely in his eyes. In those troubled times of civil feud and bloodshed, the monasteries were asylums for learning,—green spots on the surface of creation,—which the foot of the spoiler seldom profaned. Who, that has read the history of the middle ages, has not felt refreshed in mind, as he revisited in spirit the monasteries of Cluny and Clairvaux; of Corbie and Bec; of Fulda and Bobbio,—not to mention a hundred other bright and favored spots! The shadows of St. Bernard, of Peter the Venerable, and of the abbot Hugo, seem still to hover over those holy sanctuaries, and to hallow them by their presence.

There were Schools in all the principal monasteries. Some of these were for primary, and others for higher instruction. In the former, boys were taught the "Our Father" the Creed, the Psalms, Plain Chant, Arithmetic

1 See Cabassutius—Notitia Concil. in locum. Digby (Vol. 2, p. 114) gives an imperfect synopsis of the decree, which however is marked as a translation of the canon. Besides, the marginal reference is incorrect, and without meaning.

2 For proof this, see Annales de la Philos. Chretienne, Art. 7, sup. cit.

and Grammar. In the latter, the more elevated branches of learning were inculcated; — Music, Mathematics, Poetry, and the Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic languages. At that period Grammar had a much more extended meaning than it has at present. It embraced, though perhaps in less perfection, what was afterwards denoted by the term *Humanities*, — a full course of instruction in the Latin language, which was, during the greater part of the middle ages, that of the people, — at least of all the educated, — as well as of the Church and of the State. The laws and ordinances of France were published in Latin until the sixteenth century. Till the beginning of the thirteenth century, most of the famous monasteries in Europe were of the Benedictine order, whose services to literature cannot be over estimated. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the monastic orders of St. Dominic and St. Francis covered Europe with Schools, which were chiefly for the benefit of the poor. And there is no doubt that these last named orders greatly promoted the rise of letters, and thereby the advancement of civilization. Speaking of the cathedral and monastic Schools of the middle ages, Hallam bestows upon them the following very faint and qualified praise:

"The praise of having originally established Schools belongs to some bishops and abbots of the sixth century. They came in place of the imperial Schools overthrown by the barbarians. In the downfall of that temporal dominion, a spiritual aristocracy was providentially raised up, to save from extinction the remains of learning and of religion itself. Some of these Schools seem to have been preserved in the south of Italy, though merely, perhaps, for elementary instruction. . . The cathedral and conventual Schools, created or restored by Charlemagne, became the means of preserving that small portion of learning which continued to exist. They flourished most, having had time to produce their fruits, under his successors, Louis the Debonair, Lothaire, and Charles the Bald."[1]

Besides Schools for the people, there were others, chiefly in the monasteries, for the special education of the children of the nobility and of kings. Meibom, a Protestant historian, assures us of this fact. "During the age of the Charles', of the Othos', and of the Henrys', the children of kings and dukes were placed at a tender age in the Schools of the canons and of the monks, . . that they might acquire a knowledge of the liberal arts, and of the languages."[2] The chronicler of St. Requier, who lived under the Carlovingian dynasty, tells us that in that abbey were educated one hundred youths, from the principal noble families of the empire. Charles Martel founded the College of Richenon for a similar purpose.

The kings and princes of the middle ages were not then so ignorant as they are usually represented. Charlemagne and Alfred were both not only scholars, but magnificent patrons of learning. They were the Medici of the middle ages. The fact that many of the ancient diplomas and other public documents are signed with the cipher, instead of the name of a prince,

1 Introduction to Literature, etc. — 1, 27.

2 See Ziegelbauer Opp Tom. 1 "Sub ævo Carolorum, Othonum, et Henricorum, regum ducumque liberi tenelli adhuc in canonicorum aut monachorum collegia amandabantur . . ut liberalium artium et linguarum cognitioni assuefierent."

is no conclusive evidence that the signer could not write his own name. This practice was often a matter of court etiquette, originating in the idea, more or less common at that time, that a prince should write with no other instrument than his sword.[1] Those warlike nobles, clad in steel, did not much relish the old advice, — *cedant arma togæ*.[2] When king Lewis *d'outre mer* laughed at Foulk of Anjou, for having sung in the choir with the other canons, Foulk answered bluntly: "*An illiterate king is a crowned ass.*"[3] The same was said to Henry I. of England by his father, the bluff William the Conqueror. This fact proves that ignorance was deemed disgraceful in a prince of the middle ages. In the tenth century, St. Stephen of Hungary had his people taught the Latin language, which is still, to some extent, the vernacular tongue of that country.

The following fact may serve to show that ladies of rank also cultivated learning during the period in question. In the eleventh century, Ingulph, who was reared in the court of Edward the Confessor in England, informs us, that on returning every day from school, the queen Egitha used to examine him in grammar and logic, and to encourage his progress by frequent presents. The nunneries did for the girls, what the cathedral, parochial, and monastic Schools did for boys; and every class, and both sexes were thus provided with ample means of education.[4] The Latin language was understood by many of the religious ladies of the convents: their rules were mostly in that language; and many small works written in Latin by nuns of those ages are still extant.[5] They also occasionally cultivated the study of the Greek language, and of philosophy. Some nuns of England with their abbess Liobe, a near relative of St. Boniface, the apostle of Germany, carried their learning into the latter country, and established Schools there for the education of their own sex.[6] In the tenth century, Hroswetha, a nun of Gandersheim, wrote Latin poems, still extant, on the foundation of her convent, and on the life of the emperor Otho the Great; besides six dramas on ecclesiastical history. Though far from being so classical as the ancient models, yet these poems are of respectable merit; and they prove, that in the institutions for learning at that day, — even in the tenth century, — classical literature was extensively and successfully cultivated, by women as well as by men.

Not only religious women, but ladies of the world also were not unfrequently well educated. They received their education in the convents. St. Bernard, in the twelfth century, wrote letters in Latin to the wives of counts and barons. The convent of Roncerai at Angers was distinguished by the number of young princesses who were there educated. It was in this school that Heloise learned Latin and philosophy. St. Gertrude, of Saxony, (fourteenth century,) extended her studies to the classics, to which

1 See Nouveau Traite de diplomatique, p. 361, — a learned work by the Benedictines.

2 *Let arms yield to the gown — war to peace.*

3 Rex illiteratus est asinus coronatus. — Martene, Collect. Ampliss. v. 987.

4 The Annales de la Philosophie Chret. has a special article, (vi.) replete with interesting details, on the learned females of the middle ages. 5 See Histoire Litter. de France, Tom. ix, p. 129, *seqq*

6 Mabillon Prof. in Sæcul. iii, Benedict.

she was so strongly attached, as to feel scruples of conscience on the subject. She has left some pious historical works.[1] The abbess Herrada of Alsace, (twelfth century) wrote an extensive Encyclopedia,[2] which is still preserved in manuscript. Many other facts of a similar character might be alleged, to illustrate female education in the middle ages; but these will suffice

Pass we now to the Universities of the "Dark" Ages, many of which were fully organized in the twelfth century, and became so numerous and flourishing in that and the following ages, as to excite our admiration and astonishment, even at this day of boasted enlightenment. The Schools and Colleges erected in the larger cities gradually swelled into Universities, which received special charters of privileges from Popes and princes. These soon became foci of learning, which radiated the light of literature throughout every country of Europe. Their great number, and the vast multitude of young men from every part of Europe who flocked to them, prove most conclusively how great was then the thirst for learning. Here again Italy pioneered the way. The Universities of Rome and Bologna soon became famous. Padua, Naples, Pavia, and Perugia, also had their Universities. After the discovery of the Pandects of Justinian by the Amalfites, in the eleventh century, the study of the civil law was revived in Italy. The University of Bologna became, under Irnerius, or Werner, the great Law School of Christendom. Thousands of students from the remotest parts of Europe crowded its halls. Besides Italian youths, there were occasionally at this University no less than ten thousand foreign students. Padua, the *Alma Mater* of Christopher Columbus and of Amerigo Vespucci, had at one time no less than eighteen thousand students.[3] The other Italian Universities were also in a highly flourishing condition.

The other countries of Europe boasted also their Universities, which rivaled those of Italy. England had her Oxford and her Cambridge. The Schools, founded in these two cities in the ninth and tenth centuries, grew to be Universities towards the close of the twelfth. The reign of Henry II. was the Augustan Age of English mediæval literature. Anthony Wood, the Protestant historian of the Oxford University, informs us that, during Henry's reign, it counted thirty thousand students![4]

Spain was not behind the other Catholic states of Europe. She improved on the scientific discoveries of the Arabs, who, during their long rule over her most beautiful provinces, had established many flourishing Schools, and made many discoveries in medicine and mathematics. To them all Europe was much indebted for the impulse, which their example and successful industry gave to these studies. The literary boon which they bestowed on Europe was not, however, without its poison. They paid at least as much attention to the study of alchemy, of necro-

1 Insinuationes D. Pietatis 2 Hortus deliciarum.

3 See Eustace's "Classical Tour" through Italy, in 4 Vols. 8vo.

4 Athenæ Oxonienses. The famed School of Athens never had so many scholars.

mancy, and of astrology, as to that of the useful sciences. They wasted as much time and labor on the discovery of the philosopher's stone, as they spent in cultivating the sciences of arithmetic, medicine, and astronomy. To their influence, we have no doubt, Europe was mainly indebted for the importance attached to these foolish studies by many of her Christian literati.[1] Besides the celebrated Universities of Salamanca, Valladolid, and Alcala, Spain could boast of twenty-four other Colleges of less celebrity. In addition to the Universities already enumerated, there were various Schools of Medicine in Spain, at Salerno in the south of Italy, and at Montpelier and Paris in France. These also gave a great impulse to the development of European literature and civilization.

The influence of the Universities of the middle ages was not confined to the mere imparting of learning. They kept up a constant intercourse in society, at a time when the masses had far less communication than at present. They excited the emulation of noble youths, and opened to them a path to eminence and glory, far more lofty than the battle-field, which had been hitherto almost their only incentive to exertion. They thus exercised a humanizing influence on the manners of an age essentially warlike. There was room, too, for the exercise of a species of chivalry, in the intellectual tilting matches of the Schools, no less than in the more exciting and less refined tournaments, where mailed knights broke their spears against each other, in pursuit of glory. Post-offices arose from the necessity of regular communication, which the Universities, with their vast number of foreign students created. The young men who had studied law at Bologna, Paris, and Oxford, on returning to their homes, excited in the minds of their countrymen an ardor for such studies. Besides, with their increased knowledge, they contributed greatly to improve the jurisprudence of their respective countries.

Thus civilization received a powerful stimulus from the Universities. The streamlets, which issued from these fountain-heads of literature, irrigated and fertilized all Europe. They were sources,

> Whence many rivulets have since been turned,
> O'er the garden Catholic to lead
> Their living waters, and have fed its plants.[2]

In a learned Catholic Magazine, published monthly in Paris, we find an interesting Review of a work on the University of Paris, lately published by J. Danielo.[3] This distinguished author has written other excellent works manifesting deep research into the history of the middle ages. Not the least interesting of these publications, is his "History of Queen

1 I cannot subscribe to the opinion of Andres, (Storia di ogni Lett. vol. i ,) who enters into an elaborate course of reasoning, to prove that Europe owed to the Arabs almost all her valuable discoveries in the middle ages. He was a Spaniard. and perhaps his partiality for his country inclined him to attach too much importance to Hispano-Arabic influence on the rise of Letters.

2 Dante. Parad. xii.

3 The work is entitled: "Etudes Literaires, Philosophiques, et Morales sur l' Universite de Paris, et sur les progres de l'esprit humain au moyen age:" or, Literary, Philosophical. and Moral researches on the University of Paris, and on the progress of the human mind in the middle ages." The Review alluded to, is found in the No. of the "Universite Catholique," for February, 1842.

Blanche," the sainted mother of St. Louis IX. From the Review just mentioned, we select the following details connected with our present subject:

"We can form no idea at the present day," says M. Danielo, "of the importance and of the numbers of the University of France towards the close of the twelfth century. Rendered illustrious by Peter Lombard, St. Anselm, William de Champeaux, and Abeillard, it had already become the light and the rendezvous of the learned, and the resort of students from all Europe. The Holy See loved and protected it, as a cherished daughter, as its faithful shield and champion. It was the glory of the western world and of France, and no institution in all Christendom was its equal. Athens and Alexandria, according to the testimony of cotemporary writers, never had Schools so numerous, or so brilliant. In fact, the number of University students often exceeded twenty-five thousand! . . . The kings of France were as zealous to foster its growth, as were those of neighboring states to diminish its patronage. These employed every kind of intrigue to dissolve this great and illustrious body, and to cause the remnant of its students to pursue their education within their own territory. For this purpose they instituted Universities at great expense; they endowed them with lands and privileges; they offered all kinds of inducements to students. But their efforts proved abortive. In spite of the prohibition of the emperor Frederick, students continued to flock to the University of Paris from Germany, as well as from England and Italy. We should remark that this University, besides the advantages of its location, was very accessible and very hospitable. The students soon became acclimated in Paris; and after having completed their studies, it was easy for the most talented to obtain professorships, and we accordingly find more than one professor from Germany, Italy, and especially England, filling with distinction the various chairs. Add to this, that nearly all the celebrated men, and many of the Popes, bishops and abbots, of that period, were *elèves* and admirers of the University of Paris; many of them too had been among its professors, and respectfully called it their mother."

We have no doubt that the above account is substantially correct, though we are disposed to think, that the ardent partiality of the Frenchman has in one or two instances betrayed him into no little exaggeration. Though the French University was highly distinguished, yet it had many rivals, which equaled, if they did not surpass it, both in the number of their students, and in the learning and fame of their professors. Not to speak of others, those of Bologna in Italy, and of Oxford in England, could boast at least equal antiquity and celebrity. The former had the merit of reviving the study of the civil law under the great Werner; and as a Law School, both for the civil and the canon law, it long continued unrivaled. The latter under Henry II. of England, whose reign commenced about the middle of the twelfth century (1154,) reckoned thirty thousand youths among its students,—a number which that of Paris never perhaps surpassed. The statement, that "nearly all the celebrated men" of that epoch were students of the Paris University, must also we have no doubt, be received with many grains of allowance. "The glory of the western world and of France," had laurels enough already, without snatching at those which decorated the brows of her fair sisters in Italy, Spain, and England.

With twenty-five or thirty thousand young men from all nations within its walls, it was natural to expect that Paris during the middle ages should become occasionally the theater of riot, growing out of contentions between the students and the citizens. If we are to credit cotemporary history, the former often equaled the latter in number. M. Danielo gives us, from Roger de Hoveden, an English historian of the time, a graphic account of one of those outbreaks, which resulted in the famous charter of rights granted to the University by Philip Augustus, in 1200. It seems, that the German students of that day liked their social glass, almost as much as their successors in the German Universities do at the present time. One of them, the son of a nobleman, sent his servant to a tavern to purchase wine. The servant, it appears, misbehaved, and was chastised by the tavern-keeper; and in the encounter, the flask of wine was broken. The German students felt aggrieved both in their honor and in their stomachs. They assembled in great numbers, repaired to the tavern, forced its doors, and severely chastised the landlord, leaving him half dead. The citizens of Paris, indignant at this severe retaliation of the students, assembled, and led on by Thomas, the provost of the city, an armed mob assaulted the hotel of the German students. In the conflict which ensued, the young German nobleman and several of his comrades, were killed.[1] The heads of the University repaired in a body to Philip Augustus, king of France, and complained loudly of this violence. The king at their instance took signal vengeance on the provost and his accomplices; and to protect the students, as well as to prevent similar outrages in future, he granted to the University an ample charter of privileges, which, among other things, exempted it from the jurisdiction of the provost and of the civil courts, and made it amenable only to the ecclesiastical tribunals. Under this charter, the University continued to flourish for several centuries. But half a century later, its prosperity received a temporary check from Queen Blanche and St. Louis IX. The Pope, however, soon interfered, and, by his influence with the French court, succeeded in having all the privileges of the University restored.

The reason of the withdrawal of the charter by the sainted king and queen mother of France, was probably a zeal for the Catholic faith, which one or two of the professors made an effort about that time to undermine. The French University, though generally "the faithful shield and champion" of the Church, was occasionally tarnished with heresy; which did not, however, affect its entire body, but was confined to a few of its professorial chairs. The pride of learning and the habit — encouraged by the Aristotelian philosophy — of defending both sides of every question for the sake of argument, had already betrayed Gilbert de Porée and Abeillard into many errors and extravagances; and even the great "master of the sentences," Peter Lombard, had not, it was thought, wholly escaped the contagion. But the professors who, in the thirteenth century, were

1 In all fifteen, says the preamble of the charter, given us in full by M. Danielo

betrayed into the greatest excesses, were Simon de Tournai and Amaury. The blasphemies of the former, and the signal punishment which overtook him in the midst of them, are so remarkable, that we will give the account of them in full, as furnished us by the caustic Benedictine monk, Mathew Paris, a cotemporary English historian. M. Danielo calls him the "best historian of the thirteenth century;" to which measure of praise we can scarcely subscribe.

"A certain professor of Paris endowed with great genius and a strong memory, having for two years taught the *Arts*, that is the *Humanities*, with great success, directed his attention to theology, in which he made such progress in a short time, that he soon filled with distinction the chair of that faculty. He taught with great ability, and disputed with still greater subtlety. His pleasure consisted in handling difficult questions hitherto unheard of, and in resolving and explaining them with elegance and clearness. He had as many hearers as the largest palace could contain. One day, having discoursed very subtly of the Trinity, and having brought forward the most profound reasons for this dogma, he was obliged to defer the conclusion of the argument until the following day. All the students of theology in the city were advised of this; and, being eager to hear the solution of so many apparently inexplicable questions, they crowded to his famous school in mass. The professor, taking his seat, began by stating in order all the questions he had hitherto treated; and those which seemed to every body unfathomable, he explained with so much clearness, elegance, and orthodoxy, that all his hearers were in amazement.

"After this wonderful explanation, those of his disciples who were most familiar with him, and most eager for instruction, begged him to repeat his questions and answers, that they might be able to take a copy of them under his dictation; representing to him, that it would be an indignity, as well as an irreparable loss, to suffer the light of so much science to be extinguished. But he, inflated with pride, raised his eyes to heaven, and with an insolent laugh, exclaimed: 'O Jesule! Jesule! Little Jesus! Little Jesus!! How much have I confirmed and exalted thy law in this dispute! But with how much stronger reasons could I not abase, weaken, and destroy it, should I wish to be malicious, and take the matter to heart!' Having said this, his tongue failed, and he remained without speech. Not only he became mute, but an idiot, and radically stupid. He did not teach or discourse any more; he became the laughing stock of all who were acquainted with the fact. Two hours afterwards, he was not able to distinguish the letters of the alphabet. But the divine vengeance which weighed on him having become a little mitigated, his son, by dint of repetition, succeeded in teaching him the *Pater Noster*, and the *Credo*, which he learned by heart, and repeated stammering: but this was all. This miracle confounded the arrogance, and repressed the boasting, of many among the scholars and professors. This fact," concludes the historian, "was witnessed by Nicholas Duffy, who was afterwards Bishop of Dublin, a man of great authority, who stated it to me, and requested that I should relate it, that it might not be forgotten by posterity."[1]

We will conclude this paper, by briefly adverting to some of the distinguishing characteristics of Schools and Universities in the middle ages.

1 Matthew Paris, Historia Maj. Angliæ, ad an. 1201. See also Bulæus Hist. Universit. Paris. Tom. III. p. 8. Another Historian, Thomas de Cantimpre, likewise a cotemporary, substantially confirms the statement of Matthew Paris. He states that the blasphemy of Simon consisted in comparing Jesus Christ with Moses and Mohammed. (Bulæus, ibid. p. 9.)

These may be reduced to three: 1. their erection was prompted by religion and charity; 2. they were generally *free*, and all could frequent them without expense; and, 3. without excluding mere human learning, they yet attached far greater importance to sacred studies. We have recognized many of these features in the facts already alleged; but some additional illustrations may not be wholly useless or devoid of interest.

1. Nothing is more certain, than that religion presided over the erection of those splendid institutions of learning. No other motive could have caused the raising up of so many brilliant literary establishments. Whoever has studied the history of those ages of faith, must have observed, that religion and divine charity were then the most powerful stimulants to exertion. All other motives were comparatively powerless. To rear institutions, where the poor — the favorite members of Jesus Christ — might imbibe literature hallowed by religion; to cause souls redeemed by the blood of Christ to be trained to virtue and learning; — this was then deemed the noblest use to which money could be applied. The founders of those Schools did not court human applause; it was glory enough for them, if in the eyes of heaven "they could shine like stars forever;" or if, in consideration of their pious bequests for education, God would vouchsafe in His mercy to blot out their sins. "We wish," says St. Benedict, the founder of the illustrious order which bears his name, "to institute a School *for the service of the Lord*, and we hope that we have not placed anything sharp or painful in this institution.[1]

Beraudiere, bishop of Perigueaux, founded a seminary for poor scholars in his own city, and stated in dying, that he had left to posterity his book, his church rebuilt, and this seminary for the poor. "May gracious heaven grant," he adds, "that posterity may receive great utility; and may God vouchsafe pardon for my past sins!"[2]

The child's advancement in virtue was then the greatest object of the parent's solicitude. Eginhard writes to his son, who was at the School of Fulda: "But above all, learn to imitate those good morals in which he (your teacher) excels; for grammar and rhetoric and all other studies of liberal arts are vain, and greatly injurious to the servants of God, unless by the divine grace they know how to be subject to virtue; for 'science puffeth up, but charity edifieth.' I would rather see you dead than abounding in vice." St. Anselm of Canterbury, employed similar language, in writing to his nephew Anselm.[3] The school rooms of the monasteries at Rome and Bologna, were sanctuaries of piety; the student always beheld in them an image of that immaculate Virgin, who was ever the patroness of Christian scholars. In fine, not to multiply facts, whoever will study the history of those Schools, will not fail to remark that religion always prompted their erection, and presided over their destinies. Every exercise was commenced and terminated by prayer.[4]

1 Præf ad Regulam—*in fine*.

2 Gouget. xvi. 13. apud Digby, Vol. 2, p. 134.

3 St. Anselmi Opp. Lib. 4, Epist. 31.

4 For these beautiful prayers recited before and after the scholastic exercises, see Digby Vol. ii, pp 123 and 135.

2. Instruction in most of those Schools was wholly gratuitous. This was particularly true of the seminaries of Rome, and of almost all the cathedral, parochial, and monastic Schools, erected by order of ecclesiastical councils. This beautiful feature in education during the middle ages was a necessary consequence of the spirit of Christian charity, which then prevailed, and which, as we have just seen, was the main spring of literary exertion. Teachers in those days wished for no emoluments, but the smiling approval of God! Bishops, kings, and emperors left immense legacies for the gratuitous education of the poor. Leopold, Arch-duke of Austria, employed his wealth in founding numerous seminaries of learning, which he committed to the charge of pious and learned monks. Pope Urban V. supported more than a thousand students at different academies, supplying them also with books. The celibacy of the clergy did more for the erection of Schools for the poor, than perhaps anything else. Clergymen whose income exceeded their expenses, felt bound by the spirit, if not by the letter of the canon law, to appropriate the surplus to charitable purposes, among which the principal was the founding of hospitals and Schools. The forty-four Colleges attached to the University of Paris were most of them founded by clergymen, prompted thereto by religious and charitable motives.

The greatest boast of this age is the founding of common and free Schools. Catholicity was the real foundress of such institutions. Money is now necessary for every thing—it is the great, almost the only motive of action. Teachers will not labor without remuneration. Free Schools cannot be established now, unless the community be heavily taxed for their support. It was not so in the good old Catholic times. Christian charity was a coin which then circulated freely, supplying the place of money. Alas! Charity hath grown cold! Even the poor must now be supported by taxation! Alas! for the spirit of the ages of faith!

3. Many Protestant writers have asserted, that nothing but scholastic philosophy and theology was taught in the Schools and Universities of the middle ages. No assertion could be more unfounded. True, those sciences which spoke of heavenly things and of God, were more warmly cherished; but mere human learning was not neglected. The great Alcuin wrote to Charlemagne, from Tours, where he was teaching: "According to your exhortations and good desire, I apply myself to minister to some, under the roof of St. Martin, the honey of the holy scriptures. Others I endeavor to inebriate with the old wine of *ancient learning;* others I begin to nourish with the apples of grammatical subtlety. Some I try to illuminate in the science of the stars, as if of the painted canopy of some great house; I am made many things to many persons, that I may edify as many as possible, to the advantage of the holy Church of God, and to the honor of our imperial kingdom." Roger Bacon applied successfully to the study of the practical sciences; and in the thirteenth century he made many brilliant discoveries, which would do honor to this age. Albertus Magnus wrote an extensive treatise on natural history, in which he

embodied all that was valuable in the works of Aristotle and Pliny, adding many discoveries of his own. These are a few out of a hundred examples that might be alleged, to prove that human science was cultivated in the "Dark" ages. In all the Universities, mathematics and physics were taught, as well as metaphysics and theology.

How advantageously do not the ancient Catholic Universities compare with those of later date and of Protestant origin! Look, for example, at the boasted Universities of Germany. Drinking, smoking, duelling, and secret associations are there the order of the day. Morality is banished from them, and the ardor of study is greatly abated.[1]

1 See an able article on this subject in the North American Review for April, 1842,—a Review of a late work on the German Universities.

VII. INFLUENCE OF CATHOLICITY ON CIVIL LIBERTY.

Terms defined—What is liberty?—Which is the best form of government?—Direct and indirect influence—Tendency of Christian teaching—Division of the subject—Theoretical view—Equalizing the social condition—Form of Church government—A happy blending of different elements—The elective principle—Deliberative assemblies—Authority of the Pope—Practical influence of the Church—In the early ages—In the middle ages—Rescuing Europe from barbarism—Means employed for humanizing society—Two Protestant testimonies—Slavery and the serf system—Struggle between the Cross and the Crescent—The Crusades—Their influence on the social condition—The Free Cities—In Spain—In Germany—And in Italy—Lombard League—Italian Republics—Guelphs and Ghibellines—The deposing power—Republics of San Marino and Andorra—The monastic institute—Teaching of mediæval theologians—*Magna Charta*—William Wallace Robert Bruce, and William Tell—Influence of the reformation on liberty—In Germany—And in England—Catholic patriots during the American revolution—Conclusion.

This subject should be approached with clear ideas on its nature, as well as with certain fixed principles to guide us in our investigation. These principles are contained in the title placed above, as in a germ, and we cannot, perhaps, better introduce this paper, than by a brief definition of the words of which it is composed.

Liberty, especially with its qualification, *civil*, is not an absolute, but a relative term. It has no fixed nor determinate meaning, whether we regard its etymology or its general acceptation among mankind. It implies, in general, *some* exemption from external restraint; but the amount of this exemption, as well as the *quantum* of restraint compatible with liberty, can be determined by no absolute standard. What is called liberty in one age, and under one set of circumstances, would be called slavery in another, and in a new order of things. Two extreme cases are, however, excluded by the meaning generally attached to the term: that of complete external restraint, which we call slavery, and that of no restraint whatever, either on person or action; which latter, though it may be thought to exist in the untrammeled savage of the forest, never has existed *de facto*, and in the nature of things never can exist, in any well organized civil society. Between these two extremes, the meaning of the term varies according to times, persons, and circumstances.

The very idea of government implies some restraint on individual liberty. The compact, express or implied, between the governor and the governed, necessarily supposes some sacrifice of personal freedom on the part of the latter for the general good of the body politic. The extent of this sacrifice must be determined by the character of the people to be governed, and by reflection on the great end of all civil governments, which is to secure to the governed, the possession of life, honor and property. And without ven-

turing to pronounce definitely on a question, which has been so long agitated among the most civilized nations of the earth, we may safely say, that the form of government, which combines the proper security of these great objects with the greatest amount of personal freedom, is the best in theory as well as in practice. In accordance with this principle, there can be no doubt, that, whenever the character of the people can bear it, a well regulated democracy is preferable to all other forms of government. But while a predilection for our own cherished institutions is thus founded on reasoning from first principles, the liberal mind will not be led into the vulgar error of condemning too harshly every other form of civil polity. Each may be good in its place, and in reference to the people for whom it is appointed. Governments, like garments, must suit the persons for whom they are designed.

When we speak of the *influence* of Catholicity on civil liberty, we are not to be understood as implying that this influence is always direct, or that it is a primary object of our holy religion. Christ did not come to decide the complicated problems of human governments; His mission had a higher, — a holier purpose. He came not to pronounce on the political differences existing among mankind, but to establish a divine system, — a kingdom not of this world, — into which all were admissible, no matter under what form of government Providence might have cast their lot. One cannot be a good Christian without being a good citizen; and all that our blessed Saviour is recorded to have said on this subject, is that remarkable answer of his to the Scribes and Pharisees: "Render, therefore, unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's."[1]

But if Christianity was not intended to have a direct, it at least has had a most powerful indirect influence on civil governments. By elevating and ennobling man's nature, — by dissipating the errors of his mind, and expanding the affections of his heart, it has necessarily promoted even his earthly happiness, and improved his social condition. By slow, but steady degrees, it has broken the fetters of the slave and of the captive, and prepared mankind for full and perfect liberty. The emancipation of the mind and heart from the slavery of error and sin, was a primary object of the Christian religion, expressed in those words of Christ: "You shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free."[2] This higher freedom once secured, man was naturally led to break other bonds. Christianity thus threw upon earthly things a light reflected from heaven, and pointed triumphantly to the great "City of God," as more than realizing all the brightest visions of human freedom and happiness!

The influence of Catholicity on civil liberty may be viewed in a twofold light: the one theoretical, the other practical. The former is that of her doctrines and government; the latter, that of her external action on society. We will endeavor to show that, under both aspects, this influence has been favorable to the development of free principles, and to the progress of civil liberty.

1 St. Matt. xxii. 2 St. John viii, 32.

1. Though the divine Founder of the Christian Church did not intend to interfere with civil governments, yet the tendency of his doctrines was to equalize the social condition of mankind, — to exalt the humble, and to humble the proud. His was a religion which solaced and raised up the poor; and taught those in power to bear their honors meekly, and to remember that all Christians are equal before God, with whom "there is no exception of persons." The Church founded by Christ has ever been guided by thes principles. She has always proclaimed the truth, that all mankind were born alike "children of wrath,"[1] and that by baptism they all become equally "children of God." With her "there is neither gentile nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, barbarian nor Scythian, bond nor free; but, Christ is all, and in all."[2] The prince and the beggar, — the princess and the poorest peasant girl, — kneel side by side in her most stately temples, all reduced to the same level of humble suppliants for mercy! The pew system, which establishes distinctions in churches, is a modern invention unknown to Catholic times, and still unknown in Catholic countries. St. Peter's church, with pews, would present a spectacle, blending strangely the sublime and the ridiculous. It would be something like the Englishman's project, to have the front of that magnificent temple painted and penciled in the modern style! In this, and in every other respect, the Church has fully carried out the intentions of her divine Founder; she has ever been the mother of the poor, and the comfortress of the afflicted. Christ neglected the rich and mingled freely with the poor; she has caught His spirit, and, in every age, has imitated His example; as we trust to show in the sequel.

The analogy of these principles with those embodied in our Declaration of Independence, must be manifest to every reflecting mind; while their influence on the social condition could not be otherwise than favorable to the development of free principles, as well as destructive of tyranny. Nor was this tendency neutralized by the form of Church government. It is not necessary to inquire, whether this be monarchical, aristocratical, or democratical, or, a blending of the three. Suffice it to say, that, as its objects are widely different from those of any human government, so its nature is also widely different. To preserve His followers in unity of faith and worship, and to unite them into one compact body, Christ instituted a form of government, the best calculated to secure these ends; and, at the same time, compatible with every condition of human society. These objects are entirely spiritual and supernatural, and the form of government, though external, is accordingly marked by the same qualities. The arms of the Church are not carnal, but spiritual. Her "kingdom is not of this world," and, therefore, cannot be incompatible with any worldly government.

Though we cannot, for the reasons indicated, draw an exact parallel between her form of government and those of civil society, yet, we might be warranted in saying, that the former combines all the excellencies of the latter, without their defects. It is an elective monarchy, an aristocracy of

1 Ephes. ii, 3. 2 Coloss. iii. 11.

merit, and a democracy without party factions. Every Christian man, no matter how lowly, is eligible to the highest offices in the Church. Many of the Popes have been chosen from the lowest walks of life. The late Pontiff was an example of this. His merit alone raised him from an humble situation in a small village of northern Italy, Belluno, to the highest honors of the hierarchy. And, as an illustration of this same principle, we may remark here, by the way, that of the forty-one Pontiffs, who during the last three hundred years have occupied the chair of St. Peter, only five have been Roman citizens; and that, during the same period, very few Popes have been elected from princely families. The same remark applies to the body of cardinals, who in general receive their honors solely as the award of merit and learning. Nor do the four or five, out of seventy, selected from noble families, form an exception to this remark. Not to speak of others, every one has heard of the eminent virtues and transcendant merit of the late sainted Cardinal Odescalchi.

The elective principle, differently modified according to circumstances, has also been applied in every age of the Church to the second great order of the hierarchy, the bishops. In Catholic countries, where the requirements of the canon law can be complied with, they are usually elected by the clergy or chapter, according to certain established forms. In this country, and in some others, the election, or rather presentation of candidates, is made by the bishops of the metropolitan province, in accordance with a canon of the great Nicene council, held in 325. If the approval and action of the holy see are necessary, before any election can take effect, it is to secure unity of government, and to prevent the intrusion of unworthy members into the hierarchy. So far was this elective principle carried during the first ages of the Church, that, in many cases, the people had a voice with the clergy in the election of their bishops; more, however, it must be confessed, as witnesses of the qualities of the candidate, than as regular electors. Thus we read, that St. Ambrose and St. Augustine were chosen bishops by the clergy and people of Milan and Hippo. Factions and other inconveniences attending this mode of election caused its gradual abolition, and the substitution of other safer forms; but the spirit and practice of the Church have nevertheless always inclined her, in the election of bishops, to consider not only the qualities of the candidate, but also how far he might prove acceptable to the flock to be committed to his charge.

Another essential feature of democracy, is the decision of all matters of importance in deliberative assemblies. The Church has exhibited this feature as strikingly as any republic; and she has presented the oldest and best models of such assemblies. From the councils held by the apostles, mentioned in the Acts, down to that of Trent, in the sixteenth century, she has constantly applied this principle, in regard both to the decision of controversies on doctrinal points, and to statutes of discipline. Not only does it pervade her whole history, but it ramifies throughout her entire body, spread over the surface of the earth. It is exhibited in diocesan synods, held annually in each diocese, for the regulation of local discipline; in pro-

vincial councils held every three years, in accordance with the decree of the Tridentine council; in national councils held at stated intervals, for the regulation of national discipline; and in general councils, which meet only during the greatest emergencies of the Church. That the disciplinary statutes of all these various deliberative assemblies may be in harmony with the general laws of the Church, they cannot take effect without the approval of the holy see; which in this, as in every other respect, is thus an effective center of unity, and the great conservative principle of the Church.

It has been said, that the authority of the Pope is absolute and despotic. No charge could be more unfounded. It is true, that he derives his authority immediately from Christ, who gave to him, in the person of Peter, full power to feed the sheep as well as the lambs of His entire flock (John xxi). It is true, also, that this power is ample enough to meet every emergency that may arise. But it is equally true, that it is necessarily limited by its own nature, and by the objects it was instituted to promote. It can do every thing, in its own appropriate sphere, and for the edification of the body of Christ;—out of its own province, and for destruction, it is powerless. The exercise of the pontifical power is variously restrained by the decrees of general councils, the enactments of the canon law, and the force of precedent. Whatever opinion may be entertained about the theory, the practice of papal authority has ever been regulated by these fixed principles. The wisdom and consistency of the court of Rome, and its rigid adherence to precedent, not only in the substance, but also as to the very form of its decisions, are well known to the world. Even Protestants with the most violent prejudices have been forcibly struck by this fact, and sadly puzzled to account for it to their own satisfaction. The Pope usually decides nothing without consulting his counselors, the college of cardinals, and seldom determines any thing against their advice. Though the cases are not in every respect parallel, yet in viewing the manner of procedure adopted by the Roman Court, we are forcibly reminded of our President and Senate. The congregations, or committees of cardinals for various purposes, correspond to the standing committees of the Senate; and in the former matters are discussed with as much patience and ability, to say the least, as in the latter.

II. But, as theories, however specious, might be thought to mislead us, we come at once to what must be deemed decisive in the matter,—the *practical* influence of Catholicity upon civil liberty. And, a mere glance at the different epochs of Church History, in connection with the corresponding phases of society, will suffice to show us, what that influence has been, how it has promoted civilization, and, at least indirectly, developed the democratic principle.

1. The Church was so trammeled and oppressed by the Roman government, during the first three centuries of her existence, that her influence on society during that period could neither be fully exerted, nor extensively felt. Still, though crushed and bleeding, she spoke with a voice

which raised up and comforted the poor and the persecuted, and either softened the heart or struck terror into the bosom of the persecutor. In the second century, Tertullian could already appeal to the immense number of Christians in every part of the empire, as an argument to prove the utter impotency of tyranny, and as a powerful inducement to stay the arm of persecution. The vast body of early Christians were from the lowest walks of life; these were exalted by the Christian profession; and there is no doubt that the social condition of this order in the fourth century, when Christianity finally gained the ascendency, was vastly more elevated than it had been under the old Roman empire. Immense numbers of slaves had been emancipated, and the higher orders of society had already learned to look on the hitherto despised lower classes as their equals in Christ Jesus. In the fourth century, we find the Church employing her newly acquired influence on civil society, for the mitigation of despotism, and the vindication of the oppressed. At Milan, we behold an Ambrose refusing communion to the great Theodosius, who, in an evil hour, had ordered a massacre of his people in the streets of Thessalonica, without distinction of guilty and innocent. This stain of blood was washed out only by a public penance, such as the lowest member of the Church would have been constrained to undergo for a similar offence. In the east, we see a Chrysostom rebuking, with all his burning eloquence, the vices of an empress; and, though his life was the forfeit of his courage, his blood still cried aloud against vice in high places, and *the people* raised a monument to his memory! We say nothing of an Athanasius, of a Hilary, and of various Roman Pontiffs, who, during the fierce days of Arianism, had the courage to suffer for the faith, and to tell the truth to those emperors, who, before their conversion to Christianity, had been worshiped as gods, but were now to be taught, that they were but weak, erring men.

2. When the Roman empire fell, and the successive hordes of the heathen or Arian Northmen overran Europe, for more than two centuries spreading desolation in their course, the Church alone saved the world from barbarism. Like the ark of old, she rode triumphant amid this second deluge of waters, bearing in her bosom the sacred seeds of civilization; which, when those dark waters should subside, she was again to scatter broadcast on the surface of the earth. Not only this, but she was to water them with her tears and her blood, was to cherish their growth, and to gather the abundant fruit they would yield, "for the healing of the nations." From the fifth to the tenth century, she successfully labored for the conversion of the Northmen, and during this period she had the consolation of seeing them enter, nation by nation, within her pale. Meantime she sought by various means to soften their fierceness, to improve their legislation, and to diminish the evils of the feudal system, which they had brought into Europe. The bloody strifes which this system occasioned, were mitigated by the famous "Truce of God;" which enacted, that out of reverence to the Lord's passion and resurrection, all hostilities should be suspended from the evening of Wednesday to the morning of

the following Monday.[1] She gradually abolished the absurd and superstitious ordeals by fire and water, and substituted for them more rational forms of trial. She raised her voice against the cruel sacrifice of life in the joust and tournament, by enacting a severe canon against such pageants.[2]

To shield the oppressed, and to protect the persecuted in those days of bloody feuds, she established the privilege of asylum, and declared, that whoever sought refuge near the altar of God should be free from the attacks of every enemy. In one word, she did all that was possible under the circumstances, to ameliorate the social condition of mankind; and if she did not fully succeed according to her wishes, it was not "her fault," but "that of the times." Though, amidst the din of arms and the confusion of society, her voice was not always heard, yet when heard it was generally respected. In fact, hers was the only authority that was generally reverenced during the period in question; and if she had not interposed it, no human power could have saved Europe from complete barbarism. By averting this overwhelming evil, she made it *possible* for Europe to be free; and this argument alone would prove that all the subsequent advancement of Europe in civilization and in liberal government, is to be ascribed to *her* influence, as to its source.

As an able American Protestant writer candidly acknowledges:

"Though seemingly enslaved, the Church was in reality the life of Europe. She was the refuge of the distressed, the friend of the slave, the helper of the injured, the only hope of learning. To her, chivalry owed its noble aspirations; to her, art and agriculture looked for every improvement. The ruler from her learned some rude justice; the ruled learned faith and obedience. Let us not cling to the superstition, which teaches that the Church has always upheld the cause of tyrants. Through the middle ages she was the only friend and advocate of the people, and of the rights of man. To her influence was it owing that, through all that strange era, the slaves of Europe were better protected by law than are now the free blacks of the United States by the national statutes."[3]

Another Protestant writer gives the following opinion of the influence which the Catholic Church exercised on civilization, especially during the middle ages:

"A desire of corporate security, and a vague notion of an imperial majesty, an absolute and sacred power vested in an individual, were the bequests of ancient times to the middle ages. Christianity, or rather reverence for the Church, was the most powerfully formative opinion of modern civilization, and here it is especially necessary to distinguish between the institution and the ideas on which it was founded. The antiquities of clerical organization need not now be investigated; it is sufficient to say, that the Christian Church, before it was established by Constantine, had a fixed system of government with a due subordination of parts, and that, when Christianity became the established religion of the

1 For a beautiful explanation and illustration of this regulation, see Dr. Wiseman's Lectures on the Holy Week, delivered at Rome.

2 See Can. xx. of the third Lateran council, held A. D. 1179, under Alexander III.

3 North American Review, for July, 1845.

empire, the clergy at the same moment became an organized and recognized political body. In the decay of municipal institutions, the bishops and priests succeeded to the influence of the civic magistrates, not by usurpation, but by the sheer pressure of circumstances, possessing the additional advantages of irresponsibility — for their offices were deemed sacred and inalienable. From the fifth to the ninth century, the barbarian elements of force and violent movement were predominant, because horde followed horde, as wave follows wave, and one race of the conquerors had scarcely established itself in a country, when it was forced to make room for another. But amid all these changes and convulsions, the Church remained firm and unshaken; like a gallant vessel in the stormy ocean, it rode proudly over the billows, and, though it sometimes bowed before a sudden burst of the tempest, it instantly rose again in all its pride and all its security.

"The Church was the first permanent establishment of modern Europe; for four centuries it alone maintained the struggle against barbarism: it preserved the memory of municipal freedom and Roman majesty in temporal government, and actually established the system in spiritual affairs; and, by working on ignorance, superstition, and barbarity, by means too closely adapted to the materials of the operation, it obtained a mastery over the energies of the northern tribes, and not unfrequently the guidance and direction of their movements. Such a power was legitimated not merely by continuance but by its usefulnesss, and from the Church, temporal authority was almost at the outset forced to borrow its sanctions and derive its legitimacy.

"It is needless to describe feudality, or point out its inherent tyranny and injustice: but that it was necessary in its age is indisputably proved by its universal adoption in every European country nearly at the same time; the first consequence of the system was a transfer of the influence of the towns to the country, and the almost total extinction of municipal institutions, the last relic of ancient civilization. It was apparently a retrogradation to anarchy; it was subversive of all social security and happiness; but it fostered the growth of individual prowess. The chivalrous virtues, such as they were, sprung from feudalism; the chivalrous literature, by which these virtues were exaggerated and the accompanying vices concealed, was the child of the same parent, and for many centuries has thrown a bright veil over the horrors of its origin. Feudalism was the worst foe to social order, because it was equally opposed to the sovereignty of the monarch and the liberty of the people. Could it have held its position, Europe must have sunk into barbarism; but it had to oppose a powerful principle,— the influence of the Church. In the eleventh century the papacy fought the battle of freedom and civilization.

"It was under the pressure of the feudal system that the organization of the papacy was completed and defined; there is no part of the Romish creed, not one of the Romish institutions, that was not of the utmost importance in the great struggle it had to maintain: and of the doctrines and practices on which the nineteenth century passes just sentence of condemnation (!) there is scarcely one that could have been spared seven hundred years ago, without imminent peril to the great cause of human civilization and social happiness. By its numerous gradations of rank, the Church of the middle ages linked itself to every class of society; its bishops were the companions of princes; its priests claimed reverence in the baronial hall; its preaching friars and monks brought consolation to the cottage of the suffering peasant. When the distinction of caste was rightly established in every other form of social life, the Church scarcely knew any aristocracy but that of talent; once received into holy orders

the serf lost all traces of his bondage; he was not merely raised to an equality with his former lord, but he might aspire to dignities that cast those of temporal princes into the shade.

"Before we pass sentence on an institution, we should examine the opinion on which it is founded; and before we judge of the opinion, we should know the circumstances by which it was engendered. The public opinion of Europe in the eleventh century was represented by a truly great man, Hildebrand, or, as he was called after his accession to the chair of St. Peter, Gregory VII. It has been the fashion to describe this prelate as a species of moral monster, the enemy of all improvement. There is no doubt that a Pope possessing anything like his influence, who would propose and strive to enforce, the same measures in the nineteenth century that Gregory did in the eleventh, might justly be regarded as one of the worst despots that ever existed, and furthermore as one of the most blundering tyrants that ever disgraced humanity; there is just as little, indeed rather less doubt, that in his own age every one of these measures counteracted some evil principle, and helped to work out an antagonizing principle of civilization. Gregory VII. was a reformer as well as Luther,[1] he used despotic means, but there were no others at his disposal; he was nearly in the ecclesiastical world what Charlamagne and Peter the Great have been in the political; he wished to reform the Church and by means of the Church to reform civil society, to introduce into both more morality, justice, and order; he did not live to see the triumph of his principles, but he prepared the way for the rule of his successors. The theory of Hildebrand's system was beautiful; it apparently based supreme power upon intelligence, and concentrated both in the Church."[2]

3. The influence of the Church had already done much towards mitigating, and gradually destroying that odious feature, common to every form of ancient pagan society, — domestic slavery; by which the vast body of mankind had been held in bondage to a few who alone could claim the right of citizenship.[3] She now set about abolishing that form of slavery which had been introduced by the Northmen, and which was intimately blended with the feudal system. Under this polity, the vast body of the people were called serfs, and could be bought and sold with the soil to which they were attached. With this abject class, the Church sympathized most deeply. Like her divine Founder, she has ever viewed the poor as her favored children. But, in this as in every thing else, she proceeded slowly and cautiously, knowing that every great beneficial change, designed to affect whole masses of population, must be the work of time. Without violence — without any sudden shock of the social system — she slowly, but surely effected her object, and serfism was gradually abolished, wherever her voice could be heard. Under the influence of her humanizing principles and mild legislation, the condition of the serfs was gradually improved; until, the way having been thus wisely prepared, the system disappeared altogether from European society. To show that the social elevation and subsequent emancipation of the serfs were mainly

1 Every reader of history will know how to draw the line of distinction between Luther and Gregory VII.; Luther *reformed* from high to low, Gregory, from low to high.

2 The Foreign Quarterly Review

3 See, for a full development of this interesting topic, Balmes "Catholicity and Protestantism Compared," Ch. xv, and following.

due to the Catholic Church, a very striking fact may be alleged. The only country in Europe where the serf system still exists in all its debasement, is Russia; which, long torn by schism from the Catholic Church, has always resisted her influence in this respect, with as much blind obstinancy as she has done in the matter of the Gregorian calendar.[1]

4. After having thus rescued Europe from barbarism and domestic servitude, the Church was destined to save her from a still more appalling evil,— the subversion of her independence by a foreign religioso-political despotism. The followers of Mohammed, after having overrun Asia and Africa, entered and subdued Spain in the year 711. In 732, their victorious armies had penetrated to the very heart of France; and, though in the famous battle of Tours, fought in this year, Charles Martel, with his French troops, utterly discomfited them, yet their spirit of conquest was not broken by the overwhelming defeat. Recovering from its effects, they became masters of the Mediterranean sea in the tenth century; and they had already established a piratical colony in the south of France, and had twice ravaged Rome itself, before the year 906.[2] They subdued Sicily, and other important islands in the Mediterranean; and Spain being already in their possession, they threatened Constantinople in the east, while the whole southern frontier of Europe was open to their incursions. Europe, thus menaced with a foreign yoke, which already weighed heavily on the necks of half the world, was in no condition to repel invasion. Broken into fragments by the feudal system, and torn by petty wars, she could not expect to cope with the immense united host embattled against her under the crescent.

In this emergency, the Church and the Popes came to the rescue; and whoever will read history aright, must see that it is mainly to their influence that Europe is indebted for her independence, and with it, for all her social advantages over other countries. That master stroke of policy, which, by means of the Crusades, carried the war into the enemy's country, and for two centuries made Palestine the battle ground of the world, kept off the threatened invasion, and preserved Constantinople, the great bulwark of Europe in the East, for centuries; and, while it gave the Mohammedans enough to do at home, it allowed Europe time to breathe, and to prepare for the coming struggle. And yet, with all this preparation for the final contest, Europe still proved almost unequal to it, after the Turks had taken Constantinople, in 1453. For more than two centuries after this event, not only her peace, but her very independence, was threatened by the Turks. The Popes were always at the head of the league for repelling Turkish invasion; and the glorious result of the famous sea-fight at Lepanto in 1571, which destroyed the Turkish fleet, and drove the

1 For a full and satisfactory account of the present moral, social and religious condition of Russia see De Maistre, "Du Pape," vol. ii, where he enters into this subject at length. Even Voltaire, that implacable enemy of the Popes, awards them much praise for their agency in mitigating and abolishing the serf system; though here, as elsewhere, his quotations are not always reliable Essai sur les Mœurs, Ch. lxxxiii.

2 See Muratori, "Annali di Italia," ad an. 906, etc. Also Hallam's Middle Ages, Ch. i, p. 25.

Ottoman flag from the Mediterranean, is mainly to be ascribed to the exertions of the sainted Pope Pius V. As late as 1683, the Turkish army was under the walls of Vienna, and that city was saved only by the timely appearance of Sobieski and his thirty thousand brave Poles, invited to the rescue by Pope Innocent XI.

5. But the Crusades did more than to secure the independence of Europe. To them, more perhaps than to any other cause, are we to attribute the social improvement of mankind, and the rise of free institutions. They united Europe in one great cause, they impaired the feudal system and consolidated government, they rid Europe of many petty despots who were firebrands in the heart of society; they elicited enterprise, stimulated commerce, fostered industry, and cherished mechanical skill, by opening a market in the east to the products of European industry. Many of our greatest inventions, and among them, that of gunpowder and the mariner's compass, date back to the period of the Crusades. But what is still more to our present purpose, they raised the lower classes, and gave importance to the cities. The Free Cities of the middle ages,—those first nurseries of free principles,—owed their origin and their privileges mainly to the startling events connected with those expeditions. At least, this is true in regard to those of Italy, which during these excursions into Palestine, became the commercial carriers of Europe.

The limits of this essay will allow but a rapid view of the Free Cities of the middle ages; and we will speak chiefly of those of Spain, Germany, and Italy. Of those of France, M. Guizot, a Protestant, treats at length, in his late singular lectures "on Civilization in Modern Europe."[1]

If we except those of Italy, the Cities of Spain, were the first in Europe which received charters of privileges. These they obtained from various Spanish monarchs, for military services rendered, or to be rendered the state, in the long contest with the Moors for national independence. As early as the year 1020, Alfonzo V. granted a charter of rights to the city of Leon. Sancho the Great and Alfonso VI., in the same century, extended similar privileges to many other cities. These charters, or *fueros*, allowed them to elect their own city council, judges and other municipal officers, and to send deputies to the Cortes of the kingdom. We read of many cities sending their deputies to the Cortes in the year 1169. From the reign of Alfonso IX. in 1188, we have constant mention "of a great number of deputies from each city."[2] In the Cortes of Burgos, in 1315, there were present one hundred and ninety-two delegates from ninety different cities; and in that of Madrid, in 1391, one hundred and twenty-six deputies attended from fifty cities.[3]

The Spanish monarchs had *no right to levy taxes, without the consent of the people duly represented in the Cortes.*[4] In granting a supply to

1 M. Guizot belongs to that modern school of philosophers, called Eclectics. In discussing history, he takes both sides of a most every question, and in many instances it would require a wizard or a diplomatist like himself, to define his real position.

2 In the old Spanish of that day, "*muchedumbre de embiados de cada cibdad.*"

3 For the original authorities, see Hallam's Middle Ages, chap. iv, p. 200, *et seq.* 4 Ibid. p. 208-9

Henry III. in 1393, the Cortes required, "that he should swear before one of the archbishops, not to take or demand any money, service or loan, or any thing else of the cities or towns, nor of individuals belonging to them, on any pretence of necessity, until the three estates of the kingdom should be duly summoned and assembled in Cortes, according to ancient usage. And if any such letters requiring money have been written, *that they shall be obeyed, but not complied with.*[1] Mr. Hallam admits, that "the civil rights of rich and poor in (Spanish) courts of justice were as equal as in England."[2]

The Church exercised a great and even direct influence in bringing about this development of the democratic principle in Spain. The ecclesiastical councils, and especially those of Toledo, constituted the basis of all Spanish jurisprudence; and the old Spanish civil laws were published in the ecclesiastical collections.[3] The councils of Spain, as of many others countries of Europe, during the middle ages, were often mixed assemblages of bishops, nobles, and deputies from cities; and they often decided on temporal as well as on spiritual matters. This fact is a key to many of the difficulties connected with Church History during that period. The fourth council of Toledo enacts, that "on the death of a king, the princes of the kingdom, together with the clergy, shall elect his successor by common consent.[4]

From all these facts, we gather: first, that Spain, during the middle ages, was in possession of these great democratic principles,—exemption from taxation without the consent of the people, free and full representation of popular interests in the national Cortes, and an elective monarchy; and secondly, that the Church was mainly instrumental in securing to her these precious advantages. Her liberties began to decline in the sixteenth century, under Charles V. and Philip II.; and one great cause of the declension, was the supposed necessity of strong measures of precaution against the civil commotions occasioned by the reformation in other countries of Europe. By the way, it is rather a singular fact, that civil liberty should have declined in every country of Europe in the sixteenth century. Even Guizot admits this.[5]

In Germany, the cities of Worms and Cologne acquired political importance under Henry IV., A. D. 1076. His successor, Henry V., granted enfranchisement to the artisans in various other cities of the Germanic empire. The citizens were classed according to their respective employments.[6] Frederick I. granted a charter to the city of Spire in 1188, and various other German cities began to elect their own municipal officers, and to have a voice in the diet of the empire, after this date. In

1 "Obedecidas, y non cumplidas." In refusing, the Cortes still maintained that lofty style of deference for their sovereigns, which has ever marked the Spanish character.

2 Ibid p. 201. 3 Ibid. 206. See also Guizot's Lectures, etc.

4 "Defuncto in pace principe primates totius regni una cum sarcerdotibus successorem regni communi consilio constituant." See Marina, Teoria de las Cortes, t. ii, p. 2; and Id. Ensayo Politico, etc., chap lxvi; and Hallam ibid. p. 206.

5 See Guizot s Lectures, p. 300, *et seq.*

6 See Schmidt, Geschichte, etc., tom. iii, p. 239 *et seq.* quoted by Hallam, chap. iv, p. 238-9.

the thirteenth century, they became more opulent and still more independent. The three orders of electors, princes, and deputies from cities, took their respective places in the diet of Frankfort in 1344. The provincial states of the Germanic empire had also their own privileges, and they managed their own local affairs. The great fundamental principle of mediæval jurisprudence in Germany, was that "*no taxes were to be levied on the people without their own consent.*"[1]

In Italy, as we have already intimated, the Free Cities obtained importance during the Crusades, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The Popes were their principal protectors; while the emperors of Germany viewed their growing liberties with an evil eye. In a diet held at Roncaglia in 1158, Frederick Barbarossa endeavored to wrest from them their privileges, and to subject them to the German yoke. The cities rebelled, but they were soon reduced to subjection by the armies of Frederick, who, to strike terror into the Italian mind, caused the city of Milan to be razed to the ground, in 1162. But he was disappointed in his expectations. The principal cities of Lombardy united in the famous Lombard League, in 1167; and their inhabitants swore that they would either maintain their liberties, or be buried beneath the ruins of their houses. Pope Alexander III. was at the head of this League; and when the decisive battle fought near Legnano, in 1176, had been won by the Italians, the Pope was the principal negotiator on the part of Italy in the treaty of Venice in 1177, which secured to them their liberties. The grateful people built the city of Alexandria, in honor of their illustrious patron.[2]

In the Free Cities of Italy, the democratic principle was developed more fully than in those of any other part of Europe. They became, in fact, independent and regularly organized republics. Was it because they were more immediately under the influence of the Church, and of the Popes? Certain it is, that the Popes contributed much to their origin, and greatly fostered their growth. Under *their* auspices, Venice, Genoa, Florence, Pisa, Sienna, Brescia, Bergamo, and Milan became a bright galaxy of free governments. And though their light was subsequently obscured by the clouds of faction, yet most of them continued to shine throughout the middle ages; and two of them, Genoa and Venice, lingered above the horizon, though with diminished lustre, almost until our own day.

6. The fierce and bloody factions of the Guelphs and Ghibellines contributed, perhaps more than any other cause, to mar the prosperity of Italy, during the period of which we are speaking. To them chiefly, are we to ascribe the decline and downfall of many of the Italian republics. These factions originated in Germany, after the death of the Emperor Henry VI. in 1197. Two aspirants, Philip duke of Swabia, and Otto duke of Saxony and Bavaria, maintained a long and bloody contest for the imperial crown. The former belonged to the family of the Ghibellini;

1 See Hallam, ibid.

2 See Hallam's Middle Ages, chap. iii, p. 134–5. Also Muratori, Dissert. 48, Antiq. Medii Ævi.

and the latter to that of the Este-Guelphi. Both families were originally from Italy, where they were still numerous and influential.[1] The contest between them raged even more fiercely, and for a much longer time, in Italy than in Germany itself. In fact, the greatest political misfortunes of Italy, in every age, have arisen from her having been drawn into the vortex of German politics, and having become, against her will, the theater of war for all Europe. These bloody factions continued to disturb her for many centuries. The Guelphs advocated the independence of Italy; the Ghibellines sought to fasten on the neck of the Italians the imperial yoke of Germany. It was but a renewal of the old contest, which had given rise to the Lombard League, and birth to the Italian republics. During all this protracted struggle, the Popes were found ranged on the side of the Guelphs; and they thus exerted all their influence to promote Italian liberty. Can any one blame them for so doing? What right had Germany to crush Italian liberty? Voltaire himself applauds them for their course,[2] and he says that the destruction of Milan by Frederick Barbarossa would of itself "suffice to justify the Popes for all they did."[3] We may here remark, in general, that the Popes during the middle ages, having been necessarily drawn by the circumstances of the times into European politics, used their influence, almost without an exception, for checking tyranny, and maintaining the rights of the people. And the more we fathom the interesting history of that period, the more shall we become convinced of this great leading fact.

7. This is in nothing more apparent, than in their long struggle with the German emperors;[4] and in the exercise by them of what is called the deposing power. We care not to inquire, whether the Popes had this power in virtue of their sacred office, or merely through the consent and concession of the people and princes themselves, who often invoked it in their behalf. One thing is certain, every exercise of it was a blow aimed at tyranny, and struck for the rights of the people. In deposing a prince, the Pope simply declared, that he had broken his solemn engagement to his people — to govern them in accordance with justice; and that they were in consequence freed from all obligations to him, growing out of their oath of allegiance. The claim of the deposing power necessarily supposed the doctrine of a contract, express or implied, between the king and his people; the former binding himself to protect their rights, and to govern them justly, and the latter, *under this condition only*, pledging to him their allegiance. Every exercise of the power kept this doctrine fresh in the memory of the people, and thereby greatly contributed to the unfolding of the democratic principle. Had the Popes labored in a similar way, to recall to a sense of duty many other despots of that period, the

1 See Muratori, Antiquit. etc., Dissert. 41, for a full account of these "diaboliche fazioni," as he calls them.

2 Essai sur les Mœurs, tom. i, chap. xxxvii and xlv, and tom. ii, chap xlvii.

3 Ibid tom. ii, chap lxi.—

4 The Germanic empire was styled the *Holy Roman Empire*. Voltaire (ibid) with his usual caustic wit, and with *unusual* truth, remarks that this was a complete misnomer;—"*it was neither Holy, nor Roman, nor Empire.*"

heart of every patriot would leap with joy. The circumstances which gave rise to this power having ceased, nearly three hundred years since, the claim to it has been abandoned.

8. Of the old Catholic republics, two yet remain, standing monuments of the influence of Catholicity on free institutions. The one is imbosomed in the Pyrennees of Catholic Spain, and the other is perched on the Appenines of Catholic Italy. The very names of Andorra and San Marino are enough to refute the assertion, that Catholicity is opposed to republican governments. Both of these little republics owed their origin *directly* to the Catholic religion. That of Andorra was founded by a Catholic bishop,[1] and that of San Marino, by a Catholic monk, whose name it bears.[2] The bishops of Urgel have been, and are still, the protectors of the former; and the Roman Pontiffs of the latter.[3] Andorra has continued to exist, with few political vicissitudes, for more than a thousand years; while San Marino dates back her history more than fifteen hundred years, and is therefore not only the oldest republic in the world, but perhaps the oldest government in Europe. The former, to a territory of two hundred English square miles, has a population of fifteen thousand; while the latter, with half the population, has a territory of only twenty-one square miles. Both of them are governed by officers

1 A little after the beginning of the ninth century, Louis Le Debonnaire, the successor of Charlemagne, ceded the territory of Andorra to the bishops of Urgel. These exercised a very mild feudal sovereignty over the republic for many centuries; but the real authority was by them permitted to be exercised by two Syndics, or governors, elected by a council of twenty-four members, who were themselves chosen by the people of the six principal towns of the republic. The bishop of Urgel now exercises only a spiritual jurisdiction over Andorra; even the loose authority growing out of the feudal system, having ceased with the last remnant of that system in Europe, more than fifty years since.— See *Malte Brun's Geography.*

2 Towards the close of the third century, the emperor Diocletian determined to rebuild the city of *Ariminum* or Rimini, which had fallen to ruins. For this purpose, he invited from Dalmatia, his native country, a number of mechanics and architects. His invitation was accepted, and, in the language of the historian of Rimini, (*Clementini, Raccolto Historico, infra cit.*) "*venne ad Ariminum un gran numero di architetti, scalpellini, o, diciamo tagliapietri, e muratori, e con essi un' infinita d' operai Schiavoni;* — there came to Ariminum a great number of architects, stone-cutters and masons, and with these an infinite number of Sehlavonian workmen." Among these was one Marinus, a man of excellent character and a fervent Christian. Rimini was soon restored to more than its ancient glory. But in 303. Diocletian's partiality for this city was turned into hatred, on account of the vast number of Christians who lived within its walls. In the bloody persecution which he raised against the Church, the streets of Rimini "*flowed with rivers of Catholic blood, not to earth but to heaven.*" (Clementini *infra cit.*) Marinus, with the miserable remnant of the slaughtered Christians, fled to the neighboring heights of Monte Titauo, where he gave himself up to prayer and penance. His reputation for wisdom and sanctity, as well as similar persecutious, brought great numbers of his countrymen and of Italians to his place of retreat; and thus was laid the foundation of the republic of San Marino, named after its founder, who also gave his name to Monte Titano. Marinus attended a council held at Rimini early in the fourth century; he is styled in its acts *Diaconus*, or deacon. He died in a good old age, towards the close of that century; his body was buried on the mountain, and miracles were said to have been wrought at his tomb. His ashes are now preserved in the church of San Mariuo, the principal one of the republic, where there is over the high altar a statue of the saint, holding in its hand the figure of a mountain crowned with three towers,— the coat of arms of the republic. (See Clementini; also Matteo Valli, *infra cit.*)

3. For a full account of the republic of San Marino, see "Dele' Origine e governo della republica di San Marino, di Matteo Valli, secretario e cittadino di esso republica." Padova, 1633. Also "Clementini, Raccolto istorico della fondazione di Rimini," 2 vols 4to. Rimini, 1617. When Cardinal Alberoni, about a century ago, sought to reduce this little republic under the temporal sovereignty of the Pope, the Pontiff disapproved of his design, and restored to the republic its ancient privileges.

of their own choice; and the government of San Marino in particular, is conducted on the most radically democratic principles.

The legislative body consists of the Council of Sixty, one half of whom at least are, by law, to be chosen from the plebeian order; and of the *Arrengo*, or general assembly, summoned under extraordinary circumstances, in which all the families of the republic are to be represented. The executive is lodged in two *capitanei regyenti*, or governors, chosen every six months, and holding jurisdiction, one in the city of San Marino, and the other in the country; — so jealous are these old republicans of placing power in the hands of one man! The judiciary department is managed by a commissary, who is required by law to be a foreigner, — a native of some other part of Italy, — in order that, in the discharge of his office, he may be biassed by no undue prejudices resulting from family connections.[1] When Addison visited the republic in 1700, he "scarcely met with any in the place who had not a tincture of learning.[2] He also saw the collection of the laws of the republic, published in Latin, in one volume folio, under the title: "Statuta illustrissimæ reipublicæ Sancti Marini." When Napoleon, at the head of his victorious French troops, was in the neighborhood of San Marino, in 1797, he paused, and sent a congratulatory deputation to the republic, "which expressed the reverence felt by her young sister, France, for so ancient and free a commonwealth, and offered, besides an increase of territory, a present of four pieces of artillery." The present was gratefully accepted, but the other tempting offer was wisely declined!

9. The monastic institute, as we have seen, laid the foundations of the republic of San Marino in the fourth century; — it subsequently did more for civil liberty, by furnishing the best models for free institutions. In the beginning of the thirteenth century, arose the two religious orders of St. Francis and St. Dominic, furnishing the Church, as a late eloquent writer[3] has well said, with its two greatest arms of defence, *poverty* and *eloquence*. The forms of government which these men established for their respective orders, contained many elements of democracy. The general of the Franciscans was elected for four years, and that of the Dominicans for six years.[4] The local superiors were also elected for a certain term of years; and in each society rules were made to prevent the too frequent election of the same individual. The monks were ever the friends of the lower

1 An anecdote, current in Italy, will serve to show how justice is administered at San Marino. A merchant of Venice visited the republic to collect a debt from one of its citizens, who had delayed or declined payment. He was conducted to the chief justice, whom he found in a large vat, treading out grapes for wine with his naked feet. He stated his case, without much hope of receiving payment. The justice immediately summoned the delinquent debtor, who acknowledged the debt, but pleaded inability. The indignant judge however immediately decreed, that his house should be sold to meet the demand. To prevent this, the citizen soon produced the amount of the debt, and the Venitian returned home, well satisfied with his journey. Having afterwards witnessed the delays and chicanery of the Venitian courts, he exclaimed: "Vale piu un pistad' uva di San Marino, che dieci parruchoni di Venetia! One grape-trader of San Marino is worth more than ten big-wigs (judges) of Venice!"

2 See Addison's "Letters from Italy." 3 La Cordaire, "Apology for the Order of St. Dominic."

4 This, at least, is the rule at present in the Dominican order; originally it was different, the general having been elected for life. The change, however, took place at an early period in the history of the Order; we believe, in the thirteenth century, under St. Raymond de Pennafort, who was general in 1238.

classes, and they did much to elevate their condition in society. Born themselves in general among the poor, and having made a vow of poverty, their sympathies were naturally with the poor. Mingling constantly with the people, and entering into all their wants, their word and example exercised a most humanizing influence on the rude state of society during the middle ages.

10. If any doubt remain as to the favorable influence of Catholicity on civil liberty, it would be dispelled by the express teaching of the theologians, writing in accordance with the principles and the spirit of the Church. Not to extend this paper too much, we will confine ourselves to the authority of the great St. Thomas Aquinas, who, as a theologian, has perhaps had greater weight in the Catholic Church than any other man. His testimony may also show us, what were the general sentiments of the schoolmen in the thirteenth century, when he wrote. Speaking of the origin of civil power and the objects of law, he lays down these principles: "The law, strictly speaking, is directed primarily and principally to the common good: and to decree any thing for the common benefit, *belongs either to the whole body of the people, or to some one acting in their place.*"[1] He pronounces the following opinion as to the best form of government: "Wherefore the choice of rulers in any state or kingdom is best, when one is *chosen for his merit to preside over all*, and under him are other rulers *chosen for their merit, and the government belongs to all, because the rulers may be chosen from any class of society, and the choice is made by all.*"[2] One would think that he is hearing a democrat of the modern stamp, and yet it is a monk of the dark ages! Many other testimonies of similar import might be cited, but these will suffice.[3]

11. With these principles generally received, and with the other influences noticed above steadily acting on society, we cannot wonder at the rapid development of the democratic principle in the thirteenth and following centuries. Were the Catholic bishops and barons, who wrested *Magna Charta* from the hands of the tyrant John, on the famous plain of Runnymede, in 1215, enemies of civil liberty? And yet, that great charter of English rights, which secured trial by jury, fixed courts, taxation only with the consent of the people, and *habeas corpus*, contained no new provisions; it was but the revival of a charter one hundred and fifty years older, granted by Edward the Confessor, and discovered in the archives of London, by that great champion of English liberty, Cardinal Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury.[4] (See Note A., page 635.)

12. The good old Catholic times produced patriots and heroes, of whom the present age might well be proud. William Wallace, defeated at Buscenneth, fell a martyr to the liberty of his native Scotland in 1305. Robert Bruce achieved what Wallace had bled for not in vain, — the independence of his country. He won, in 1314, the decisive battle of Bannockburn,

1 Summa Theologiæ. 1. 2. 1. Quæst. Art. iii, Resp. 2 Ibid. Quæst. cv. art. 1.

3 For a fuller exposition of what the leading Catholic divines have taught on the nature and limits of civil government, see Balmes, sup. cit. ch. xlix. seqq.

4 See Hurter's "Life of Innocent III," etc. vol ii, p. 686

which resulted in the expulsion of the English invaders from Scotland. Are the Hungarians, and Poles, and Spaniards, and French, who fought for centuries the battles of European independence against the Saracens and Turks, to be set down as enemies of freedom? Are the brave knights of St. John, who so heroically devoted themselves for the liberty of Europe at Rhodes and at Malta, also to be ranked with the enemies of human rights?

13. Who will stigmatize as lovers of despotism the brave heroes, William Tell, Furst, Werner, and Melchtal, who, at the head of four or five hundred Swiss, fought the battle of Morgarten in 1307, and drove back an invading army of twenty thousand Austrians? And yet these brave men, who laid the foundation of the Swiss Republic, were all Roman Catholics; and in nobly asserting the cause of freedom, they surely did not act in opposition to their principles as Catholics.

14. And still, in the face of all these facts, and of many others which might be alleged, we are to be told that Catholicity is the friend of despotism, and the sworn enemy of republican government! And that, forsooth, all our free institutions are to be ascribed to the Protestant reformation! If this be so, is it not a *little* strange that wherever Protestantism appeared in Europe, and especially wherever it gained the ascendency, the democratic principle was weakened, and the arm of monarchy strengthened? Yet this fact is incontestable. Where now are the liberties of Germany, established by her people, and recognized by her emperors and princes, in the middle ages? What has become of the great democratic principle so generally received during that period, that the people are not to be taxed without their own consent? What has become of the representative system, by which each city and province of the empire had a voice in the general diet? These have all vanished. The fate of Germany is now decided, not by the voice of her once free people, but by the swords and bayonets of her immense standing armies. These constitute the *ultima ratio* assigned by her emperors and kings for any laws they may choose to enact! And it must be confessed that this reason, if not altogether satisfactory, is at least conclusive. Where are now the free cities of Germany, once so famous? Alas! they have dwindled down to two or three, and these shorn of half their honors!

Whence this great change in her social condition? Our vision must be very dull indeed, not to perceive that it occurred in the sixteenth century; and that the revolution, called the reformation, caused it in some places, and occasioned it in others. The political excitement, and the bloody wars to which that revolution gave rise, afforded an excellent opportunity to the German princes to grasp at absolute power. Amidst the agitations of society, they seized on the golden prize thus offered to their ambition, and bore it off triumphantly! And did the Protestants of Germany resist these pretensions? On the contrary they favored them. Though they were clamoring for liberty, and struggling for emancipation

from what they were pleased to call a religious despotism, yet they tamely yielded their political rights to the first despot who espoused their cause, and offered to protect them in their religious innovation! They gave themselves up, body and soul,—bound hand and foot,—to a *real* in order to escape an *imaginary* despotism! We confidently appeal to the whole history of that period, to show that this is no exaggeration, and that the picture is not even too highly colored. M. Guizot, a Protestant, and a historian of great weight, expressly asserts "*that the emancipation of the human mind,* (by the reformation) *and absolute monarchy triumphed simultaneously throughout Europe.*[1] And if he had not admitted it, standing monuments would fully attest the fact. Every Protestant kingdom on the continent of Europe has been since the reformation, and is still, an absolute despotism! Every one of them has an established religion, and recognizes in the king absolute power, civil and ecclesiastical! Many of them, as Prussia, for example, are military despotisms, in which every citizen is bound to military service!

The Protestant reformation is directly responsible for all this; for it certainly caused all these political evils, wherever it gained the ascendency. It indirectly occasioned political changes of a similar character in most other countries of Europe. To preserve themselves from the social disturbances, which the reformation had caused wherever it had made its appearance, Catholic princes adopted rigid precautionary measures, and their subjects, under the excitement of the times, willingly resigning a portion of their liberties in order to enable their princes to ward off the threatened evil, the Catholic governments of Europe became, many of them, absolute monarchies. These influences contributed much to produce the effects just named in the Catholic governments of Austria, France, Spain, and Portugal.

In England, the reformation crushed the liberties of the people transmitted to them by their Catholic ancestors, and embodied in the Catholic *Magna Charta.* The tyrant Henry VIII. trampled with impunity on almost every privilege secured by that instrument. Royal prerogative swallowed up every other element of government, both civil and religious. The king was every thing,—supreme in church and state; the parliament and the people were nothing,—a mere cypher. This state of things continued, with the brief and troubled interval of Cromwell, or of the *soi distant* "commonwealth" excepted, until the revolution in 1688,—a period of one hundred and fifty years.

And what did the revolution effect? It did no more than restore to England the provisions of her Catholic *Magna Charta,* which instrument, during the three hundred years preceding the reformation, had been renewed and extended at least thirty times.[1] The glorious revolution indeed!! It did no more than repair the ravages committed by Protestantism on the British constitution during the previous hundred and fifty

1 Lectures on Civilization in Modern Europe, p. 300, *et seq.* Though he admits this fact, yet he labors, strangely enough, to show that Protestantism emancipated the human mind and originated free institutions! So much for modern eclecticism.

years, and to restore that constitution to its ancient Catholic integrity. It did not even do this to the fullest extent; for it refused to grant protection and the most unalienable civil privileges to the Catholic body, to whom the British were indebted for the *Magna Charta*, and their glorious constitution. Nor was this body emancipated from political slavery until 1829,—one hundred and forty one years later; and then the act was passed with a bad grace, nor was it full in its measure of justice,—the tithe system and other intolerable evils still remaining unrepealed!

15. We might bring the subject home to our own times and country, and show that the Catholics of the colony of Maryland, were the first to proclaim universal liberty, civil and religious, in North America;[2] that in the war for independence with Protestant England, Catholic France came generously and effectually to our assistance; that Irish and American Catholics fought side by side with their Protestant fellow-citizens in that eventful war;[3] that the Maryland line which bled so freely at Camden with the Catholic Baron De Kalb, while Gates and his Protestant militia were consulting their safety by flight, was composed to a great extent of Catholic soldiers; that there was no Catholic traitor during our revolution; that the one who periled most in signing the Declaration of Independence, and who was the last survivor of that noble band of patriots, was the illustrious Catholic, Charles Carroll of Carrolton; that half the generals and officers of our revolution,—Lafayette, Pulaski, Count de Grasse, Rochambeau, De Kalb, Kosciusko, and many others, were Catholics;—and that the first commodore appointed by Washington to form our infant navy was the Irish Catholic—BARRY. These facts, which are but a few of those which might be adduced, prove conclusively that Catholicity is still, what she was in the middle ages, the steadfast friend of free institutions.[4]

To conclude: Can it be that Catholicity, which saved Europe from barbarism and a foreign Mahommedan despotism,—which in every age has been the advocate of free principles, and the mother of heroes and of republics,—which originated *Magna Charta* and laid the foundation of liberty in every country in Europe,—and which in our own day and country has evinced a similar spirit,—is the enemy of free principles? We must blot out the facts of history, before we can come to any such conclusion! If history is at all to be relied on, we must conclude, that THE INLUENCE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH HAS BEEN FAVORABLE TO CIVIL LIBERTY.

1 See a series of very able articles in the Dublin Review, under the title, "Arbitrary Power, Popery, Protestantism,"—republished in a duodecimo volume by Mr. Fithian; where this and many similar facts are proved by incontestable evidence.—*Dublin Review, Nos.* xv, xviii, xix.

2 See Bancroft's (Protestant) History of the United States, Vol. i, Colony of Maryland.

3 See a letter of General Washington to Charles Carroll of Carrolton and Bishop Carroll, written in March, 1790; in which he bears honorable evidence to this fact, alleging it as a reason why Catholics in this country should have equal rights with their Protestant fellow-citizens.

4 De Tocqueville, a good judge in such matters, says "that the Catholics constitute the most democratic class of citizens in the United States." And to account for this fact, he enters into a course of philosophic reasoning to show that this is a necessary result of Catholic principles.—*Democracy in America*, p. 281: New York edition, 1838.

VIII. AGE OF POPE GREGORY VII.

THE DEPOSING POWER.*

Importance of the subject—Society struggling into form—Hildebrand—His cotemporaries—Historical portraits and parallels—Napoleon's opinion of Gregory VII.—How the Pontiff has been attacked by his enemies—And how defended by Voigt—The great idea of Gregory—His relations to society as its spiritual head—A torrent of abuse stemmed—The question of investitures—Ancient mode of nominating to bishoprics—Contest between the Popes and the emperors of Germany—Papal election—A vital question—St. Peter Damian—His relations to Gregory—Simony and disorder among the clergy—Hildebrand unanimously elected Pope—His earlier career—His experience, coolness, and wisdom—Not exceedingly stern—His wonderful activity—His correspondence—His moral courage—His temporal relations to society—Distracted state of Europe—Princes swearing fealty to the Pope—His protectorate recognized and invoked—Gregory not ambitious—His long struggle with Henry IV.—The Nero of the twelfth century—Otto of Nordheim—Summary of the whole contest—Moderation of Gregory—How and why the Pontiff declared Henry deposed—A stroke for liberty—Opinion of Voigt.

Gregory VII. was the first Roman Pontiff, who ever attempted to depose a temporal prince. Hence his character, as well as that of his age, has awakened much interest and elicited considerable historical inquiry. Men have naturally sought to know why, and under what circumstances, he maintained the claim to a power seemingly so extraordinary in one who was the successor of the poor fisherman of Galilee. We will attempt to throw some light upon this subject, with the aid of M. Voigt, the distinguished biographer of the Pontiff. His testimony will be deemed unexceptionable by the mass of Gregory's opponents; while, based as it is upon original documents, carefully examined, it must have great weight with all impartial men.

The age of Pope Gregory VII., was one of peculiar interest, crowded with great and important events. It was an age of transition. After the civil convulsions which followed the subjugation of Europe by the northmen in the fifth century, society, as if exhausted by over exertion, seems to have settled down into a species of lethargy in the tenth century, reputed by most writers the darkest and most dreary of all the period called the middle ages. The eleventh century presents us the picture of society again struggling into form. To attain this consistency, however, it was necessary for it again to pass through the storm of revolution. Commotions in society are sometimes as necessary for its moral health, as storms are in nature for the purification of the atmosphere.

**Histoire du Pape Gregoire VII. et de son siecle, d'apres les monuments originaux.* Par J. Voigt, profess. a l'universitè de Hall. Traduite de l'Allemand, par M. l'Abbé Jager. Paris, 1838; 2 vol. 8vo. *History of Pope Gregory VII. and of his age, from original documents.* By J. Voigt, Professor at the University of Hall. Translated from the German by the Abbé Jager. Paris, 1838. 2 vols. 8vo

Whoever will take the trouble to compare the tenth with the twelfth century, must be convinced that, during the intervening period, a great man has passed, and that his passage has been marked by great events That great man was Hildebrand, afterwards Gregory VII.; and the great events are those which M. Voigt so graphically describes in his history. This embraces the period of thirty-five years, from the birth of the emperor Henry IV. in 1050, to the death of Gregory in 1085.

M. Voigt could not have chosen a more interesting or important subject, and few could have done it greater justice. His history is not confined to Gregory. Along with him, he portrays the various remarkable personages who flourished at the same time, and with most of whom the Pontiff was thrown into frequent contact. Among these, the chief is Henry IV., of Germany, the exact antithesis of Gregory in all things, *infamous* for every thing for which *he* was *famous*. He and all the others appear before us like finished portraits from a master hand;—their features and form so clearly marked, that they remain fixed in the memory, and will ever afterwards be recognized as old acquaintances.

Great men often appear in groups, like the stars in heaven; and, among the distinguished cotemporaries of Gregory, we may mention St. Peter Damian, St. Anselm, bishop of Lucca, and Desiderius, abbot of Monte Cassino, in Italy, St. Hugh of Cluni, and Cardinal Hugh de Die, in France; Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, and William the Conqueror, in England; and Anno of Cologne, Rodolph, duke of Suabia, and Otto of Nordheim, in Germany. In the south of Italy, the famous Chevalier Robert Guiscard is seen extending the Norman power almost as much as William the Conqueror extends it in England; and the attentive reader will not fail to remark a great similarity in the characters and fortunes of these two fierce, but chivalrous Norman chieftains. He will also detect in the life, position in relation to Henry IV., splendid designs, varied fortunes, and remarkable death of the great Anno, archbishop of Cologne, many traits common to him with the great Cardinal Wolsey of England; though if the comparison be strictly carried out, the palm will, perhaps, be awarded to Anno. Had Henry IV. listened to his counsels, and not been guided too much by the ambitious Adalbert, bishop of Bremen, and by others, the history of the eleventh century would have been very different. If the reader be fond of drawing parallels, he may find many things in the life, character and varied adventures of the great Otto of Nordheim, to remind him of that pink of mediæval chivalry, Richard *Cœur de Lion*.

Finally, in the excellent Empress Agnes, the mother of Henry IV., he will discover the most estimable traits of character; and in the famous Matilda of Tuscany, the particular friend of Gregory, he will find all the qualities which constitute a great and good princess. She combined, in a remarkable degree, the coolness, firmness, and zeal of Gregory, with the warlike talents and impetuous bravery[1] of Otto of Nordheim. All these

1 See Voigt, (vol. ii. p. 436.) for a curious instance of her skill in arms, when, at the head of her troops, she surprised and defeated Henry's army in Lombardy.

characters reappear under the pen of M. Voigt, fresh, and, as it were, instinct with life; and it requires but little exertion of fancy, to behold them again acting over before us their respective parts in history, Gregory VII. being the great master spirit and actor, whose influence is felt by them all. Few men, perhaps, have been more differently judged by their cotemporaries, and by posterity, than this illustrious Pontiff. That he was a great man, with transcendent genius, and that he did great things, all readily admit: and Napoleon, an excellent judge of human greatness, showed his discrimination when he said: "If I were not Napoleon, I would wish to be Gregory VII.!" By his enemies, he has been represented as an ambitious man, who aimed at universal dominion, both civil and ecclesiastical, reckless of the means for attaining his object. Some Catholics have thought, that he pushed the claims of his see too far. The Church has erected altars to his memory, as to one of the most devoted champions of her liberty and rights, and one of the greatest promoters of stainless purity among her clergy.

It is a singular stroke of divine Providence, that perhaps the best apology for the course thus pursued by the Church, comes to us from a Protestant pen, and from that Germany too, with which Gregory sustained so long and so arduous a struggle. M. Voigt has defended him, not, as he had been attacked, by mere declamation, but by the evidence of facts drawn from cotemporary writers, such as Lambert, Paul Bernried, Domnizo, Berthold of Constance, Leo Ostiensis, Hermann, Fiorentini, Aventin, Cardinal Arago, and others. He has thoroughly sifted the testimony of these authors, and presented the facts in chronological order, yet woven into a narrative almost as interesting as any work of fiction. Though a Protestant, yet he is so just and moderate, and withal so accurate, that the severe critic, the Abbé Jager, who translated his work into French, found little of importance to correct, and still less to add to the narrative; and besides a remarkably well written, well reasoned, and highly wrought introductory essay of one hundred pages, his notes are chiefly valuable, as exhibiting the original text where the historian had contented himself with a simple reference. The manner of M. Voigt is very similar to that of the great English historian, Lingard, embracing many facts and little theory; while his style, though less terse and condensed, is perhaps more lively, and his narrative more detailed and interesting.

It is not our purpose to write a lengthy review of M. Voigt's work, which we would fain hope soon to see in an English dress. We wish merely to direct attention to the new light, which so unexceptionable a witness has shed upon the character and actions of a man, than whom few have been less known, and more misrepresented.

Gregory had to sustain a two-fold relation to the world: the one spiritual, to the Church, of which he was the visible head; the other temporal, to civil society, in the framework of which he was an important part. Our object is to show, from the facts which M. Voigt alleges and *proves*, that, in both these capacities, his influence was highly beneficial;

while his motives were of the purest and most exalted nature. His great idea was, TO PURIFY THE CHURCH, AND THROUGH ITS AGENCY TO REFORM AND CIVILIZE SOCIETY: and his acts were just such as the condition of the times required for the attainment of these two great purposes. The chief fault of those who have censured him has been, that they have judged his conduct, not by the circumstances of his own time and the jurisprudence which then obtained, but by the maxims and ideas of the present day,—than which nothing could be more unjust.

I. Our blessed Redeemer foretold[1] that scandals should come; and even under His own eyes, and in the college of apostles, though taught immediately by Himself, a most grievous scandal was given, by that traitorous disciple who sold his divine Master. It was not then to be expected, that the members of the church, even the ministers of her altars, should be all of them stainless. It was not promised that the gates of hell should not *rage* against the Church, but that they should not *prevail*.[2] The storm was to howl fiercely around the ship of the Church, while pursuing her voyage over the stormy ocean of life; but in the hour of her greatest peril, when every thing would threaten shipwreck, and the timid would exclaim: "Lord, save us, we perish,"—Jesus would arise from his apparent slumber, extend his hand over the boiling waves, command the winds and the sea, and suddenly there should come a great calm.[3]

This miracle has been renewed in all the great emergencies of the Church. "She may be attacked, she cannot be conquered." Persecution has tried her, and she came out fresher and better than ever. Heresy has assailed her on all sides, and yet she has gained the victory. At the period of which we are speaking, a flood of immorality broke in upon her, penetrating even within the sacred chancel of her sanctuary; and yet from this new and most terrible ordeal she was destined likewise to come out, unharmed and unsullied. Perhaps the preservation of the Church, under such circumstances, is a greater miracle of God's providence than any other recorded in her annals.

Gregory VII. was the chief instrument employed by God for the correction of the crying moral evils of his age. His vast mind immediately perceived the source from which this torrent of disorders flowed; and he directed all his gigantic efforts for nearly thirty-six years, towards drying it up. The Church had unworthy ministers, and she had to weep over many immoralities, even at the foot of her altars, precisely because she had been enslaved by the princes of the earth,—her canons contemned, her liberties crushed, and her very sanctuaries sacrilegiously invaded, by those who were clothed with the civil power.

The right of investiture, claimed chiefly by the emperors of Germany, was the principal cause of all these evils of the Church. The emperors, having richly endowed the bishoprics and abbeys, claimed the right of nominating the incumbent, and of investing the subject thus appointed with the *insignia* of his office. The new incumbent took an oath of fealty,

1 Matt. xviii 2 Matt xvi. 3 Matt. viii, 25, 26.

which required, among other things, that he should join the standard of his sovereign with his armed retainers, whenever called on to do so. In the appointment to bishoprics, more regard was often had to birth and military talents, than to the virtues and learning required by the canons. What was still worse, these preferments were often purchased by money, and the most unworthy men were thus thrust into the holy places. Under the wicked and dissolute Henry IV., simony, and consequent immorality, became the order of the day in Germany and northern Italy, where his power in this matter was the more baneful, because it was less questioned. The Church was thus disgraced with wicked ministers, because the princes of the world *had thrust them on her.*

The right of investiture was manifestly an usurpation of the German emperors and other princes,—at least in the sense in which it was understood and carried out by them. It was viewed not only by Gregory, but by many other holy men of the time,—such as St. Anselm of Luca,[1] and St. Peter Damian,[2]—as the chief cause of all the evils which they so much deplored. It was in direct opposition to the enactments of the ancient canons regarding the election of bishops. These secured to the Church the right of choosing her own ministers, as well as perfect freedom in the exercise of that right. If the people often co-operated in the election of bishops, during the first centuries, it was more as witnesses of the good qualities of the candidate, than as electors ; and perhaps one cause of the modification of discipline in this respect was the well grounded fear, that when the people would become more numerous, and perhaps less pious, popular clamor might impair the liberty of election.

Princes never had the right of nomination to bishoprics, without the consent and concurrence of the Church. The thirtieth canon of those called the Apostolic,—believed by the learned to exhibit pretty accurately the discipline of the three first centuries of the Church,—pronounces sentence of deposition against bishops who receive their sees from princes. The fourth canon of the great council of Nice, held in 325, regulates the manner of appointing bishops by the prelates of the province, or by at least three of them ; without even alluding to any right of the people or of princes in the matter.[3] The twenty-second canon of the eighth general council, held at Constantinople in 870, goes still farther, and pronounces an anathema against any lay prince, who would interfere in the "election or promotion of any patriarch, metropolitan, or bishop, so as to prevent its canonical freedom."[4] Many other authorities could be produced, to prove that the claim set up by the princes of the eleventh century, not only had no sanction from the Church, but was in the very face of all its rights and laws. By being liberal to the Church, temporal princes acquired no right to enslave it, and to introduce into its bosom the feudal, on the ruins of the canon law.

Yet this was precisely what was attempted to be done ; and for resist-

1 Sermon. ii. 2 Ep. ii, et passim 3 Labbei. Concil. tom. ii, p. 30.
4 Id. Tom. viii p. 1141.

ing this usurpation and contending strongly until death for the liberty of the Church, Gregory has sustained so much obloquy! Could he have done otherwise, without betraying his duty, and, to use his own strong language, "by satisfying the caprices of princes, being hurled with them into the abyss?"[1] So far was this pretended right of investiture carried, that the German emperors even asserted it in regard to the Roman Pontiff himself, thereby seeking to crush the liberty of the Church in its head,—in the only one able effectually to resist the ever encroaching usurpation.

The emperors had more than once attempted to elect and depose Popes at will; but they had always met with powerful resistance from the Church, and never succeeded in causing more than temporary confusion. Sometimes called to the eternal city, as its natural guardians, to quell popular insurrection, or to assert the liberty of the Church, they often went beyond the mere office of protection, and sought to rule in spiritual, as well as in temporal matters. In one of his journeys to Rome (after the middle of the tenth century,) Otho the Great, emperor of Germany, with the aid of the antipope—styled Leo VIII., whom he had himself set up,—had a decree or canon passed, by which the emperor's right to interpose in the election of the Pope was recognized; and though the provisions of this law were annulled by Henry II., in the beginning of the following century, they were renewed by Conrad II., and they subsequently became the cause of incalculable evils to the Church. In consequence of this innovation on ancient law, there were three claimants to the papal chair at one time; and Henry III., the father of Henry IV., paid a visit to Rome, and succeeded in suppressing the schism, without, however, giving up the pretended privilege from which this and other evils had sprung.

It required a man of the iron nerve of Gregory VII. to wrest from the hands of the German emperors, what they would not have willingly resigned! And how wisely and how effectually he did it, M. Voigt fully informs us, and we shall have occasion to show more at length hereafter. Those writers who would fain persuade their readers that the controversy about investitures was one of mere form, show only their profound ignorance of history. It was a vital question,—one of liberty or slavery for the Church.

So long as kings and princes exercised this pretended right, can we wonder at the dreadful evils which St. Peter Damian so pathetically laments? Can we be astonished, that this good man should weep, like another Jeremiah, over the calamities of God's people, and the desecration of his holy places; or that, reposing near the sanctuary which he so much loved, he should shed tears over its desolation and abandonment, while the courts of princes were thronged with a worldly minded clergy?[2] Can we wonder, that when he had exhausted all the resources of prose, he resorted to poetry, and wept in plaintive numbers over the evils of his day? And that finally, disgusted with a world which he did not love, and which he despaired to be able to reform, he fled to solitude, and devoted himself entirely to prayer?

1 Ep. i, 11. 2 Ep. i, 15.

M. Voigt ascribes Damian's retirement to a feeling of envy at Hildebrand's superiority. But there is little foundation for this assertion. The expressions of Damian, in which he calls Hildebrand "his holy adversary,"[1] and "his hostile friend,"[2] and others of the same kind, only show some diversity of opinion and temperament between the two illustrious men; but they do not prove that there existed any jealousy. Hildebrand opposed his retiring, but Pope Alexander II. permitted it, on condition that Damian would come forth again, whenever the Church should need his services.

Hildebrand was cool and deliberate, Damian was ardent and enthusiastic; but they both labored together for the same glorious object, — the extirpation of simony and incontinence among the clergy, and the stricter observance of the ancient canons. And that they were always good friends, may be gathered from a letter written by Damian from solitude, in which, complaining that Hildebrand had not written to him oftener, he speaks of the manner in which he had ever co-operated with him: "in all his (Hildebrand's) struggles and victories, he (Damian) had thrown himself in, not as a mere fellow soldier or follower, but as a thunder-bolt," an expression which shows the impetuosity of his zeal.[3]

There is no doubt, that the language of St. Peter Damian should be received with some allowance; but yet it appears certain, that the evils deplored by him were both widely spread and inveterate. How deeply seated was the malady, may be gathered from the long and obstinate resistance of the clergy of Milan and Lombardy to the proposed reformation; from the repeated tumults in Milan consequent upon the zealous efforts made by the holy deacon Arialdo, and by the pious chevaliers Landulph and Herlembaud, to enforce the canons of the Church; from the tragical death of Arialdo, so graphically related by M. Voigt;[4] from the outrages which, in 1074, disgraced the synod of Erfurt, over which Sigefrid, archbishop of Mayence presided, as legate of the Pope, and where he so strenuously sought to extirpate abuses; from the elections of the two antipopes, Cadolous and Guibert, and the awful troubles brought upon Rome and the Church by their wicked ambition: in a word, from the whole life of Gregory VII., which was one continued struggle against vice and immorality seated in high places. All these scandals and troubles were the work of a faction, it is true, but of a strong and powerful faction, aided and urged on by some of the greatest princes of Europe, among whom Henry IV. of Germany, and Philip I. of France were the most conspicuous.

Such was the sad state of things in the Church, when Hildebrand was unanimously elected Pope by the clergy and people of Rome, in 1073. He was the very man who was best calculated to meet the emergency. He brought to the pontifical chair an experience of twenty-four years, during which he had been actively employed in various important affairs by previous Pontiffs. From the pontificate of the holy Pope Leo IX. (A. D.

1 "Sanctus satanas meus." 2 "Hostilis amicus meus."

3 Ep. ii. 8. "Certaminibus et victoriis, ego me non commilitonem seu pedissequum, sed quasi fulmen injeci." 4 Vol. I, p. 153.

1049), who had made him archdeacon of the Roman Church, to the day of his own election, he was the right arm of the Church's defense. So great was the confidence entertained in his judgment, that St. Peter Damian,[1] says, that he himself followed his opinions as he would the canons of the Church. It was he who had prompted Bruno, bishop of Toul, nominated Pope by Henry IV., to take off the *insignia* of the papacy at the monastery of Cluny, to walk as a pilgrim to Rome, and not to accept of the tiara, until he should be canonically elected by the clergy and people of that city. This was his first step towards the emancipation of the Church. He it was who advised, and perhaps even penned the famous canon[2] of the Roman council, held under Nicholas II., in 1059, which fixed the mode of electing the sovereign Pontiff by the cardinals, with the consent of the people, and made the approval by the emperor a mere personal privilege to belong to those emperors ONLY, to whom it would be specially granted by the Pope.[3]

Having brought to the pontificate so much wisdom, learned from experience, he employed it all in the government of the Church. He undertook nothing rashly. He was as cool and deliberate in taking his measures, as he was firm and persevering in carrying them out. All his efforts for the extinction of simony and incontinence among the clergy, and every stage of his struggle with Henry IV., of Germany, evidence his coolness and wisdom. He was consistent throughout. Every thing tended to the carrying out of his great plan, — to secure the freedom of the Church, and then to enforce its ancient canons. He steadily pursued this darling object for nearly thirty-six years. He was too clearly convinced of the soundness of his principles, and of the justice of his cause, ever to waver or falter in his course for one moment.

Yet he was not excessively stern, as many are inclined to believe. He had a tender and susceptible heart, sometimes filled "with an immensity of joy,"[4] and anon, "straitened with the most cruel grief."[5] His conduct towards Henry IV., when the latter humbly sued for reconciliation with the Church at the castle of Canossa, is not an exception to his general character in this respect. He indeed treated Henry with some rigor, because he had too much reason to doubt the sincerity of the young king's repentance, and the event furnished too sad a proof of his forecast. Yet it must be borne in mind, that, though Henry immediately after broke all his solemn oaths, Gregory abstained for more than three years from renewing the excommunication, though repeatedly urged to do so. And when he did renew it, it was with the greatest reluctance.

He was severe towards the obstinate, but at the first sign of repentance, his heart melted with sympathy. His kind treatment of Berengarius, who recanted his errors in the synod of Rome in 1079, is a well known evidence of this. He even offered to pardon the wicked antipope Guibert of Ra-

1 Ep. ii, 8. 2 Labb. Tom. ix, p. 1103.

3 It is one evidence of the great genius and wisdom of Gregory VII. that the requirements of this canon are followed, with but few modifications, to this day, in the election of the Pope.

4 Gaudii repleti immensitate, Ep. i, 40. 5 Circumvallat me dolor immanis, Epp. ii, 49.

venna, in case he would repent;[1] and he repeatedly proffered to receive Henry himself again into the Church, even after all his enormities, if he would but repent and repair the enormous scandals he had given.[2] He himself informs us, that he was accused of too much leniency,[3] and Cardinal Hugh de Die, his legate in France, complained of the facility with which he absolved those ecclesiastics who had been excommunicated in French councils.[4]

His activity was prodigious. By means of his legates he was every where actively engaged, by means of councils both provincial and national, in reforming abuses, and restoring ecclesiastical discipline. His vast mind grasped the whole world, and yet entered every where into the most minute details! He has left nine books of letters written to every class of persons, from the prince on his throne, to the monk in his cell. His penetrating eye reached even Africa, where the few Christians who were then left, were trampled under foot by the Moors.[5] He was very solicitous about the reunion of the Greek with the Latin Church. He was the first to conceive the project of a crusade, one great object of which was to aid the struggling Christians of the east, and to heal the Greek schism.

This conception alone would show the vastness of his mind. He made two efforts to arouse Europe to a sense of its importance;—but Europe was not yet prepared to throw herself on Asia. Hungary, Bohemia, Russia, Denmark, and Spain were all sharers in his pastoral solicitude. He seemed to attend to each thing, as though he had nothing else to do; and even when beset by the greatest difficulties, he relaxed in nothing his ceaseless labors for the general good of the Church. He celebrated in Rome no less than eight councils, all of which were very numerously attended.

His letters exhibit perhaps the best portrait of his mind and heart. His style is similar to that of St. Gregory the Great, whom he greatly admired. Those who accuse him of worldly ambition have either not read, or have not understood his correspondence. It all breathes far higher motives, and a spirit not of this world. M. Voigt has exhibited a condensed analysis of his principles and maxims as extracted from his letters; which analysis evinces great industry, and a thorough acquaintance with the subject.[6]

But the quality which most distinguished Gregory was his moral courage. No dangers appalled him; no obstacles or difficulties deterred him from doing what was right. His soul grew with the events which it had to encounter. "The most fearful outbreaks of regal or popular displeasure could not move his fixed purpose. He had planted himself

1 Ep. v, 13.

2 Cardinal Arago gives us Gregory's reply to the Romans, when pressed by Henry's besieging army they besought the Pontiff to absolve him. Gregory offered to do it, but only on the condition abov named. Voigt, vol. ii, p. 416.

3 Ep. i, 77. 4 Voigt, vol. ii, p. 293. 5 Ep. i, 22, 23. See Voigt, vol. i, p. 35.

6 North American Review, for July, 1845.

on eternal truth, and the wind and the rain might beat upon, but they could never stir him." Who will not admire the calm composure which he manifested, when he was seized on Christmas-night, at the very altar, by an armed band of assassins led on by Cencius; when he was cruelly beaten,— his hair plucked out, his pontifical robes torn off, and himself dragged off a prisoner to their leader's castle? Who will not admire the forbearance which requited this outrage, with so effectual an interposition, as screened its chief perpetrator from the effects of popular indignation? Who will not be struck by the noble courage manifested by him, in the last council he held in Rome, in 1083, when, beset on all sides with difficulties innumerable,— with Henry's victorious troops threatening Rome,— he arose in the council, and, with the face "more of an angel than of a man,"[1] spoke with an eloquence so stirring, as to move all who were present even unto tears! This noble courage was his great ruling feeling, strong even in death; and the memorable words, which were the last he uttered before he expired, an exile at Salerno,[2] — "I have loved justice, and hated iniquity, and therefore I die in exile," — contribute much to give us an insight into his character.

II. Such were the qualities of Gregory; such the difficulties he had to contend with in fulfilling the duties growing out of his spiritual relations to the church. He had to encounter obstacles yet more fearful, in his temporal relations to civil society. He could not expect to carry out his favorite plan of reformation, without being thwarted at every step by the princes of the earth. Besides the pernicious influence of their example, their claims in regard to investiture were, as we have seen, openly at war with the liberties, and subversive of the dearest interests of the Church. Gregory saw fully the difficulty of his position. He perceived the storm which was gathering, and he was prepared to endure its most merciless peltings. He quailed not, either in the anticipation, or when the fearful reality more than justified his worst forebodings.[3]

The charges brought against him by his enemies are many, but they may be reduced to two principal heads.

1. He is accused of ambition, in seeking to make the kings of Hungary, Dalmatia, Sardinia, Spain, and England take the oath of fealty to the holy see: and he is charged with aiming at universal dominion in civil as well as in ecclesiastical matters. 2. He is greatly blamed for having attempted to depose Henry IV., emperor of Germany.

We will endeavor briefly to meet both these accusations; and also to prove that, in his relations to princes, his powerful influence was highly beneficial to civil society.

1. All the writers of the eleventh century paint Europe as being in a most distracted condition. England was passing through a revolution

1 See Labb. Concil tom. x, p. 402 "Ore magis angelico quam humano."

2 Dilexi justitiam, odi iniquitatem; ideo morior in exilio. — Paul Bernried c. 110.

3 Speaking of Henry (Ep. i, 11), he uses this remarkable language: Et certe tutius est defendendo veritatem pro sui ipsius salute adusque sanguinem nostrum sibi resistere, quam ad explendam ejus voluntatem iniquitati consentiendo secum, quod absit ad interitum ruere.

under William the Conqueror, and the south of Italy was also being revolutionized by Robert Guiscard; while Spain was struggling with the Moors, and Germany was torn by the most fierce civil wars between Henry IV., and the princes of the empire. France was not free from internal troubles, while its southern frontier was threatened by the Saracens; and in the east, Constantinople was tottering to its fall, and the rising dynasty of the Turks menaced with extermination the Christian name, in places where it had been once so illustrious. In civil society every thing was in a state of disorder; the laws were trampled under foot with impunity; and *might* and *right* were viewed as almost synonymous terms. The weak were oppressed by the strong; and the feudal system, which had just obtained a firm foothold in Europe, was bringing forth its bitter first fruits — of anarchy, petty civil wars, and bloodshed. St. Peter Damian[1] draws a graphic picture of the manner in which the feudal chieftains robbed one another, and then recklessly "set fire to the cottage of the poor laborer." And Gregory VII., in many of his epistles, weeps over the murders and confusion of his time, calling it appropriately "THE AGE OF IRON."

In this distracted condition of things, only one power was universally acknowledged and respected — that of the Church, and of its visible head, the Sovereign Pontiff. And we are not to be surprised at seeing princes often invoking this power whenever they got into difficulties with their subjects, or with one another. Nor was this always a mere mark of respect to the holy see — it was oftener a prudential measure for their own security. When, by taking the oath of fealty to the Pope, they became the feudal subjects of the holy see, they had a right to expect from it protection against foreign invasion of their kingdom or domestic usurpation of their throne. Thus, in return for a fealty, which included chiefly spiritual obedience to the Pope, with a very small annual offering to the papal treasury, they often received from the holy see the most substantial favors. Any one who recklessly invaded a state thus placed under the "protection of St. Peter," after having been admonished to desist, incurred, if he persisted, the sentence of excommunication.

Such being the case, we are not astonished that kings and princes in those troubled times often placed their crowns at the Pontiff's feet. Thus Demetrius, king of Russia, sent his son all the way to Rome to implore[2] Pope Gregory VII., to receive his kingdom as a fief of the holy see; and Gregory in his answer,[3] seems to grant his request with some reluctance, and requires of him what was usually required in such cases, that he should promise to assist his liege sovereign, (the holy see) "*in all things just.*" Many kings in dying left their kingdoms under the protection of the Pope; and whenever a powerful baron or neighboring prince sought to violate this testamentary disposition, to the prejudice of the infant heir, the Pope interposed, as in the case of Vezelin,[4] who attempted to usurp the

1 Ep. i, 15, supra cit.
2 "Devotis precibus." (Ep. ii, 74.)
3 Ibid.
4 See St. Gregory, VII. Ep. vii, 4.

throne of Dalmatia. Thus also Henry III., left his infant son Henry IV., under the guardianship of his widow, the empress Agnes, and of Pope Victor II.

It is not necessary to multiply facts to prove that one great feature of medieval jurisprudence was the express or tacit acknowledgment of a kind of universal protectorate in the Roman Pontiff. We find even the fierce Robert Guiscard bowing down and taking the oath of fealty to the holy see. It is proper however to observe here, once for all, that the oath of feudal vassalage did not imply unlimited obedience — much less did it enforce a slavish submission in all things to the will of the liege lord. Feudal allegiance was very different from that of modern times. The former was peculiar to the middle ages, and its duties were few and clearly marked, requiring at the same time as a condition *sine qua non*, the compliance with certain correlative duties on the part of him to whom the oath was taken.

Gregory could not hope to carry out his plan for reforming the Church, without the co-operation of temporal princes. From many of them he had reason to expect the most determined opposition. Hence, it is not at all surprising, that, intent upon *one great idea*, he sought, from the very commencement of his pontificate, to rally around him the princes of the earth. This will explain to us his course of conduct in regard to Dalmatia, Hungary, Sardinia, and part of Spain, which, in various letters, he sought to prove, to have been in former times feudal dependencies of the holy see. We read of no resistance to his claims in any of these countries, which proves that they were well founded, and that the documents he alleged where genuine. This should put to shame those maligners of the sainted Pontiff, who would fain persuade us, that he forged documents to suit his own purposes!! To prove, that the princes and people of the middle ages were not advocates of passive obedience, even to the Pope, particularly where temporal matters were concerned, we may adduce the refusal by William the Conqueror, to take the oath of fealty to Gregory. His answer to the Pontiff is brief, blunt, and characteristic of the Norman: yet even *he*, while positively refusing to take the oath, says nothing in his answer to impugn the motives of Gregory.[1] He had been the early favorite of Gregory, who had extolled him as a model of princes;[2] and on his refusal to take the oath, the Pontiff in his letter to his English legate Humbert, only complains of the bluntness of the English monarch, and of his refusal to suffer the English bishops to visit Rome. This last fact will perhaps explain to us his motive for endeavoring to induce William to take the oath.

Those who would charge Gregory with motives of mere worldly ambition, have not learned the first elements of his character. Had worldly grandeur been his object, why did he not obtain it, as he certainly could have done? Why did he not doff his humble and coarse apparel, and clothe himself in the "soft garments of kings?" Why did he not

1 See his answer to the Pontiff in Voigt, vol. ii, p. 330, note. 2 See Voigt, vol. i, p. 425.

keep up a splendid court, and live luxuriously in the midst of earthly pomp and display? Why did he not die a great temporal prince, instead of a poor exile at Salerno? Ambition, forsooth! Nothing was more foreign from his mind and heart than ambition. All his letters breathe a higher spirit; all his acts imply much higher motives. He was not a man to swerve one iota from the plain path of duty, for all the kingdoms of the world! "I would rather," says he, "undergo death for your salvation, than obtain the whole world, to your spiritual ruin. For I fear God, and therefore value but little the pride and pleasures of the world.[1]

2. Much has been written of the Pontiff's long and painful struggle with Henry IV. of Germany; but those who have taken occasion from it to cast all the blame on Gregory, betray great ignorance of the history of that remarkable contest. In the first place, who was Henry, and what was his character? He was the most powerful sovereign of his day, and his vast empire extended over more than half of Europe. His influence was immense for good or for evil. He was in his twenty-third year, when Gregory was raised to the pontificate. His many natural good qualities had been almost destroyed by a vicious education from his earliest youth—the stream of his existence had been tainted in its very source. He had given into the most criminal excesses from the time he had first mounted the throne, and from a confirmed *debauchee*, had become the most heartless and cruel of men. For his criminal excesses, and his shameful sale of bishoprics and abbeys, he had been already summoned to appear before the holy see, in the last year of Pope Alexander II.[2] This summons had no other effect upon the dissolute young king, than to cause him to enter momentarily into himself: but on the death of Alexander, his excesses became more enormous and insufferable than ever. He no longer observed any bounds. His court resembled more the seraglio of a Turkish sultan, than the residence of a Christian prince.

Perhaps a greater monster never disgraced a throne. To obtain the objects of his criminal passions, he stopped at nothing — husbands, fathers, or lovers were removed by assassination! He knew how to refine on cruelty: he could smile on you one day, and have a dagger sent to your heart the next! In adversity, he was the meanest of sycophants, and the most crouching of slaves: look at him at the diet of Tribur,[3] when the Saxons were victorious, and the princes of the empire had abandoned him; look at him also at the castle of Canossa, when suing for reconciliation with the Church. When flushed with victory, he was the most ferocious of tyrants — crushing and trampling in the dust those who had already submitted: witness the horrible manner in which he overran Saxony, Thuringia, and Suabia, as most graphically painted by Voigt. He was as perfidious, as he was cruel. He could be bound neither by treaties the most solemn, nor by oaths the most sacred. In one word, he was the Nero of the middle ages, and his cotemporaries gave him this title. All

1 Ep. vi. 1. 2 See Voigt. vol. i. p. 23. 3 Ibid, vol. ii, 168-9.

these charges could be substantiated by facts almost innumerable from M. Voigt, were it deemed necessary.

Such was the monster with whom Gregory had to deal. He could not escape a contest with such a man, without sacrificing his most sacred duty. For, in addition to Henry's private and political crimes, he made a regular traffic of the bishoprics and abbeys, intruding into them the most unworthy subjects; thus deluging the church with a flood of scandals. He would sell a bishopric to one, and if another subsequently offered more, he would have the former deposed as simoniacal, and bestow the investiture upon the latter! By this abuse, some of the principal churches had two, and that of Milan, had three bishops at one time! Thus schisms were added to the other evils of the Church.

How did Gregory deport himself in his controversy with Henry? The limits of this article will not allow more than a very brief *exposé* of the various stages of that contest; and those who may wish a fuller account of it, are referred to the luminous work of M. Voigt. We will endeavor to present in order the various facts of the case, scattered through the two volumes of our author; and we think it will be seen, that a simple unadorned statement of facts is the best possible vindication of Gregory's course.

1. From the very commencement of his pontificate, he employed every means in his power to win the heart of Henry. He wrote to him two letters[1] full of sweetness, unction, and a divine eloquence, in which he appealed to him by every consideration that was calculated to touch his heart, and arouse him to a proper sense of his duty: in both of them he however hinted to him, that, in conformity with the jurisprudence of the age, the right to the crown could be secured to him, *only* on condition "of his governing according to the law of God, and protecting the liberty of his holy Church." To his own efforts, his influence added those of Henry's mother, the pious Empress Agnes, and of the Countesses Beatrix and Matilda, his (Henry's) relatives; not to mention those of the great and good Anno, archbishop of Cologne.

2. When Henry, notwithstanding the hopes with which his answer had at first inspired Gregory, still continued in his evil courses, the latter did not immediately excommunicate him. He proceeded slowly and cautiously. His object throughout seems to have been to correct, not to crush Henry. He first excommunicated the unworthy bishops who had purchased their sees from him; then five of his evil counsellors: hoping that he would profit by these unequivocal demonstrations. And whenever Henry made the least show of repentance, with what paternal tenderness did not the Pontiff felicitate him![2] About this time, (A. D. 1073), Henry wrote him a most submissive and hypocritical letter;[3] and though Gregory saw through the deceit, and knew well that Henry's difficult political

1 See them in Voigt, vol i, 407-8 Mr. Voigt thinks that these letters are master pieces of prudence and eloquence. In general, all the epistles of Gregory breathe sentiments fresh from a heart warmed by divine charity.

2 See his Ep. iii, 3.

3 Voigt, vol., i p. 281.

position alone had prompted the letter, yet with what sweetness did he not answer this letter!

3. Nearly two years later, in 1075, occurred the infamous plot of Cencius, and the outrage upon Gregory's person, alluded to above. The Pontiff had every reason to believe, that Henry and Guibert, archbishop of Ravenna, were at the head of this plot; and yet he forbore. He does not even allude to it in any of his controversies with Henry!

4. In the same year, 1075, the brave Saxons, after a noble struggle against tyranny, submitted to Henry, on the faith of a solemn treaty at Gerstungen, in which he promised to protect their property, and the liberty and rights of their princes.[1] Henry violated his solemn oaths, and trampled the brave Saxons in the dust. Crushed and bleeding, they appealed to the Pope for protection. The "holy see," says Mr. Voigt,[2] "*was the only tribunal, which could set any limits to imperial despotism, as a second defender of humanity.*" He might have said, that it was the *first*, and, in many cases, the *only* defender of *humanity*, of human liberty and rights. In those times of anarchy and confusion, to whom could the oppressed cry, but to the common father of Christians? Could Gregory be indifferent to their cry for relief? Could he do otherwise than hear their appeal, listen to their complaints, and endeavor to redress their wrongs? Henry himself had also appealed to the holy see against the Saxons;[3] so that Gregory saw both parties appealing to him to settle their quarrel. By the fact, he was virtually chosen *arbitrator*. Who can then blame him for taking cognizance of the cause, and for deciding in it according to justice? Would not posterity have censured him, had he neglected the appeal, thus solemnly interposed? At the instance of Rodolph, duke of Suabia, and of other German princes, Gregory had been induced[4] nearly two years previously, in 1073–4, to act as *mediator* between Henry and the rebellious Saxons. He had accepted the office, and had written a most eloquent letter[5] to many bishops and princes of Germany, imploring them to use their influence to stop the effusion of blood, until the difficulties could be amicably adjusted. But amidst the din of arms, this voice had not been heard. About the same time, Henry had sent ambassadors to Rome to complain of the Saxons:[6] so that he may be said to have appealed twice to the holy see. Gregory therefore had a right to interfere in the political affairs of Germany, under each of two characters—that of *mediator*, and that of *arbitrator*. Why have his enemies concealed these facts?

5. And who were the Saxons, whose cause Gregory espoused? They were the oppressed: they were the advocates of *liberty!* The decision of Gregory against Henry was a blow aimed at tyranny, and struck for the rights of the people. If ever a people deserved liberty, the Saxons merited that boon. Instead of being the fierce savages that some

1 Voigt, vol. ii, p 78. 2 Vol. ii, p. 98. 3 Ibid. ii, p. 97.
4 Ibid. vol. i, p. 360. 5 Ep. i, 39.
6 Ibid, vol. i, p. 381. Where he cites for his authority, his favorite historian Lambert.

historians would fain represent them, they were remarkable for their accurate perception of right and justice, and for their firm, yet moderate advocacy of their liberties. At the famous convention of the Saxon people at Nockmeslove, in 1073, Otto of Nordheim made a speech, which for solid reasoning, and moving eloquence, perhaps equals any effort of our own Patrick Henry.[1] Its stirring accents rang throughout all Saxony, and its effect was not only to thrill every bosom, but to cause the war cry "*To arms! to arms!*" to be heard from every valley and hill-top! To show in what light the oath of fealty to the king was viewed in those days, we will present the following extract from Otto's speech: —

"Perhaps you hesitate to break the oath you have taken to the king, because you are Christians! What! To the king! So long as he was king for me — so long as he showed himself such, I have scrupulously observed the oath I had taken: since he has ceased to act like a king, and to discharge the duties of a king, I owe him fealty no longer. Courage then! We do not march against the king. No — but against the enemy of our liberty; against the enemy of our country, &c."

This reasoning only alleges a principle generally received in the middle ages: that *obedience* and *protection* are correlative terms, and that the former ceases to be obligatory, where the latter is wanting.[2] According to this principle, Henry could have been deposed without the sanction of the Pope; and in fact the princes of the empire seriously thought of doing so before Gregory had spoken. The Saxons, in appealing to the Pope, had not only expressly recognized in him the power of deposing princes, but had said, that the German empire was a fief of the holy see.[3] In fine, Gregory, while declaring *under all the circumstances,* that the Saxons were absolved from their oath of allegiance to Henry, did precisely what every American and every lover of liberty would have done.

6. In answer to the appeal of the Saxons, Gregory wrote a letter to Henry, in which, after having employed all his eloquence to reclaim him, he threatened him with excommunication, unless he repented and reformed.[4] Flushed with his recent victory over the Saxons, Henry despised the admonitions of the Pontiff. He assembled a conventicle at Worms, in 1075, which attempted to depose Gregory, and to set up Guibert, archbishop of Ravenna, in his stead.[5] He directed two insolent letters to the Roman people and to the Pope, to announce to them the decision of the mock council: and he sent Rolando, a secret emissary, to insult the Pontiff to his face in the council which he was to open in Rome.

1 Whoever will read the portion of this famous speech, given us by Mr. Voigt, (vol. i, p. 288–9, &c.) will scarcely think this an exaggeration. If some one would take the trouble to collect together the various famous speeches of the middle ages, and present them in a good English dress, he would add to the stock of medieval literature. This speech, two or three of Gregory before Roman councils, and one of Urban II. at the council of Cleremont in 1095, might belong to the collection.

2 See decision of a council of Toledo referred to by Guizot — Lectures, &c., where this principle is connected with the etymology of the word *rex, recte.*

3 See Voigt, vol. ii, p. 98. 4 Ibid, p. 103. 5 Ibid, p. 107.

Gregory screened the envoy from the punishment which his insolence provoked: he read the insulting documents himself to the council, with the utmost *sang froid*; and, in order to let the excitement subside, he adjourned the session until the next day. He then calmly explained, to the one hundred and ten assembled bishops, the whole of his past relations with Henry, and his wish to secure the freedom and peace of the Church. It was only at the most urgent request of the council, that he consented to excommunicate Henry.[1]

7. It is manifest, that, in the whole proceeding, Gregory wished to correct, and not to degrade Henry: hence, in a letter to the princes and bishops of Germany, he promised to readmit him on repentance.[2]

8. It was a law of the German empire, that if a prince remained under excommunication for one year, he forfeited his crown.[3] Hence it was, that Henry was in so much haste to be absolved by Gregory at Canossa.

9. If Gregory deposed Henry, the consent of princes and people at that time secured to him the right to do so. This is so certain, that it is not deemed necessary to adduce facts to prove it. Voigt admits it;[4] and his translator proves it by incontestable cotemporary documents.[5] Gregory then usurped nothing;—he is fully borne out by the spirit and the jurisprudence of his age.[6]

10. Finally, though Henry was not sincere in obtaining absolution from the excommunication at Canossa; though in less than fifteen days thereafter he broke all his solemn oaths; yet Gregory abstained for nearly four years from renewing the excommunication. His legates in Germany went beyond their instructions, when, at the diet of Forcheim in 1077, they approved of the election of Rodolph. He often lamented this imprudent step.[7] He viewed it as premature, and calculated to foment, rather than to remedy the troubles of Germany and of the Church; and he declares, that "he would rather suffer death, if necessary, than be the cause of the troubles of the Church."[8] He labored incessantly to heal the divisions of Germany, and to stop the effusion of blood; council after council he assembled in Rome; diet after diet he appointed to be held in Germany, for the final settlement of the matter. But Henry thwarted all his measures: so far from seeking, he was afraid of that justice which Gregory wished to have meted out to him. *He*, then—and not Gregory—was responsible for the protracted civil war in Germany.

Such was Gregory VII., as shown by his acts. Henry triumphed over

1 See Voigt, vol. ii, p. 115, et seq. 2 Ibid, p. 129. 3 Ibid, p. 137.

4 Ibid, p 214. 5 See his introduction, p. lix. et seq.

6 See a work by Gosselin, published in Paris, 1829, entitled, "Pouvoir des Papes, sur les souverains, au Moyen Age." See also the admirable work of Count de Maistre, "Du Pape." Voltaire also admits this.

7 This fact does not appear to be generally known. Even Feller (Dict. Hist. Art. Greg. VII.) ascribes the election of Rodolph to Gregory: and this too, in the face of many of the Pontiff's letters, and of his solemn declaration to the contrary at the Roman council held in 1080! He also asserts, that Gregory excommunicated Henry again, immediately after their reconciliation at Canossa in 1076: whereas, though his legates in Germany renewed the excommunication in 1077, yet the Pontiff himself abstained from doing so until 1080.

8 Ep. iv, 24.

him for a time; and he died an exile; but he died as he had lived — virtuous, calm, unshaken, and happy. Henry died, reduced to the lowest degradation, abandoned by all and despised by all, even by his own sons, who had successfully carried on a civil war against him. Gregory was "the Hercules of the middle ages: he enchained monsters, crushed the hydra of feudalism, saved Europe from barbarism, and what is more beautiful still, he illustrated Christian society by his virtues." [1]

An able Protestant writer appreciates his noble courage, as well as the lofty motives which animated it, in the following eloquent language:

"Had Hildebrand's sick heart failed him then, it would not have been strange; but he looked at his crucifix, at the image of his forsaken, dying, and yet victorious Master, and grew strong; for that told him how little the final triumph of a moral truth can be judged of from immediate success or failure. 'And I, too,' he murmured to himself, in words which, a few weeks later, were the last upon his lips, 'And I, too, have loved justice and hated iniquity, and I die an exile.' The future was hidden to him; but he knew that God ruled, that the great thoughts, which by his struggles he had made familiar to man, rested not on his strength, but on an eternal basis; and that, though he was passing away, the Omnipotent remained as the world's ruler; — he knew that he had sown the seed, and that God would give the harvest." [2]

We conclude with the last words of M. Voigt's history:

"It is difficult to bestow on him exaggerated eulogy: for he has laid everywhere the foundation of a solid glory. But every one should wish to render justice to whom justice is due; let no one cast a stone at one who is innocent: let every one respect and honor a man who has labored for his age, with views so grand and so generous. Let him who is conscious of having calumniated him, re-enter into his own conscience."

1 Abbe Jager, Introd. p. xcix.

2 North American Review, 1845.

IX. THE GREAT SCHISM OF THE WEST.

ROME AND AVIGNON.*

The Reformers before the Reformation — Bonnechose and D'Aubigné compared — The former as an historian — Is he ingenuous or fair? — Inaccuracies — Scope of his work — The Schism a fiery ordeal for the Church — From which she came forth unscathed — Scandals to be expected — Morality of the Popes — Origin of the Schism — The papacy "stooping to conquer" — Contest between Boniface VIII., and Philip the Fair — The death of Boniface, and election of his successor — Intrigues of Philip — The Popes reside at Avignon — Their policy — Return to Rome — Election of Urban VI. — Defection of Cardinals — They set up Clement VII. — Who moves to Avignon — Political ambition of princes — The evil and the remedy come from France — University of Paris — Council of Pisa — And of Constance — Election of Martin V. — End of the Schism — Remarks — Triumph of the Church — Relation of the Pope to a general council — Reforming the Church "in its head and members" — The succession not interrupted — Two objections answered — Church emerged from the Schism stronger than ever — And so did the papacy.

We suppose it was the shrewd Irish translator, or the enterprising American publishers, who prefixed to the title-page of the work of M. Bonnechose the additional sentence, "An introduction to 'D'Aubigné's History of the Reformation.'" Whoever did it, it was a lucky idea, based on a proper appreciation of the qualities and relationship of the two publications. D'Aubigné and Bonnechose are evidently of a kindred spirit; they are a *par nobile fratrum*. Both are filled with a pious horror of Catholicity; both can find nothing good in the lives, character, or motives of Popes, cardinals, or bishops; both, we apprehend, are thoroughly imbued with the stern, unyielding, and gloomy spirit of Calvinism; and both have earnestly endeavored to infuse their own dark prejudices into the minds of others. Both write with great spirit and vigor; both have a sufficient smattering of learning to mislead the unlearned and unwary; both are violent and unscrupulous partisans. In fine, both are disingenuous, and both deal largely in sophistry and romance.

But we consider the "Introduction" a far more able, and, therefore, a far more dangerous production, than the work itself by the historian "of the great Reformation." D'Aubigné is a religious fanatic and an historical romancer; he wholly suppresses at least one half of the evidence properly belonging to his subject, and greatly perverts the other half. He labors to invest his heroes with the romantic interest which attaches to the personal history of the paladins of knight-errantry; he dragoons them into

*An Introduction to "D'Aubigné's History of the Reformation." The Reformers before the Reformation. The fifteenth century. John Huss and the Council of Constance. By Emile de Bonnechose, librarian of the king of France, author of "Histoire de France," "Histoire Sacrée," &c. Translated from the French by Campbell McKenzie, B. A., Trinity College, Dublin. Complete in one volume, 8vo., pp. 199. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1844.

the ranks of saintship, whether they will or not;[1] he entirely conceals their many gross and glaring vices, and invents incidents and anecdotes to exhibit their superior righteousness!

This is so notoriously true, that an able Protestant writer in the Southern Quarterly Review freely admits "the utter futility of the 'History of the great Reformation,' as a text book, or an authority." He adds, with what we take for withering sarcasm, that "D'Aubigné may do for the Sunday school,"—where piety, based on a *holy* hatred of Rome, is more appreciated than truth,—"but for the student, the scholar, the theologer, the polemic, he is utterly useless — nay, he is worse than useless — he is positively pernicious."[2]

We think that the same verdict will be ultimately rendered by all intelligent men on the historical merits of M. Bonnechose, author of the book with the somewhat Hibernian title: "The Reformers before the Reformation." Yet this must be the work of time. M. Bonnechose is, as we have already intimated, a very different man from M. D'Aubigné. He at least has some pretensions to be an historian. He has evidently examined the original authorities; at least as many of them, as he deemed necessary to establish and illustrate his own favorite views of the subject which he undertook to handle. As a writer, he is grave, earnest, and often eloquent. His narrative is succinct and correct; and its interest is tolerably well sustained to the end. His statements and explanations of facts are ingenious and plausible; he is not, like D'Aubigné, glaringly inconsistent and absurd on almost every page. He even makes an occasional admission in favor of the Popes and of the Catholic Church, when the evidence is such that he cannot well help it: but even then he qualifies the admission; and you are almost tempted to believe that he makes it, as much with a view to appear impartial, and to lure on his readers to receive implicitly his other statements, as through a sincere love of truth.

In short, to refute him, a man must travel back to the record; he must minutely examine and thoroughly sift the original authorities; he must verify his references; must see whether he has given the true sense of the authors he quotes, whether he garbles passages, whether he omits portions of the testimony which would prove the contrary of what he asserts; in fine, he must see *what* authors he quotes, what is their weight and authority, what influences impelled them to write, and how far their testimony is to be relied on. Then another most important consideration must not be neglected: does the historian quote the cotemporary authors who wrote on *both* sides, or does he confine himself almost entirely to writers on *one* side? If the former, then may he claim the palm of impartiality, provided he quote honestly and fully; if the latter, he is a thorough partisan, who needs watching, and whose word you may rely on only so far as, by your own researches, you may ascertain it to be founded in truth.

Now, we don't profess to have gone through all the patient labor, and

1 Only think of the burly friar, Martin Luther,—the knight of the bottle, and the hero of the Black Eagle tavern of Wittemberg for fifteen years,—being a saint!

2 Art. VII. of No xiii Oct. 1844.

to have made all the researches just indicated. But we do claim to have done enough in the premises to satisfy our own minds, and to be able to convince impartial men, that M. Bonnechose is any thing but a safe or impartial historian. He quotes chiefly on one side only; and we distinctly charge him with garbling his own authors, in more instances than one. We have examined the originals, and we speak advisedly on the subject.

We will, at present, indicate but two instances of this inexcusable disingenuousness. The first occurs on page 12, in the quotation from a work of Nicholas de Clemangis,[1] the secretary of Clement VII., the claimant of the papacy at Avignon; the other on page 50, in the translation of the well known safe conduct given by the emperor Sigismund to John Huss. In both cases, he gives the passages as continuous; and yet, what is your surprise at finding, on turning to the originals, that he has left out whole lines and phrases, materially affecting and even changing the sense! Can a man who does this be relied on as a safe guide?

But this is not all. Only think of a grave historian, in the nineteenth century, writing a book, too, which he wishes to be received as veracious history,— of a librarian of the French king, who ought surely to have known better,— seriously and solemnly quoting as authority Fox,[2] the notorious English martyrologist; the man who was convicted of having put down, in his canting book, the names of many martyred victims of papal cruelty, who, however, survived the publication of his work, and afterwards openly declared that they were not dead at all, but still living in spite of Fox's zeal against popery! Only think of his actually praising this same notorious Fox, and ranking him with the Bollandists![3]

But again. M. Bonnechose is often as inaccurate in his statement of important facts, as he is unsafe in his authorities, and loose in his manner of quoting them, We can, at present, stop to furnish but one instance of this: many others will come up in the sequel. He flippantly tells us that, "in three months after his (Urban VI.,) elevation to the popedom, the very persons that had chosen him protested against his election."[4]

Now, if this means, as the sequel would seem to imply, that, after *three* months, the cardinals proceeded to a new election, it is wholly unfounded in fact. Urban VI., was elected at Rome on the 8th day of April, 1378; and Clement VII. was chosen at Fondi on the 20th of September of the same year, making the interval between the two elections *five months* and

1 He does not tell us even from what work of Clemangis or Clamengis he quotes. Nor does he furnish any marginal reference. The passage is found *entire* in Hardt—Council. Constant, C. 42, p. 46 of tom. i, part III. in a work *ascribed* to Clemangis, entitled, De corrupto Ecclesiæ Statu; and, at a later period, De Ruina Ecclesiæ The work was, in all probability, not written by Clemangis at all, but about a century after his death, either by Bishop John de Chlem of Poland, or by another John de Chiemsee in Bavaria. The first edition of it appeared in Landshut in Bavaria, in 1524. This consideration upsets the whole authority of the book as a cotemporary history; and yet our author breathes not a syllable of all this He could garble the book, but could not find space to tell his readers that its authenticity is, at best, very questionable.

2 P. 193 Note He depends on Fox for the articles of John Huss condemned in the council of Constance! Why not quote them at once from the acts of the council? Was Fox a cotemporary historian? On turning to the acts of the council, it will be perceived that Fox has cruelly misled him, both as to the order and the meaning of the propositions condemned.

3 Preface p. 1.

4 Historical Introduction, p. 11.

twelve lays. If the assertion about the *three* months mean only to mark the time of departure of the cardinals from Rome to Anagni, (not *Agnani*, as he writes it), it is still wrong. The proclamation of the cardinals assembled at Anagni, containing the protest alluded to, is dated August 9, 1378, *four* months and one day after the election of Urban VI. Nor let us be told that this is a very trifling fault, and that, in animadverting on it, we are hypercritical. The precise time intervening between the two elections is very important, in settling the relative claims to the papacy of the two aspirants ; and surely a grave historian, who pretends to write a veridical history, should have been more exact.

These are a few, out of the many reasons, which have led us to the conclusion that M. Bonnechose is not a safe historian, and that his asser tions need some confirmation other than his own bare word. But the chief fault we have to find with him, is his glaring partiality, and his open hostility to the creed and persons of those who figure most conspicuously in his history. He evidently gloats over the evils and disorders attending the great papal Schism ; he has no sympathies to bestow upon a suffering and agonized Church, torn by schism within, and fiercely assailed by heresy from without : the sufferings of John Huss, of Jerome of Prague, and of the Hussites, seem to have engrossed all his sympathies, and to have exhausted his whole stock of humanity. In a word, he exhibits *all* the shades, with scarcely *any* of the lights of the picture. This is the greatest defect of the book.

We wish from our heart it had been otherwise. We are heartily tired of seeing history, which should be the noble and fearless witness of the truth, prostituted to the vile purposes of sectarian strife, and engaged in a grand conspiracy *against* the truth. We wish M. Bonnechose had approached his subject with a mind free from undue prejudice, and determined to ascertain and to publish *the truth* at all hazards. We wish he had been true, even to the purpose he conceived in undertaking his work, as he declares it in the preface :[1]

"This work, in a historical point of view, is intended to make known and appreciated the great religious movement which took place a century before the reformation in Europe. It embraces a period of seventy years, which elapsed from the beginning of the GREAT SCHISM of the WEST in 1378, to the end of the war of the Hussites, towards the middle of the following century. The principal doctrines which divided Europe during that memorable period are exposed to view in it ; and the illustrious men who originated and defended them are carefully depicted."

The plan of the author thus embraced the history of the Great Schism, and of the rise and progress of the Hussites. It was perhaps the most disastrous period in Church History. Never, since the days of the apostles, had so many evils beset the Church at the same time, and threatened her very existence. More than once before, her peace had been disturbed by schism ; but there never had been a schism so appalling, of so long continuance, and so seemingly incurable, as that which rent her

1 Page 7.

bosom during the last quarter of the fourteenth, and the first quarter of the fifteenth century, Never had she passed through an ordeal so fiery; never had her institutions had to abide so severe a test. To add to her embarrassment, a fierce and truculent heresy, threatening the very foundations of all society, both religious and political, then broke out, like a terrific storm, threatening to leave nothing but ruins in its course.

As our author says, it was truly "a strange period and fruitful in storms," [1] — "an unfortunate period when a spirit of boldness and violence agitated all classes of society, and produced in every direction sanguinary disorders." [2] We may almost apply to it, what Tacitus says of a certain disastrous era in Roman history, that it was a period "fertile in vicissitudes, atrocious in wars, discordant by seditions;" — and we add with him, in a qualified sense, "fierce even in peace." [3]

If ever the Church could be destroyed, this seemed the time clearly marked out for her destruction. If ever "the gates of hell could prevail over her," this seemed to be the period chosen for their triumph. If ever the solemn promises of Christ were to go unredeemed, and the Church, His spouse "without spot or wrinkle or blemish," "subject to Him in all things," [4]—a spouse whom He had so long and so dearly loved, and for whom He had shed the last drop of His heart's purest blood, — was to be torn from His bosom, and to be rudely insulted, trodden under foot, and crushed by the nations, — now seemed to have arrived that time. But if Christ's love could not fail; if His purpose could not be baffled; if His promises could not be falsified; then might the bosom of this cherished spouse, no matter how dark the clouds which overhung her pathway, be still calm in the storm. Amidst all her sorrows, she might still hope, even against hope; and the result would prove,—and did prove,— that she hoped not in vain!

We care not, how many and how appalling were the disorders and dangers which then threatened the Church; we care not, how dark may be the shades of the picture which the *truth* of history may compel us to draw of the period in question: if the evils had been a hundred fold worse and more aggravated, the final and glorious triumph of the Church has *proved* that she is indestructible; — indestructible by moral disorders reigning in her midst, but never, for a moment, sanctioned by her authority,— indestructible by human passions,— indestructible by heresies,— indestructible by causes violently rending her very bosom, and which would certainly have inflicted death, had she been at all mortal.

We hope to show, as we progress, that we are not afraid of the truth, and of the *whole* truth, We are not surprised at scandals, because Christ foretold that they should come; and they are a necessary result of human depravity combined with free agency. The most ardent champion of the papacy never once dreamed, that the Roman Pontiff is either impeccable,

1 P. 117. 2 P. 37.

3 Opimum casibus, atrox prœliis, discors seditionibus, ipsa etiam pace sœvum. Hist. l. i, c. ii.

4 Ephesians ch. v.

or personally infallible in his private capacity. He is a man like others, knowing infirmity, beset with temptations, and exposed to commit sin. If Peter sinned, we need not be surprised that a few of his successors have followed his example. If one of the twelve, raised under the very eye of the blessed Jesus, and imbued from His lips with holy doctrine, became a traitor and an apostate, it is not at all surprising that a few Popes should likewise have fallen into vice. Every impartial man, no matter what his prejudices, will, however, admit that it is a fact, highly honorable to the venerable line of the Popes, that, out of more than two hundred and fifty of them, only five or six, at most, can be pointed out as immoral and wicked men.[1] And it is a proof of the true Catholic spirit, and of the noble freedom and candor which Catholicity inspires, that the vices of these men have been exposed and rebuked by Catholic writers more sternly, perhaps, than by even the bitterest enemies of the papacy.

As we cannot, within our narrow limits, undertake to examine the statements of M. Bonnechose in detail, we propose to do, what may perhaps be better, as well as more interesting and satisfactory to the general reader,— rapidly to go over the same ground which he has traversed ; partly in his company, and partly in that of certain venerable old chroniclers whom he appears to have studiously avoided. And first, we will endeavor to furnish a condensed sketch of the causes, rise, progress, and termination of the Great Schism of the West : and then, in a separate paper, we will attempt to discuss the character of John Huss and his treatment by the council of Constance ; and to unfold, in a summary manner, the history of the Hussites, both before and after the death of their founder.

As we proceed, we will endeavor to supply some of the manifold deficiencies, to correct the occasional blunders, and to expose the sophistry of our historian ; so far at least as we shall be able to attain these objects, without turning too much from the path we have marked out. And we will advance nothing important, without a clear warrant from the original authorities themselves.[2]

Our author's theory on the origin of the Schism is obscure and vague enough.[3] If his words have any definite meaning, — and it would require one more sharp-sighted than ourselves to extract from them any clear signification, — they imply the opinion, that the Schism originated in the lofty

1 And even the vices imputed to some of these have been greatly exaggerated.

2 The principal authorities on the Great Schism of the West are the following: the original documents contained in D' Achery — Spicilegium, t. i, p. 763, seqq. : in Martene and Durand — Thesaurus novus Anecd. tom. ii, p. 1073, seqq. ; and in the Veterum Script. Amplissima Collectio by the same authors, tom vii. p 425, seqq. Also Theodoricus de Niem (writer to the Roman Popes from 1378 to 1410), libri iii. de Schismate, to which a fourth was afterwards added, with the title — Nemus Unionis — all published together, Basileae, 1566, fol. etc. This writer is bitter in his tone, barbarous in his Latin, and exaggerated in his statements. He is in consequence a special favorite of M. Bonnechose To these add the more recent writers: Louis Maimbourg (Catholic) Histoire du Grand Schisme d'Occident, a Paris, 1678, 4to.: Pierre du Puy (Catholic) Histoire du Schisme, Paris, 1700. 12mo: the Preface to the Ampliss. Collectio of Martene and Durand, *supra ;* and the work of Jaq L'Enfant (Calvinist) Hist. du Concile de Pise, l. i and ii — Amsterd. 1724. 4to Consult also *Labbaei* Concilia Pisanum et Constant. and De Hardt—Conc. Constant. tom. ii, p. 836, seq

3 Introd. p. 10

ambition and exaggerated pretensions of the Popes. This is, to say the least, a very short-sighted and narrow view of the case. For more than seventy years before the Schism, there had been steadily at work a number of influences, partly internal and partly external to the papacy, which slowly but surely brought it about. The lawless ambition cherished by the different claimants of the popedom may have perpetuated the Schism, after it had already commenced; of itself it could scarcely have caused it, without the co-operation of other powerful influences.

We are, however, free to admit, at the very outset, that the veneration universally paid to the Roman Pontiffs during the middle ages, and the temporal and political consequence with which a long train of events had invested the papal office, made the tiara a glittering prize for the ambitious aspirant. But that same deep and abiding reverence would not have brooked the ambition, which sought the dignity by undue means, or to the sacrifice of unity. It was the ambition of princes, much more than the ambition of Popes, which originated and perpetuated the Great Schism. Had the Church been left to herself, she would never have been rent by division.

In her humane efforts to subdue the ferocity, to correct the morals, and to humanize the manners of the European nations, during the earlier portion of the middle ages, the Church had been necessarily drawn into the vortex of European politics; and once drawn in, she was compelled to share in all its dangers, storms, and vicissitudes. The papacy had "stooped to conquer;" it had descended from its lofty position of mere spirituality into the arena of worldly affairs, in order to reclaim men from barbarism, and the result was, that to maintain itself in its new relations to society, it had to intermingle in scenes of worldly strife, and to surround itself with worldly consequence. The princes of Europe, who had freely acknowledged and encouraged this political power of the Popes, and who derived from it so many signal advantages, at length became weary of the restraints it imposed on them, and shook off the yoke: and the papacy was thus compelled to return to its original position. But, ere it did return, it bore on its body the marks of cruel wounds, received in the conflict with the princes of the world. The Great Schism of the west was a severe, but perhaps, a necessary lesson. It taught the papacy what it had to expect from that treacherous world which had crucified its Founder; it threw it back on its primitive resources; it taught it wherein lay its real strength, and the true secret of its vitality and indestructibility.

This general view of the subject sheds great light on the origin of the Schism. As we have already intimated, to explain the causes which led to it, we must go back for more than seventy years, to the period of the unfortunate controversy between Pope Boniface VIII.[1] and Philip the Fair, king of France. The circumstances of that unhappy difference are familiar to every reader of Church History; the results which grew out of it are

1 He was elected Pope December 24, 1294, and died October 11, 1303. He was the successor of St. Cœlestine V

too marked to be easily forgotten. Both of the illustrious disputants no doubt went too far; but we think the impartial will admit, that Philip was much more in the wrong than his opponent. Young, ardent, ambitious, and unscrupulous, the French monarch seemed to aim at nothing less than universal empire. He was the Napoleon of his day; and, like Napoleon, he dragged the Popes into captivity. He had embroiled himself in a struggle with England and with Aragon; and the consequence was an almost general war throughout Europe.

Boniface, treading in the footsteps of his predecessors, sought to pour oil on the boiling waters; and he offered to mediate between the belligerent sovereigns. He succeeded in bringing about a peace between France and Aragon; and his proffer of mediation between France and England, though at first declined, was at length accepted by the fiery French monarch. His award, though very wise and impartial,[1] was, however, contemptuously refused by the ambitious Philip; and the war raged on with renewed violence.

To raise the amount necessary to prosecute the war with vigor, Philip imposed most exorbitant taxes on both the clergy and laity of his kingdom; he reduced the church of France to a cruel servitude; and he even went so far as to debase the coin of the kingdom! Boniface protested against his iniquitous conduct, in the face of all Europe; he issued bull after bull against him; he waxed stronger and stronger in his denunciations; and finally, he excommunicated Philip, and placed France under an interdict. Philip treated his menaces and excommunication with contempt; and, though the bold Pontiff more than once evinced a disposition for an accommodation, he spurned all his offers. The states general of France were convened; and William de Nogaret, the keeper of the royal seals, was despatched to Rome with a strong protest against the proceedings of the Pope. This unscrupulous envoy seized on the person of Boniface at Anagni; and one of his attendants, Sciarra Colonna, a personal enemy of the Pontiff, is said to have struck him on the face with his gauntlet. Though rescued from the hands of his enemies by the people of Anagni, Boniface soon after died at Rome, probably of ill treatment and of chagrin.

Thus rid of his dread opponent, Philip did not, however, cease to persecute his memory. The better to effect his purpose of vengeance, he used every effort to have a successor elected who would enter into his own views. But at first he did not succeed to the full extent of his wishes. Benedict XI. was chosen by the cardinals; but, though he consented to modify some of the more obnoxious among the bulls of his predecessor, yet he would not, during the few months of his pontificate, consent to all the wishes of Philip.

On the death of this Pontiff, Philip brought every influence to bear on the conclave of cardinal electors; and the result was the election to the popedom of one among his own subjects, Bertrand d'Agoust, archbishop

1 Gieseler, a Protestant, admits "that this decision was not partial." Text Book Eccles. Hist. vol. ii, p. 241. Note. American edition, in 3 vols. 8vo.

of Bordeaux, who took the name of Clement V. He was chosen on the 5th day of June, 1305; and, in accordance with the wishes of the French monarch, with whom he is said to have had a secret understanding, he took up his residence at Avignon in France.

This was, in every respect, a most unfortunate step. It made the Popes entirely too dependent on France. It crippled their energies, and greatly diminished the sphere of their usefulness. Their acts were often viewed with suspicion by those belonging to other kingdoms; and, when France was at war with any other European power, the Pontiff was scarcely free to hold communication with its subjects. No one can read the history of the seven Popes who successively reigned at Avignon,[1] from 1305 to 1378, without being convinced of the evils consequent on this state of dependence, and without feeling that the Pontiff should be independent of all the sovereigns of Europe. Most of them were too much taken up with mere worldly business, and were too subservient to the interests of France; and a few of them,—as John XXII.,—were addicted to nepotism. With these exceptions, however, they were in the main good men; some of them were very exemplary. Benedict XII. in particular, won the esteem of all by his zeal and disinterestedness. He was wont to say, that a Pontiff should be, like Melchisedech, "without father, without mother, without genealogy."

When Clement V. determined to reside in France, it is not probable that he foresaw all the evils which would result from this step, or that his successors would imitate his example. He and they were still bishops of Rome, which they governed by their vicars. On his death, a long contest ensued in the conclave in regard to the choice of a successor. The two parties of the French and Italian cardinals, the mutual jealousy of which afterwards caused and perpetuated the Schism, already began to show themselves, in their strong antagonism. The Italians, however, gained the day; so far at least as to exact an oath from the newly elected Pontiff, that he would, without delay, return to Rome. John XXII., upon whom the choice fell, evaded or forgot the fulfillment of his promise.

His successors unfortunately imitated his example. The number of French soon exceeded that of the Italian cardinals in the conclave. French influence thus became paramount in the election of the Pontiffs; and the return of the Popes to their see seemed to be almost indefinitely postponed. Seventy-one years elapsed, ere the papacy could recover from the false and unnatural position, into which the intrigues of Philip the Fair and the pliant compliance of Clement V. had betrayed it.

Meantime, Rome, deprived of the presence and influence of its chief pastor, was desolate in its widowhood, and was torn by factions, caused by ambitious noblemen or demagogues striving for the mastery. Her voice of wailing was heard throughout Europe, and its sounds were most pathetic and emphatic at the gates of the pontifical palace at Avignon. Embassy

1 Clement V., John XXII., Benedict XII., Clement VI., Innocent VI., Urban V., and Gregory XI. We could easily multiply quotations from the original sources to prove all the statements made above did we not fear to cumber our margin too much with references.

after embassy was sent to implore the Pontiffs to return to their see. The eloquence of the great poet laureate, Petrarch, was enlisted in this noble cause. To its mere human accents was added a voice from heaven, calling back the Pontiff to his widowed church. The sainted women, Bridget of Sweden, Catharine, her daughter, and Catharine of Sienna, all approached the steps of the papal throne, adding to the eloquence of their sex and of the cause they pleaded, certain heavenly visions which they alleged had been vouchsafed them, all warning the Pontiff to return without delay to Rome.[1]

At length Gregory XI. determined no longer to resist appeals so numerous and so touching. He left Avignon on the 13th of September, 1376; reached Rome on the 17th of January, 1377; and died there on the 27th of March, 1378. His death was the signal for that long and bitter struggle between the Italian and the French cardinals, between Italy and France, between Rome and Avignon, which originated and perpetuated the fatal Schism.

Of the sixteen cardinals, who had accompanied Gregory XI. to Rome, and on whom now devolved the task of choosing his successor, only four were Italians; eleven of the remaining twelve were Frenchmen, and one was a Spaniard. The French influence greatly predominated; and a Frenchman would, in all probability, have been elected, had not the Roman people assembled around the conclave in great numbers, and clamored vociferously,—"That a Roman, or at least an Italian, should be nominated." Urged by motives of prudence or of fear,[2] the cardinals acceded to the wishes of the people; and on the 9th of April, 1378, they selected a Neapolitan, Bartholomeo di Prignano, archbishop of Bari, who took the name of Urban VI. The vote was unanimous; and the cardinals, for more than four months, continued to acknowledge and to obey Urban as the lawfully appointed Pope.[3] During all this time, not a whisper is recorded to have been heard about the invalidity of Urban's election; not a word about the bodily fear which had seized on the electors, and trammeled their freedom.

But Urban VI., whom all writers concur in representing as an humble, pious, and disinterested man before his election, began soon afterwards to act with a vigor, and even harshness, which greatly astonished his electors.

1 It is almost needless to remark that M. Bonnechose says not a word about all this preliminary history. Here, as frequently elsewhere, his brevity is evidently studied. It was enough for *his* philosophy, that the Schism really happened, no matter by what previous influences or train of events; and it was enough for *his* purpose to intimate that the ambition of the Popes had caused it! He knew, at least, that this flippant theory would satisfy the class of readers for whose tastes he catered.

2 According to most of the French accounts (see I. et II. Vita Gregorii XI. apud Baluzium 1, 442 seqq. and Froissart's Chronicles,) the election was not free, but brought about by popular commotions and threats. But, according to the much more respectable and probable Italian accounts, the choice was entirely free, and the popular commotion occurred in consequence of a misunderstanding, *after* the election had been already made, (see Theod. de Niem, L. I. c. 2. Raynaldus ad Annum 1378 —also L'Enfant, Hist. Conc. Pis. I. 7, seq.)

3 All grant this; even Leonardus Arretinus, Flavius Blondus, Platina, and other sharp writers against the Popes.

As Theodoricus de Niem tells us,[1] "he began to rebuke the bishops who flocked to Rome, calling them perjurers, because they had abandoned their churches." He then preached a sermon, "in which he openly reproved the vices of cardinals and prelates, which they took very ill."[2] The same author relates the following characteristic anecdote: "A certain collector of moneys for the apostolic chamber came, about that time, from a certain province into the presence of the said Urban, and offered him a small sum of money as a remuneration for his office of collector; to whom the Pontiff said: 'Thy money be with thee unto perdition;'—and he would not receive it."[3] He adds that Urban, by doing "things similar to this, from day to day, provoked against himself the anger of most of the cardinals and prelates;" and that the subsequent Schism "was caused more by the mutual rancor of the parties, than by the alleged fear in the election of Urban."[4]

We have been thus particular in our quotations from *de Niem*, because he is a great favorite with M. Bonnechose, who refers to him in this very place, but takes special care to suppress the testimonies which we have here supplied. He furnishes only a garbled quotation, to prove the tyranny of Urban, but he says nothing of the praiseworthy zeal which actuated the Pontiff. He can himself rebuke the pride and vices of cardinals and bishops; but if a Pope, in virtue of his office, dare do the same, his testimony must be suppressed, and all that need be said in the premises is, that he is a tyrant! Such is modern historic justice! Now, we have no doubt that Urban was a plain and blunt man, sincere in his zeal for the correction of abuses, but often harsh and indiscreet in the manner of enforcing obedience. The French cardinals could not brook his severity; they remembered the comparative ease and comfort they had enjoyed in their own country; and they determined at once to proceed to the election of a Pope who would be more pliant and accommodating to their wishes, and whom they might probably induce to accompany them back to France.

Accordingly, they left Rome under various pretexts, and met first at Anagni, and then at Fondi, where, after having issued a manifesto remarkable only for its violence and its utter recklessness of truth, they declared Urban an intruder into the papacy, and elected Clement VII. in his stead. Thus altar was set up against altar, and Pope against Pope! Europe was divided in its obedience between the two claimants. All Italy except Naples, Germany, Sweden, Denmark, England, Poland, and Prussia, declared for Urban; while France, Naples, Scotland, Savoy, Lorraine, and subsequently Castile, Aragon, and Navarra declared for Clement. The latter claimant soon betook himself to Avignon, where he placed himself entirely under the overshadowing influence of France.[5]

1 De schismate, l. 1, c, 4. 2 Id. c. 5. 3 Ibid. 4 Id. c. 7.

5 The chief difficulty in deciding between the two claimants, resulted from the different and contradictory statements of the partisans on both sides. However, the most famous jurists of the day, John di Lignano, papal vicar at Bologna, Baldus, professor in Perugia, and Jacobus de Sena, doctor Bonon. pronounced Urban's election valid (See *Raynald.* ad Ann. 1378, and *Bulæus*, Hist. Univ. Paris.) St. Catharine of Sienna (ep. 31) expressed the greatest abhorrence for the revolted cardinals, whom she called dæmones humana carne induti—demons in human shape.

France might have extinguished the Schism at once, by refusing to recognize Clement; but she fostered and perpetuated it with all her might. It was through her influence that most of the kingdoms and provinces, which acknowledged Clement, were induced to do so. She sent her ambassadors every where, in order to extend the *obedience*[1] of the French Pope. She urged all kinds of political motives, to induce the various states of Europe to accede to her views; and she succeeded but too well in her purpose. She had too long tasted the political advantages accruing to her from the residence of the Popes at Avignon, to submit, without a struggle, to their being permanently located in their own proper see at Rome.

Thus political ambition perpetuated, as it had caused, the great Schism of the West. The Church was torn by schism, mainly through the intrigues of secular princes. The reckless ambition of Philip the Fair, had originally dragged the papacy into captivity at Avignon, as we have already seen; and the same reckless spirit now sought to renew and to perpetuate this unnatural exile,[2] at the expense of the peace and unity of Christendom. It was, indeed, a most deplorable state of things; a spectacle well calculated to draw tears from the eyes of every sincere lover of the Church. But was there no remedy for the evil?

There was; and that remedy came, under God, chiefly from France herself! This fact is as undoubted, as it is remarkable and honorable to the nation, which has well merited the title of *Most Christian;* and which has ever been the most efficient champion of the papacy in the hour of its greatest need. Had not the French university of Paris, the French clergy, and, through their entreaties and influence, finally the French government, thrown their influence in the scale of unity, we know of no *human* means by which the Great Schism would, or could have been healed.

Probably no other power in Europe could have effected this object: "Richard II., in England, and Charles VI., in France, were beginning their disastrous reigns; — in Spain, Italy, and Hungary, feeble or ferocious despots alternately rose or fell. On no throne was there seated a man capable of applying a remedy to the Schism, or of giving a salutary impulse to Europe. One could almost have said, that an open field had been left to the papal power, only that it might inflict on itself the most terrible wounds,— as if it were of so indestructible a nature that its ruin could only proceed from itself."[3]

Years rolled on; the Schism still continued, and Pontiff still succeeded Pontiff, both at Rome and at Avignon. The Church wept and sighed for unity; and the cardinals at each succeeding election were implored to terminate the Schism, by coalescing with those of the other claimant,

1 The territory which acknowledged and *obeyed* a Pope, during the period in question, was called by this name. For the active exertions of France in favor of Clement, see Prima Vita Clementis V. (in Baluzio I. 496 seqq.), and other cotemporary writers, *passim*.

2 The Italians are in the habit of comparing the sojourn of the Popes at Avignon to the seventy years captivity of the Israelites in Babylon!

3 Bonnechose, Historical Introduction, etc., p. 11. The result proved, we apprehend, that the papacy was indestructible, even by *itself*.

or by some other effectual means. The means they usually adopted for this purpose proved very inadequate. It consisted in exacting of the newly elected Pope an oath,[1] that he would do everything in his power, and even, if necessary, that he would resign the popedom, to secure unity to the Church. But a compliance with this oath was evaded under one pretext or another; and the Schism still continued. There seemed to be no *human* remedy for it: it was like a circle which has no end. And this very comparison was adopted by a cotemporary French preacher, the famous *Pierre aux Bœufs* : —

"To this circle do I liken the Schism, from the great similitude I perceive between them. Alas! does not the present Schism exhibit the form of a circle, in which can be found neither end nor outlet? Several others there have been, but they were only semi-circles, whereof the end could be found, and the issue arrived at. But in the present Schism we find neither bottom nor shore." [2]

In this conjuncture of affairs, the university of Paris stepped forth nobly to the rescue. Rendered illustrious by the talents and learning of the famous Peter d'Ailly,— "the eagle of France," — and by those of his no less distinguished disciple, John Charlier Gerson, the university was then the first in Europe. Sustained by the French prelates and clergy, but often thwarted and baffled by the intrigues and chicanery of the French court, the university proceeded boldly and fearlessly to discuss the knotty question of the Schism, and to devise means for bringing it to a happy termination.

On the 6th day of June, 1394, fifteen years after the commencement of the Schism, this learned body promulgated its famous opinion, in which it recommended three methods of putting an end to the difficulty, and of securing peace to the Church: a resignation by the respective claimants, a compromise between them, or, both of these means failing, a general council to pronounce definitively on the whole merits of the question. The first method was most strongly recommended; the last was represented as a dernier resort, to remedy an otherwise incurable evil.[3] The university, at the same time, addressed a strong letter to Clement VII. at Avignon; who was not, however, much moved by its contents, and died soon afterwards.[4]

He was succeeded by the too famous Peter de Luna, who took the name of B nedict XIII. This man at first promised much, but in the end did nothing. To the earnest solicitations of the French national synod, convened at Paris in 1395, he returned an evasive answer. Disgusted

1 This oath, in the case of at least one of the Avignon Popes, was rendered entirely nugatory by the condition annexed to it, that the resignation should take place whenever a majority of the cardinals should deem it necessary. As the pope could multiply the cardinals at will, this could scarcely ever be.

2 Cited by Bonnechose, Introd. p 13

3 See the opinion in full in Bulœus (Hist. Univ. Paris, tom. IV, p. 687 seq.) and in D'Achery, (Spicilegium, I, p. 776 seq.)

4 It is reported that Clement said of this letter, containing the opinion of the French university: Literæ istæ malæ sunt et venenosæ — This letter is evil and poisonous."

with his tergiversation, France withdrew from his *obedience* in another national synod, held in 1398. Castile soon followed the example, and the refractory Pontiff was kept a close prisoner at Avignon. Every thing seemed then in a fair way for a general peace. But de Luna was as adroit as he was obstinate. He seemed to yield to the wishes of the French court, university, and clergy, and promised to do everything that was in his power to promote the unity of the Church: and France once more returned under his *obedience*.[1]

Innocent VII., the second successor of Urban VI., the Roman claimant of the papacy, having made a similar promise at his election in 1404, negotiations were immediately opened between Rome and Avignon for the purpose of bringing about a compromise. These consumed much time, but ended in nothing. The failure caused general dissatisfaction; and France again threatened to withdraw from the *obedience* of Benedict XIII. Meantime, Angelo Corario, under the name of Gregory XII., had succeeded Innocent VII; and, impelled by the loud murmurs of France and of the whole Catholic world, Benedict and Gregory arranged a meeting to be held at Savona, in September, 1307. This meeting never took place: every expedient was, on the contrary, resorted to to consume time, and to prevent the interview.[2]

Disgusted with all this paltry manœuvering, as unworthy of both exalted personages, and so much at variance with their solemn promises, the cardinals on both sides abandoned them, met at Leghorn, and entered into an arrangement to call a general council at Pisa, in March, 1409, for the final settlement of the difficulty. The council met at the appointed time and place. There assisted at it about two hundred archbishops and bishops, besides twenty-four cardinals, and the ambassadors of all the principal European kingdoms.

"Never," says M. Bonnechose, "had such an imposing assembly been seen in Europe, and never had any, from the number and quality of its members, been so justly entitled to claim the name of an œcumenical council."[3]

We humbly beg his pardon: this is much more flippant than true. The great council of Lateran, held at Rome under Innocent III., in 1215, was at least *twice* as large and imposing; and that of Vienne, held under Clement V., in 1311, numbered, according to Villani, three hundred bishops. Whether the Pisan Synod was strictly an œcumenical or general council, we venture not to decide, not do we deem it very important. It was convoked by neither claimant of the papacy, and its acts were strongly condemned by both, as might have been anticipated. Whether this defect was healed by the necessity of the emergency, or

1 A. D. 1403.

2 Leonardo Arrettino, a cotemporary, but a very sharp writer, and unsparing of the Popes, humorously describes these expedients, by saying that in arranging the place of meeting, Gregory seemed like a land animal which dreaded the water, and Benedict, like an aquatic animal which dreaded the land! (Apud Maratori — Scriptores Rerum Italic, tom. xix, p. 926.)

3 P. 19.

not, we cannot say. It was an extraordinary case; — such a one as had never occurred before, nor has ever happened since.[1]

This council, guided by the counsels and eloquence of the two ablest men of the day, Peter D'Ailly, bishop of Cambray, and John Gerson, chancellor of the university of Paris, immediately cited both Pontiffs to appear before it; and, on their refusal to obey the summons, proceeded to depose them as contumacious and schismatical; and immediately elected in their place another, who took the name of Alexander V. After adopting some measures for the reform of existing abuses, the synod was dissolved by the newly elected Pontiff.

The two deposed Pontiffs now hurled their anathemas at the heads of those who had ventured to degrade them; and each of them still had, unhappily, some adherents. Spain and Scotland remained faithful to Benedict XIII., while Naples, and a few of the smaller states of Italy and Germany adhered to Gregory XII. Instead of two, the Christian world now had three claimants of the papacy! The council of Pisa thus left the Church in a more deplorable state than it had found her; and the Schism was destined yet to continue a few years longer, under still more aggravated circumstances.

This state of things could no longer be endured. The Church rose *en masse;* and the declaration went forth that the Schism must be terminated. A voice proceeded from the university of Paris, which was re-echoed throughout Christendom, that the Church must be reformed, "both in its head and in its members."[2] John XXIII, the successor of Alexander V., who was considered to have the best claims to the papacy, was compelled by the force of public opinion to convoke a general council at Constance. The council was opened, according to all the forms prescribed by law and usage, on the 5th of November, 1414. All were agreed that it was a general council.

It was soon perceived by the assembled fathers, that the only means of bringing about a permanent accomodation, was to induce or to compel all three of the claimants to resign, and then to proceed to the election of a new and undoubted Pope. A great difficulty arose at the very commencement of the deliberations, in regard to the authority of the council of Pisa, under the decrees of which John XXIII. claimed the papacy. After a long debate, it was decided that the matter should proceed as though the council of Pisa had never been held. John XXIII. was requested to resign; and fearing, it is said, an investigation into his moral character,

1 We believe the French writers more generally maintain that the Pisan council was a general one; and that the Italians defend the contrary proposition. By St. Antoninus and by Bellarmine it is set down as doubtful: nec approbatum nec improbatum, says Bellarmine; — though he inclines to the opinion that the Pontiff named by it and his successor were true Popes. (De Conciliis et Ecclesia, L. 1, c. 8.) It is not usually reckoned among the general councils by our standard writers.

2 This famous saying, so current at that period, had reference to the unnatural state of the Schism, and to the moral and disciplinary disorders which had obtained, to a painful extent, both in the papal courts of Rome and Avignon, and among some of the cardinals, bishops, and inferior clergy. It had certainly no reference to doctrine, or to the spiritual supremacy and prerogatives of the Pontiff.

which was none of the purest, he promised to do so, on the 2d of March, 1415. But nevertheless he fled[1] from Constance on the 21st of the same month; and the council, after a formal and regular investigation, pronounced against him the sentence of deposition on the 29th of May, of the same year. On the 4th of July following, Gregory XII. voluntarily tendered his resignation to the council.

There yet remained one claimant, whom neither the entreaties nor the menaces of the council could move; whom all the influence of the emperor Sigismund could not turn from his purpose; whom the desertion of Spain in January, 1416, could not shake; who was determined to be Pope, even if all the world abandoned him, and he had no one left over whom he might exercise the papal authority! This man was Peter de Luna, calling himself Benedict XIII. Only one little Spanish town — Peniscola in Valentia — remained under his *obedience;* but the obstinate old man still held out! He thus verified what Maimbourg says of him: that "he was furiously obstinate, beyond all that might be expected even from an Aragonese."[2] Nor did he at all heed the sentence of deposition pronounced against him by the council of Constance, on the 26th of July, 1417.

Having thus, after nearly three years of patient labor and mature deliberation, disposed of the three claimants to the papacy, the council proceeded to the election of a new and undoubted Pope. On the 11th of November, 1417, the choice fell upon a noble Roman, Otto di Colonna, who took the name of Martin V. All minds and all hearts united on him; and his election was received with general joy and acclamations throughout Christendom. The great Schism was at an end: — for the obstinacy of Benedict XIII. gained him not one new proselyte, and he died — Pope of Peniscola — in 1424.[3]

Such is a summary history of the Great Schism of the west. We have endeavored to present the facts as we found them in the original records, without concealment, fear, or favor. We fear not, — we rather court the truth. Truth has never yet marred a good cause, nor materially served a bad one. If the facts had been a hundred fold worse than they were, we would not have feared to state them fully, plainly, and without any disguise.

And now, we would ask, what does the history of the Great Schism prove? The first thing it proves to our minds, is, that the Church and the papacy are alike indestructible and imperishable. Both the Church and the papacy came out of the Schism, much stronger than they went into it! The result fully proved that, even in the darkest hour of her history, — when all boded division, destruction, death, — there was a certain divinely reactive energy in both the Church and the papacy, which caused both to ride the storm in safety, and to triumph gloriously over a combination of evil elements, which would have destroyed any merely human institution. The previous history of the Church had

1 He fled more than once.

2 Histoire du Grand Schisme. Liv. iii, p. 236.

3 He left four Cardinals, three of whom elected a Clement VIII. as his successor; the fourth, Benedict XIV! Verily, the disciples were worthy of their master!

proved, that she could triumph over external persecution and internal heresy in all their most hideous and multiform assaults; this sad chapter in her annals proved that she could conquer a more dangerous enemy still,—a long and inveterate Schism rending her very bosom, and preying upon her very vitals for nearly forty years! The experiment was fairly and fully made, under circumstances, too, the most unfavorable to her, and its result has been her signal and permanent triumph. Surely such an institution as this must be of divine origin!

Nor let us be told that, during the Schism, the boasted unity and infallibility of the Church were at an end. Unity of faith, of worship, and even, in a certain sense, of government, was preserved, even in the midst of the Schism. Those belonging to different *obediences* did not disagree in doctrine, even on the smallest article; they worshipped at the same altars, and in the same way; they all subscribed to the same doctrine, that the Pope, as the successor of St. Peter, is the divinely appointed visible head of the Church on earth. They merely differed on a question of *fact*—which was the true and lawful Pope, or which had been regularly and canonically elected? And so soon as this matter of fact could be examined and decided on by the proper authority, the doubt ceased and all immediately acknowledged and paid homage to the undoubted Pontiff.

That this fact could be, and was, definitely settled, is another proof of the divine wisdom with which the Church was organized by her founder. Until it could be determined, Catholics might, without compromising any doctrine or principle, safely follow their ordinary guides, and yield obedience to the individual, whom in their conscience they believed to possess the best claims to the papacy.[1]

To make good their position, the adversaries of the Catholic church should prove that, during the Schism, there was a change effected in the doctrines universally received and held by the Church, before its commencement; or they ought to show, at least, that some of the old doctrines were called in question. But can they establish this? Can they point to the bold innovator, whether Pope, bishop, or professor, who ventured to take this stand? We defy them to do so. The truth is, the Schism left *all* the doctrines, as well as the discipline, of the Church intact, and just where it found them.

Nor is the contrary of this proposition established by the admitted fact that, during the period in question, and for some time afterwards, long and animated controversies were carried on in the Church itself concerning the relations of Popes to general councils; the Italians maintaining the pre-eminence of the Popes, the French that of the general councils. The controversy was carried on under extraordinary circumstances, when there were two or three claimants of the tiara at a time; and the assertion, by the council of Constance, of the superiority

1 It was a maxim current in those troubled times, that "a doubtful pope is no pope"—*Papa dubius est papa nullus;*—which could only mean that none but an undoubted pope could claim an undoubted obedience, and the consequent prerogatives of the papacy.

of a general council over the Pope, could have contemplated none other than this anomalous state of things. A *doubtful* pope might certainly be brought under the action of the council; otherwise there could be no remedy for the Schism.

Except in its application to this extraordinary case, the whole controversy was really one of words, rather than about the substance. It was agreed on all hands that a council could not represent the *whole* church, nor therefore be general, without the concurrence and sanction, either present or subsequent, of an undoubted Pope; and the controversy, if it contemplated a council, with this condition essential to its œcumenicity, amounted merely to the question, whether the Pope and council together were superior to the Pope alone! Even during the fiercest excitement of the Schism, Catholics were *unanimous* in admitting the infallible authority of a general council sanctioned by the Pontiff;—and this was all that the Catholic Church ever taught on the subject, as an article of faith. Thus there was really no controversy among Catholics on any article of faith, or on any thing necessarily connected with one, even during the Schism.

The adversaries of the papacy have greedily seized upon the fact, that during several years there were rival claimants to the chair of Peter, to show that the line of succession of the Roman Pontiffs was interrupted or broken. The fact does not at all warrant this conclusion. In the first place, it is highly probable, if not morally certain, from the facts already stated above, that the Roman line, which began with and succeeded Urban VI., comprised the only rightful claimants to the succession. The election of Urban was recognized as regular and lawful by the whole Church, and by the cardinal electors themselves, for more than four months after it had taken place. The plea of want of liberty in the choice, seems to have been an afterthought of the French cardinals, and it was so regarded by De Niem.[1] Even after the Schism had been consummated by the setting up of a rival claimant at Avignon, the great majority of Christendom continued in the obedience of Urban.

But, in the second place, the integrity of the succession is not affected, even in the improbable hypothesis, that the claims of the two rival lines at Rome and Avignon are equally balanced, and that it remains doubtful which was the lawful Pope. Even in this case, one or the other was certainly the rightful incumbent: and it matters not which, so far as the substance of the succession is concerned. If Urban was the lawfully elected Pontiff, Clement certainly was not; and *vice versa*. The line of Roman Pontiffs remained unbroken in either hypothesis. The doubt affected persons, but not the thing itself. The objection then falls to the ground; and the boasted argument, alleged by the enemies of the papal succession, will not bear the slightest test of logic.

Still more puerile is the objection against the succession, based on the fact, that for about seventy years the Popes resided at Avignon. During

1 Quoted above.

all this period, they were universally recognized, and they constantly acted through their vicars, as Bishops of Rome. The holding of an office does not require residence in the incumbent, when he can otherwise discharge the duties annexed. The matter of residence is one of discipline, more or less important; it is not indispensably connected with the episcopal office, much less can it affect the papal succession.

Both these objections are predicated on superficial or erroneous ideas of the subject. They will not bear logical scrutiny. They vanish before the first touch of logic, as mists before the rising sun.

Protestant historians are unanimous in painting the moral condition of the Church as truly frightful and appalling, during the continuance of the Schism. We do not deny that there were, at that time, some grievous abuses and wide-spread disorders. We freely admit, and we weep over these scandals. They were deplored and sternly rebuked by the greatest and best men of the time; the great body of the bishops, and the Church at large, never approved of them;—no, not for one moment. The various national synods of France, and the councils of Pisa and Constance, not only condemned these evils, but they adopted wise and strong resolutions to remedy them, and to reform the Church "in its head and in its members." The Church is surely not fairly responsible for scandals which she deplored, over which she wept, which she took every possible means to prevent and to remove, and which she did effectually abolish.

But every impartial man will admit that there exists much exaggeration on this subject. During those dreadful times men's minds were greatly excited, and their blood boiled with honest indignation at the desecration of holy things, which they were daily called on to witness. Hence they wrote strongly, and often in a tone of hyperbole and exaggeration. Their invectives against vice and scandal were commensurate with their love for the Church. Even the great Gerson often exaggerated, and sometimes dealt in declamation and open extravagances. His preceptor, the illustrious Peter D'Ailly, archbishop of Cambray, though more cool and judicious, was likewise occasionally betrayed into ultraism. And as to persons of less intellect, sanctity, and standing in the Church,— such as Theodoricus de Niem, Nicholas de Clemangis, Leonardo Aretino, Cramaud, and others,— they wrote and spoke under the evident influence of strong excitement and passion. No one can open their works without coming to this conclusion. The adherents and partisans of the different papal claimants naturally spoke with great harshness and bitterness of those belonging to the opposite party: they often seized upon malicious rumors and published them as facts: local they magnified into general disorders: in a word, their imagination was fired, and their passions inflamed, and their statements are to be received with many grains of allowance. The evils growing out of the Schism were bad enough — *they* made them appear much worse than they really were.

But, exaggerated as is the history of those times, drawn by the cotem-

poraries to whom we have just alluded, such modern writers as Bonnechose make the picture a hundred fold darker, by disingenuously accumulating only those extracts from cotemporary writers which portray evils and scandals, and studiously leaving out those which speak of eminent virtues, of edifying examples, and of touching incidents. They put to the lips of their readers only the bitterest ingredients — the very dregs — of the cup of history; they allow them to sip none of its cooling and refreshing waters. And they even cut up and garble the passages, which they profess to give entire and continuous! M. Bonnechose, as we have proved, makes a practice of doing this.

If he wished to tell the whole truth, and to be a historian indeed, why not furnish his readers the facts on both sides of the question? Why not inform them that, if there were great vices, there were also signal virtues, during the Schism? Why not, at least, drop a hint that there were great, and good, and holy men and women, in great numbers too, and pre-eminent in merit and sanctity, during that whole unfortunate period? Why omit entirely the name of the great apostle of that era,— of the Paul, and the Francis Xavier of the fourteenth century,— of the great, the eloquent, the sainted thaumaturgus, St. Vincent Ferrer? Why not say a word of the holy Catharines and Bridgets? Why omit all mention of many others, similarly distinguished?

The truth is, that the moral disorders which prevailed to a considerable extent during the Schism, instead of proving aught against the sanctity or infallibility of the Church, or against the authority and rightful prerogatives of the papacy, prove precisely the contrary. They may be fairly traced to the unnatural and anomalous condition of the Church, growing out of the distracted condition of the papacy, the great directing and conservative principle of the Christian religion. Had the papacy not been divided, had it remained untrammeled and unchecked in its influence, those disorders would, in all probability, never have occurred, or they would have occurred in a much milder and more mitigated form. If the Church was so much injured by the crippling of the papacy during not quite forty years, what would have been her condition had the papacy been entirely and permanently destroyed? And what would *now* be her state, without this great conservative element in her organization?

We repeat it, the moral disorders consequent on the great Schism of the west present to our minds the strongest proof of the great utility, nay, of the absolute necessity, of the papacy, as an element of Church government!

This naturally leads us to notice a popular objection, or rather cavil, which is usually stated somewhat in this way: If the Church could do without the papacy for forty, why not for two thousand years? The answer is very plain. We deny both the antecedent and the conclusion,— the fact assumed, and the inference thence drawn.

During the Schism, the papacy existed, though the territory over which it held jurisdiction was divided. All maintained the *necessity* of a visible head of the Church, and of but one head, or chief executive; hence the

struggles of the contending parties for the mastery; hence the continued efforts of all the good to find some way of escaping from the Schism. At no period of the Church's history was the importance and necessity of the papacy more clearly recognized or more deeply felt. All acknowledged the obligation of obedience to the Pope; all bowed down before the principle; the only difference was in regard to a matter of fact, which the passions of men had rendered for a time obscure.

But even admit the antecedent,— that the church did do without the papacy for forty years,— the conclusion,—that therefore it could do without it for two thousand,— would not follow. This is a fallacy, which logicians call "reasoning from particulars to generals;" and it has about as much weight as this parallel sophism: A man may do without food for one day; therefore he may do without it for forty years!

The same fallacy lurks under another popular objection, which we may as well also briefly notice. It is this: If the council of Constance, convened and presided over by no undoubted Pope, could settle the affairs of the Church without papal authority, where is the need of the papacy at all?

We test the validity of this reasoning, by putting a parallel case. Suppose the contingency should arise,— and it is certainly a possible case,— that a presidential election in our republic should turn out to be of doubtful issue, and that each of the two great political parties should claim that its candidate was duly elected. After much political agitation, and various attempts at adjustment, the matter comes before congress for final adjudication. It is settled, we further suppose, by requiring both the claimants to resign, and ordering a new election. All parties acquiesce in this wise arrangement, and the political schism is at an end. Now suppose further that some political wiseacre should rise up, and cry out: "What is the use of having a president at all? If congress can regulate affairs without him, why not abolish his office altogether." No sensible man would deem anything more than a smile necessary as an answer to such reasoning.

Why is it that men, usually so shrewd in temporal matters, become apparently almost bereft of the reasoning faculty, when it is a question of assailing the Catholic Church, and the papacy? The Church and the papacy after having braved the storms and revolutions of eighteen centuries, can surely emerge triumphantly from the ordeal of such logic as this! The fact that the enemies of the Church are driven to use such arguments as these, furnishes a clear evidence, that, even in their own estimation, their cause is as weak as that of the Church is strong. If the Church and the papacy had not both been the work of God, they never could have passed through so many difficulties and vicissitudes unharmed.

There can be no doubt, that, as we said above, the papacy came out of the Schism much stronger than it went into it. It went into it trammeled with political importance, and worldly grandeur, which impaired the energies and dimmed the splendors of its spiritual character. It came out

of it in a great measure rid of these incumbrances: shorn of a great portion of these *accidental* trappings, but indued, more strongly than ever, with the impenetrable panoply of its own spiritual strength. Christendom now revered and loved it more than ever: it was more in conformity with its primitive type; it had returned to its original position in the world. It was tried by the Schism, as by a fiery ordeal. It emerged unscathed, and more pure, radiant, and vigorous than ever. The "wood and stubble" of its earthly pomp and wordly-mindedness were consumed by the fire; but "the gold, silver, and precious stones" of its spiritual power and heavenly strength yet remained. It suffered loss indeed, but itself "was saved yet so as by fire." [1]

[1] 1 Corinth, iii, 12--15.

X. JOHN HUSS AND THE HUSSITES

THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE.*

New trials lead to new triumphs of the Church—Character of John Huss—A traitor in the camp—Seeking popularity—Wickliffe and his doctrines—These necessarily lead to civil commotions—Translated into Bohemia—University of Prague—The German and Bohemian students—Carthaginian hatred of Rome—Writers on Huss and his disciples—Persecution no Catholic tenet—Imperial laws on the subject—What were the doctrines of Huss?—And what their influence on society?—What means did he adopt to spread them?—Was he consistent?—Had he a fair trial at Constance?—Was the council cruel towards him?—Were the fathers guilty of breach of faith?—Keeping faith with heretics—Case of Jerome of Prague—Horrible excesses of the Hussites—Ziska "of the Cup"—Pillage, murder, and sacrilege—A horrid martial instrument of music—A dark and bloody monument to the memory of Huss.

In the very midst of the great western schism — when all Christendom was overspread with gloom and desolation,— and when, humanly speaking, the very existence of the Church itself seemed to be menaced; — a dark and threatening cloud gathered in Bohemia, and soon burst upon her, in one of the most terrific storms that she had ever experienced during the long course of her history. Torn and distracted *within*, she was, at the same time, fiercely assailed by a bold and truculent heresy from *without;* as if Divine Providence, in permitting these dreadful evils to fall simultaneously upon her, had meant to make trial of her strength, and to prove triumphantly to the world her innate stability and indestructibility.

With every odds against her; with her energies divided and broken; with the papacy — the great controlling and conservative element of her government — itself seemingly in jeopardy; she was still to behold her all-conquering banner wave in triumph over all her enemies, both external and internal; and she was to witness, in this her signal triumph, one more conclusive proof, in addition to the thousand which her history had already afforded, that Christ was still faithful to His solemn pledge,— "the gates of hell SHALL NOT prevail against her."

The annals of the world tell of few men more remarkable than *John Huss*. The forerunner of Martin Luther and John Calvin, he united the boldness and indomitable energy of the former, with the coolness and fierce malignity of the latter; while he, perhaps, surpassed both in firmness and obstinacy of purpose. Born of poor and obscure parentage, in the

*An introduction to "D'Aubigné's History of the Reformation." The Reformers before the Reformation. The Fifteenth century. John Huss and the council of Constance. By Emile de Bonnechose, librarian of the king of France, author of "Histoire de France," "Histoire Sacrée," &c. Translated from the French by Campbell McKenzie, B. A., Trinity College, Dublin. Complete in one volume, 8vo., pp 199. New York: Harper & Brother, 1844.

small village of Hussinecz in Bohemia, in the year 1373, we find him, in his thirtieth year, a professor in the famous university of Prague, confessor of the queen of Bohemia, and preacher at the chapel of Bethlehem.[1] Bold, energetic, talented, and sprightly, he soon rose to distinction, and acquired an almost unbounded popularity. As professor, he fascinated the youth who flocked to his lectures by the boldness of his views, and the startling novelty of his theories. As confessor to the queen, he exercised great influence over her mind, and over that of her weak and imbecile husband, Wenceslaus; and he became all powerful at court. As a popular preacher, he had few rivals, and no superior, in all Bohemia.

Such was the man who was soon to rear the standard of revolt against the Church, to maintain doctrines subversive of social order, both civil and religious, and to light up in Bohemia a flame, which was to be extinguished only in the blood of thousands of its citizens! Had he continued faithful to the truth; had he devoted his life and talents to the cause of religion and social order; had he studied to allay, instead of exciting, the elements of discord already fermenting in the minds of men, and especially in those of his fierce and semi-barbarous countrymen, he might have been one of the brightest ornaments of his age and nation, and one of the strongest pillars of the Church. As a priest of the Catholic Church, he had, at the holy altar, solemnly plighted his faith to become, and to continue her advocate and faithful champion until death: — her cause was his cause; her truth his truth; her joys were his joys; and her sorrows his sorrows. If ever she needed a champion, now was that time; if ever she needed a comforter in her grief, this was the season.

But alas! instead of comforting her, and laboring to assuage her grief, in this the most bitter hour of her affliction, this sworn minister of her altars, who had broken bread with her in unity and in sweetness of communion, now basely deserted her, and treacherously lifted up his heel against her holy sanctuary! He preferred the ephemeral popularity attending the advocacy of bold and startling novelties, to that less brilliant and enticing, but more solid and permanent glory, which results from the humble and unostentatious championship of old and uninviting, but wholesome truths. Like many other men of great talent and genius, but seduced by secret pride, he preferred the fame which attaches to the founder of a new sect, to that which he might have acquired by pursuing the even tenor of his way, and doing much good, in a quiet manner, in the venerable old paths of truth, marked out and hallowed by the footsteps of his sainted forefathers in the faith.

He wished, in a word, to become in Bohemia, what Wickliffe had so recently been in England. The bold English reformer — the redoubtable captain of the Lollards, — had died quietly and in peace[2] in the year 1384, in his own rectory of Lutterworth; but, in dying, he had bequeathed a

1 Founded in the year 1391 by two wealthy citizens of Prague, Johann Von Muhlheim and the merchant Kreuz; and destined especially for the preaching of the gospel to the poor.

2 In spite of all the alleged cruelty and persecuting spirit of the Catholic Church.

fatal legacy to posterity in his writings.[1] These abounded with virulent attacks upon the ministry, doctrines, and institutions of the Catholic Church, — of which Wickliffe was nevertheless a priest, — and with principles as new as they were pernicious.

Many of his assertions were downright blasphemies against the Deity; such as those of his propositions which asserted absolute predestination and fatality, and, among the rest, this atrocious one — "God ought to obey the devil!"[2] Many of them consisted of bitter and baseless tirades against the clergy and the Popes: such as that which designated "the Roman Church a synagogue of Satan;"[3] and those which stigmatized as heretics, all clergymen who held any species of property, as well as those who bestowed it on them.[4] Others railed against the monastic orders as "diabolical and unchristian;"[5] and against colleges and universities, as "pagan in their origin" and "devilish" in their tendencies.[6] Others, in fine, openly broached and defended doctrines directly subversive of all social order, both in Church and state; such as those which maintained that a bishop and a civil magistrate lost all power and jurisdiction, the moment they fell into grievous sin![7] This last may be reckoned the distinctive doctrine of Wickliffe's whole system; the one to which the civil commotions and bloodshed subsequently caused by his disciples, the Lollards, are fairly traceable.

Such were the leading features of that iniquitous system, which was now to be transplanted from England into Bohemia, and to produce in the latter country the same bitter and poisonous fruits which it had brought forth in the former. A noble Bohemian, Jerome Faulfish, more commonly known as Jerome of Prague, had visited the famous university of Oxford, in England, for the purpose of completing his education. There he became acquainted with the writings of Wickliffe, which he perused with avidity and delight. On his return to Bohemia, about the year 1402, he brought several copies of them with him, and busily circulated them among the professors and students of the university of Prague. Thoroughly imbued himself with the doctrines of the English apostate, he labored with unremitting zeal to infuse his own convictions into the minds of others. He succeeded but too well in his purpose!

The university of Prague was divided and thrown into confusion. A rivalry had long existed in its halls between the German professors and students, and those of Bohemia: but hitherto the Germans had maintained the ascendency, both in numbers and in influence. The tables were now turned. John Huss adopted and defended with great vigor the doctrines of Wickliffe, and was soon followed by nearly all the Bohemians belonging to the university; the Germans as ardently maintained the old principles of religion and philosophy, and denounced the new opinions as both

1 The worst of these was his *Trialogus*, written after his retirement from Oxford to Lutterworth, and shortly before his death. It embodies, in the form of a conference among three persons, all his virulence, all his distinctive doctrines, and all the worst features of his system.

2 Deus debet obedire diabolo. — Prop. vi, among those condemned by the council of Constance.

3 Prop. xxxvii, ibid. 4 Prop. xxxvi. 5 Prop. xxiii and xxxi. 6 Prop. xxix.

7 Prop. xv. Nullus est dominus civilis, nullus est prælatus, nullus est episcopus, dum est in peccato mortali.

heretical and ruinous in their tendency. Novelty, however, gained the day; the Germans were expelled from the university, John Huss and his adherents became supreme therein, and they were thus enabled to teach and to spread their new-fangled notions, almost without opposition.[1]

The infection soon spread throughout Bohemia. The ignorant and the vicious were pleased with the new doctrines, and were fascinated with the boldness and eloquence of the man who poured forth, in his own chapel of Bethlehem, and throughout the kingdom, his coarse and withering invectives against the Popes, the bishops, and the clergy. The standard of revolt was now raised; and all Bohemia was in a flame. The dreadful sequel is but too well known.

It is fashionable with such writers as M. Bonnechose to praise extravagantly, and to exalt even to the skies, men who,—like John Huss,—fiercely opposed the Catholic Church, and raised altar against altar. We are not at all surprised at this. Men naturally sympathize with those of a kindred spirit. No matter how wicked the founders of new sects may have been; no matter how reckless, inconsistent, and unprincipled; no matter what commotion they excited, what hatred they stirred up, what torrents of blood they caused to flow; if they only opposed Rome, all their iniquities are at once forgiven and forgotten, and they are painted as saints, as heroes, as martyrs, as men who preferred the voice of their conscience to all the smiles of the Church and of the world! This fierce and more than Carthagenian hatred of Rome, like the mantle of charity, covers a multitude of sins. John Huss and Jerome of Prague are represented as men entirely in advance of their age; as men who had the courage to rebuke the vices and errors of a corrupt and all-powerful church; as men who fell victims to their noble zeal and integrity, and to the vengeance of the hierarchy!

M. Bonnechose evidently follows the accounts most favorable to Huss and the Hussites.[2] If he examined at all the authorities on the other side, his readers are in a great measure deprived of the fruits of his researches. If he sometimes quotes Æneas Sylvius and John Cochlœus, it is rather to keep up a semblance of impartiality, or to confirm some statement in favor

1 We have gathered these particulars from a distinguished cotemporary, *Æneas Sylvius* — Historia Bohemorum, c. 35. He says that the Bohemians were then "by nature ferocious and indomitable — natura ferocibus atque indomitis." He adds that Wickliffe's new doctrines were spread by Huss, chiefly with a view to vex the German professors, and to oust the Germans from the university — "Wyclevitarum doctrinam arripuit eaque Teutonicos vexare magistros cœpit, sperans eo confusos Teutones scholas relicturos."

2 The chief authorities on the history of John Huss and the Hussites are the following: In favor of John Huss, a voluminous work, composed by an *anonymous* Hussite, and entitled: Historia et monumenta Jo. Huss atque Hieronymi Pragensis — Norimbergæ: 1715, tom. ii, in folio. This work is a special favorite with M. Bonnechose, who quotes it on all occasions. Against Huss; *Æneæ Sylvii* — De Bohemorum origine ac gestis historia, (Romæ: 1475, fol.), especially chaps. 35 and 36; and *Johannes Cochlæus* — Historia Hussitarum, Libri xii. (Moguntiæ: 1549, folio.) To these add a host of more recent writers, especially in Germany, chiefly in favor of Huss; such as *Theobaldus* — De Bello Hussitarum, in 4to; *Wilhelmi Seyfridi* — De Jo. Huss martyris vita, fatis, ac scriptis, Jenæ: 1729, etc.; *J. F. W. Fischer*, life of Jerome of Prague, and Zitte's life of Huss, both written in German. See also *Labbæi* Concilia — Concil. Constant.; *Hardt* — Constant. Concilium, &c., vi. tom. folio; *L'Enfant* — Histoire du Concile de Constance, tom. ii; and *Castenet* — Nouvelle Hist. du Concile de Constance, Paris: 1718, 4to.

of Huss, than to exhibit fairly and fully the facts and evidence on both sides. When his favorite partisan work — "the History and Monuments of John Huss and Jerome of Prague," — fails him, he calls in to his aid the veracious John Fox, the English martyrologist, whom he quotes with as much complacency, as if he had been a cotemporary historian, and as if he had never written accounts of the cruel deaths and martyrdom of *living* men. Such is the general character of M. Bonnechose's work, which, with some pretensions to erudition and impartiality, is a production as thoroughly partisan as ever was written. We think no candid man who reads it, and compares its statements with those of the original historians, can come to any other conclusion.

We are sincerely opposed to all persecution. Catholics have been too long and too cruelly the victims of it, to relish it; no matter by what specious reasoning or pretext its advocates may have sought to palliate or justify it in any particular case. The sentence of death pronounced and executed on John Huss and Jerome of Prague was much more the result of the spirit of the times in which the deed was done, than of that of the Church: it was the consequence of imperial, rather than of ecclesiastical, enactments. All this we hope to make appear in the sequel, by such a mass of evidence as the candid inquirer can neither resist nor answer.

The Catholic Church has never persecuted, as a Church, for mere conscience sake. She has, indeed, at all times freely and fearlessly exercised her undoubted prerogative of proclaiming the truth, and of stigmatizing error; of witnessing and authoritatively pronouncing on the "faith once delivered to the saints." She had been instituted for this express purpose; and well and fully has she fulfilled her mission. No matter how adverse the circumstances under which she labored; no matter what clouds and storms gathered around her pathway; she was, at all times, too thoroughly imbued with the meek and humble spirit of her divine Founder and Spouse, to call down fire on the heads of her enemies. She could suffer without a murmur; she could not witness, much less inflict suffering on others, without a pang. Her whole history through eighteen long centuries, if impartially examined and fairly stated, will fully bear out this view of the subject.

Nor does the case of John Huss and Jerome of Prague constitute an exception to this general remark. Their melancholy death, as we have already intimated, was the result of imperial laws, not of Church decisions. It was the emperor Sigismund, and not the fathers of the council of Constance, who sentenced them to death. The council merely condemned the doctrines of Huss, ordered the books containing them to be burnt,[1] and deposed him from the ministry as an unworthy and heretical priest;[2] it was the emperor Sigismund who condemned him to death, in accordance with the settled law of the Germanic empire.

1 Those who affect to be scandalized at this are referred to the example of St. Paul, who caused a multitude of bad books to be burnt at Ephesus — Acts, ch. xix.

2 M. Bonnechose himself is forced virtually to grant this. See p. 102, where he gives the substance of the two sentences pronounced by the council.

Even M. Bonnechose, how much soever he strives to implicate the council,[1] is still constrained to admit this. He tells us that the emperor, at the close of Huss's examination before the council, irritated at the obstinacy of the man, whom neither he nor the council could induce to retract, thus addressed the assembled fathers in his presence :

"You have heard the errors which this man has taught — many of which are crimes deserving of the severest punishment. *My opinion, therefore, is,* that, unless he abjures every one of them, he ought to be burned to death. . . . . If any of his followers should happen to be at Constance, they ought also to be severely put down, and chiefly, amongst them all, his disciple Jerome." [2]

As we shall see in a passage to be cited hereafter, he had pronounced a similar opinion at the opening of the examination.

For nearly two hundred years before the council of Constance, it had been a settled and organic law of the Germanic empire, that heresy was punishable with death. At the famous convention held at Roncaglia, in Italy, in the year 1158, the emperor Frederic Barbarossa had revived the provisions of the old Roman imperial laws, as modified and acted on by the first Christian emperors. He had revived them with all their absolutism and all their persecuting spirit. His grandson, Frederic II, went still farther. In the year 1244, he added specific and terrible laws against heretics. In the new code, blasphemy and heresy were put on a level with high treason ; and, like it, were to be punished with death. It was thought by the law that heresy was rebellion and high treason against heaven ; and that a man who was a traitor to his God, could not be a faithful subject to his earthly sovereign.

The Church had at least no direct agency in enacting this odious code. She seems to have merely acquiesced in its enactment. She could not, in fact, have well done otherwise ; for the two Frederics were men of stern and inflexible resolve; — tyrants whom no influence could either tame or control. During the time of the early Christian emperors, the Church had often been herself the victim of a similar stern and grasping legislation. She had seen her best Pontiffs and bishops dragged into exile, and condemned to death by the iron will of imperial tyrants, who took it upon themselves to decide what was truth, and what was heresy, and to enforce their decision with terrible penalties.[3]

The condemnation to death, then, of John Huss and Jerome of Prague at Constance, was no new thing. It was done in accordance with a settled principle of law, long established and generally recognized. No one questioned its existence, or doubted its justice, either at that time, or for many centuries afterwards ; not even those who fell victims to its exercise. All the early reformers adopted and defended the self same principle ; and

1 Many of his assertions on this subject need confirmation, other than his own bare word, and that of his partial authorities. 2 P. 96.

3 Witness the cases of the Pontiffs Liberius, Silverius and St. Martin I.; and of the holy prelates, St. Hilary, of Poictiers ; St. Athanasius, of Alexandria ; St. John Chrysostom, of Constantinople, and of many others.

the punishment by death at the stake, for heresy, was retained in Protestant England longer than in any other country in the world.[1]

Even John Huss himself, as we shall show more fully in the sequel, was not only well aware of the existence of this law, ere he departed from Prague for Constance, but he freely consented to be judged by it, and to abide its penalty, if convicted of heresy. At Constance itself, on being accused of having denied its justice, he repelled the accusation, and only remarked: "the heretic cannot be corporeally punished, until after he has been charitably instructed, by means of arguments drawn from Scripture:"[2] a qualification which, with the exception of its implying the right of private interpretation in opposition to Church authority, few would have felt disposed to question, even in that stern age. The Church may, then, say in reference to the death of Huss and Jerome: — *Non mea culpa est, sed temporum.* It was not *her* fault that they died at the stake; the sacrifice was made in accordance with the jurisprudence of the age.

But before we can subscribe to the opinion that Huss was a saint and a martyr, and that the council of Constance acted a cruel and treacherous part by him, we must have more evidence than the bare word of such flippant writers as M. Bonnechose, and the partisan historians whom he quotes. We must go into the whole merits of the case, and examine the following previous questions:

1st. What were the doctrines of John Huss, and what were their effects on society?

2d. What means did he adopt to spread them?

3d. Was he always equally bold in avowing, and consistent in maintaining them?

4th. Had he a fair trial at Constance?

5th. Did the council act with wanton cruelty in his regard?

And 6th. Was the council guilty of perfidy and treachery towards him?

We shall endeavor briefly and succinctly, but, we hope, clearly and satisfactorily, to answer all these questions. And we will assert nothing which cannot be clearly proved from undoubted and original sources, cotemporary with the events themselves.

I. What were the doctrines of John Huss, and what were their effects on society?

His doctrines were the same as those of Wickliffe, of which we have already spoken; with this important difference, however, that the Bohemian does not appear to have gone so far as the English reformer. Huss admitted to the day of his death many distinctive doctrines of Catholicity which Wickliffe had rejected: such as the real presence, the sacrifice of the mass, the power of granting indulgences, and some others. But, in all other respects, he seems to have agreed almost entirely with Wickliffe, though he was, perhaps, less furious, and more cautious, in expressing his opinions, than the bluff and sour Englishman. Like him, he railed inces-

1 Instances of this cruel punishment occur in England as late as the reign of George the I.! See Fletcher's notes to De Maistre's "Letters on the Spanish Inquisition."

2 Bonnechose, p. 94.

santly against the Popes, the bishops, the clergy, the religious orders; like him, he maintained the doctrine of absolute predestination; like him, he believed that none but the elect belonged or could belong to the Church of Christ; like him, he maintained that it was unlawful for the clergy to hold property of any kind; like him, he denied the infallibility of the Church; and, like him, he asserted the ruinous principle,— ruinous to all social organization, whether political or religious,— that the circumstance of a temporal or spiritual ruler being in the state of mortal sin, deprived him, by the very fact, of all power and jurisdiction.[1]

He also openly denied the power of the Church to excommunicate or to suspend her ministers, and boldly defended the disorganizing doctrine, that a priest thus excommunicated, provided he believed the sentence unjust, could still continue to exercise his functions, in spite of the prohibition by the ecclesiastical tribunal. He more than once intimated that St. Peter never had been the head of the Church; that the Roman Pontiffs had derived their supremacy from the Cæsars; and that there was no need of a visible head of the Church on earth. That such were the distinctive doctrines of Huss, we think no one who has at all read the original documents will be disposed to deny.[2]

Who can wonder, that doctrines so thoroughly disorganizing should have produced the most disastrous effects on society? Who can wonder that Prague soon became the theatre of bitter contentions, of civil commotions, of infuriate mobs, of bloodshed? Who can wonder that all Bohemia was thrown into convulsions; that its hills and valleys were crimsoned with the blood of its own citizens; that a civil war, the most obstinate and bloody, perhaps, recorded in the annals of history, tore and lacerated its bosom, and sent tens of thousands of its citizens to the tomb?

All these terrible disasters were as natural and necessary results of the preaching and doctrines of John Huss, as fruits are of the tree which bears them, or as smouldering ruins are of the dreadful conflagration. John Huss enkindled a flame in the bosom of his country, which preyed on its very vitals, and threatened it with utter annihilation, for long years after he was himself no more!

That Huss was a bold and turbulent spirit; that his doctrines naturally tended to insubordination, revolt, and sedition; and that he not only took no precautions to check this sinister tendency, but encouraged it rather, and fanned the flame of popular excitement, we think no candid man will deny. That the effects indicated above did follow his preaching and doctrine, even M. Bonnechose, his most ardent and unscrupulous champion, fully

1 See the propositions extracted from the works of Huss and condemed by the Council of Constance; — not as M. Bonnechose gives them on the authority of Fox (!) — but as they are recorded in the acts of the council itself: especially Propositions i, ii, v, xxi, and xxx. See also Bonnechose, p. 91, where he tells a *part* of the truth in regard to the doctrines of Huss.

2 See the propositions, in *loco sup. cit.* M. Bonnechose admits that Huss advocated most of those doctrines; but his account is often very vague and inaccurate. Instead of giving us, in one place, a well-digested summary of the doctrines of Huss, he scatters the account of them througnout the book; and he evidently seeks to disguise or conceal their very worst features.

admits. We will allege a few facts and passages from his work to illustrate this branch of the subject.

Sbinko, the archbishop of Prague, the declared opponent of Huss and of his doctrines, had perished by poison; and a rumor was already afloat in the community, that he had come to his death through the malice of the Hussites. Our author assures us that this report was unfounded in fact; but he speaks of the excitement which raged at Prague, about this time, in the following language:—

"But, at Prague, the question no longer was to clear up a fact, which could be to one party a deep disgrace, and to the other a motive of vengeance: *the flames of civil war were gathering at the bottom of men's hearts*, and the rage of parties no longer required a real cause for bursting forth, but only a pretext. It was impossible not to acknowledge the moral authority,— the very serious ascendency,— which John Huss had acquired over men's minds; for no longer were the caprices of fashion, or an inconsiderate infatuation, sufficient to gain over partisans or disciples for his doctrines," &c.[1]

This tremendous excitement between the two hostile parties, composed of the friends and opponents of John Huss at Prague, soon broke out into open sedition, filled the streets with mobs and desolation, and drenched them with blood! Huss had been compelled to fly, but he now returned, and placed himself, with renewed vigor and determination, at the head of his partisans. The magistrates of the city, foreseeing the coming troubles, besought him to desist; but they besought in vain.

"The magistrates of Prague," says our author, "blamed John Huss, and joined with the heads of the university, the court, and the clergy against him. So many elements of discord," he continues, "portended fresh troubles of a more serious character than those which had already caused the voluntary exile of Huss, but no apprehension shook his resolution."[2]

With his characteristic obstinacy he persisted, and he could not be turned from his course, either by expostulation or by apprehension of the dreadful consequences about to ensue. He put up placards on the doors of the churches and monasteries of Prague, challenging all doctors, priests, monks, and scholars to a public discussion. We will transcribe M. Bonnechose's account of what passed at this discussion:

"On the appointed day, the concourse was prodigious; and the rector, in alarm, endeavored, though in vain, to dissolve the assembly. A doctor of canon law stood up and delivered a defense of the Pope and the bulls: then, falling on John Huss, he said,— 'you are a priest; you are subordinate to the Pope, who is your spiritual father. It is only filthy birds which defile their own nests; and Ham was accursed for having uncovered his father's shame.' At these words the people murmured and were in great commotion. Already were stones beginning to fly, when John Huss interfered and calmed the storm. After him the impetuous Jerome of

1 P. 36 The real authors of the death of Archbishop Sbinko are unknown. It was natural, however, that suspicion should have rested on the disciples of Huss, of whom he was an open and declared adversary. 2 P. 41.

Prague addressed the multitude, and terminated a vehement harangue with these words:— 'Let those who are our friends unite with us; Huss and I are going to the palace, and we will let the vanity of those indulgences be seen.'" [1]

In short,— not to multiply quotations which would take up too much of our space,— John Huss and Jerome of Prague placed themselves at the head of a tumultuous mob, filled the city with confusion, openly defied the authorities; and, as if to make this mob more like that which lately disgraced one of our eastern cities, *desecrated the Sunday* by marching, with arms in their hands, on that day, to the town-house to demand the pardon of three rioters, who, having been arrested by the authorities, were there confined. On the appearance of John Huss with his formidable mob at the prison gates,

"The magistrates deliberated in trouble and consternation, and the council replied, in the name of all: 'Dear master, we are astonished at your lighting up a fire, in which you run the risk of being burned yourself. It is very hard for us to pardon persons who do not even spare the sanctuary, who fill the city with tumult, and who, if not prevented, would stain our streets with slaughter. Nevertheless, keep the people within bounds, and withdraw: your wishes shall be attended to.'" [2]

But when the rioters had withdrawn at the bidding of Huss, the magistrates thought proper to break a promise extorted from them by threats and fear; and the prisoners were executed. When the mob became acquainted with this fact,

"A furious tumult arose. The doors of the prison were burst open, the bodies taken off, and transported in linen shrouds under the vault of the chapel of Bethlehem. They were there interred with great honors, the scholars singing in chorus over their tomb,— 'They are saints who have given up their bodies for the gospel of God.'" [3]

Huss was the ringleader in all these tumultuous and lawless scenes: and he even pronounced the eulogy of these ruffian rioters and convicted felons, whom he styled "saints and martyrs." [4] On that memorable occasion, in the midst of the most tremendous popular excitement, he, a minister of the God of peace, fanned the flame, by pronouncing a most furious tirade of abuse and invective against the Popes, the clergy, and the Church.[5] The result was awful; mob violence ruled supreme and uncontrolled in the hitherto peaceful city of Prague; and our author himself assures us, that

"All men's minds seemed in a blaze: the city was daily the theatre of sanguinary scenes; there was no longer security at Prague for personal safety; — even the king himself thought it best to take his departure, and hurried from place to place." [6]

1 P. 41. 2 Id. p. 42. 3 Ibid.

4 Ibid. When charged with this at the council of Constance, Huss did not deny it.— Id. p. 96.

5 Ibid. p. 42.

6 P. 43. It requires no stretch of fancy to observe an almost exact parallelism between the riots at Prague, and those which recently occurred at Philadelphia. Human nature and human passions are ever the same.

Such, then, were the immediate effects of Huss's preaching and doctrines in Prague. At no distant day, as we shall shortly see, these disasters were to be extended, aggravated a hundred-fold, to all Bohemia. But we are tired of these atrocities, and must hasten on in our investigation.

II. What means did Huss adopt to spread his doctrines ?

This question will not detain us long. It is easily answered. M. Bonnechose, in fact, answers it for us. Huss formed and increased his party, by strongly appealing to the passions of the ignorant, by delivering violent and inflammatory invectives against the Popes, the bishops, and the clergy ; by exposing, and by offering to redress, the grievances of the poor ; and by a certain boldness of tone, fixedness of purpose, and rough eloquence, which just suited the mobs whom he addressed, and which made him the idol, because they constituted him the leader and champion, of the multitude. His party once formed, he kept it together, and swelled its numbers, by his indomitable energy and untiring industry, and by his exciting and maddening harangues. By affecting zeal for the correction of abuses, and putting on a sanctimonious air, he succeeded in winning to his standard many of the pious and well disposed, whose simplicity did not penetrate beyond the exterior veil which covered his real purpose ; whilst, by appeals to the avarice of kings and princes, he succeeded in inducing many of these also, either to become his partisans, or, at least, to remain neutral. We will present a few extracts from our author, to establish such of these assertions as are not manifest of themselves, or as have not been already proved:

"Huss had, besides, against his enemies, the powerful support of the nobility, several members of whom were sincerely touched by the elevation and purity of his doctrines, whilst a great number adopted them, either through a spirit of opposition to the court, or through jealousy towards the high clergy, or *through the hope of sharing in their spoils.*" [1]

But Huss soon took effectual means to silence the opposition of the court itself. He knew the weak point in the character of the imbecile Wenceslaus ; and he stopped not at anything to win him over to his party. Let us again hear M. Bonnechose :

"Some of Huss's opinions, particularly that which he borrowed from Wickliffe, respecting titles and church property, were exceedingly to the taste of Wenceslaus. '*Secular lords,*' he used to say, '*have the power of taking away, whenever they please, their temporal possessions from such ecclesiastics as live in habitual sin.*' (*They* were to judge) . . . . . Wenceslaus adopted those doctrines,— *which were those of the greater portion of the reformers, and which rendered many princes favorable to them.* He, therefore, set himself up as the arbiter of the employment of church property ; but, as he cared nothing whatever for the poor, it was into his strong-box that the ill-employed riches of the clergy found their way ; and when he openly came forward and supported the new opinions, his severity and his exactions swelled John Huss's party. Several wealthy ecclesiastics declared themselves Hussites ; for, *with a view to save their*

[1] P. 40.

property, they adopted the doctrines which enjoined a good employment of it." [1]

These, are, indeed, precious avowals, coming, as they do, from a warm eulogist of Huss, and a sworn enemy of Catholicity. They could have been extorted from him only by the sternest evidence of truth. Now, can any one, for a moment, persuade himself that a man who resorted to *such* means, could have been either a saint or a martyr? Saints and martyrs are made of different stuff altogether. It is not the mere circumstance of dying for a cause which makes a martyr, but it is the justice, and the holiness, and the truth of the cause itself.[2] Could that man be reckoned a martyr, who was the leader of armed and infuriate mobs, who made maddening appeals to the most grovelling passions, who fanned into a wild conflagration the flames which himself had lighted up in the bosom of his country, and who reveled amidst the ruins which himself had caused? We think not.

III. Was John Huss always equally bold, and consistent in maintaining his doctrines?

Obstinacy was, indeed, his characteristic trait; but yet, obstinate as he was, he was most certainly a very different character at Prague and at Constance. At Prague, he was bold, daring, reckless; at Constance, he was cautious, reserved, and comparatively timid. At Prague, he boldly announced his doctrines and defended them with an overpowering popular eloquence; at Constance, he modified, concealed, or openly denied them. At Prague, he was the fearless religious demagogue; at Constance, he was the wily and tortuous heresiarch. We defy any one to read M. Bonnechose's history attentively, without being forcibly struck with this remarkable falling off,— this singular inconsistency in one who is yet held up to our admiration as a saint, a martyr, and a stainless reformer of God's holy Church.

Our narrow limits, and the important matters we have yet to examine, will not permit us many details on this subject. Besides, the thing is too plain to need much proof; and we refer with great confidence to the statements of our partial historian himself. Whoever will read and compare even *his* imperfect account of Huss's sermons and works[3] in Bohemia, with that of his defence of himself and of his doctrines at Constance, must be persuaded that, while Huss was the bold and declared enemy of the Church in the former place, he wished to pass for one of her faithful and obedient children in the latter. This inconsistency and this paltry manœuvring are acknowledged and remarked on by M. Bonnechose, who is sadly puzzled how to account for the anomaly. Hear what he says on the subject:

1 P. 42-3. 2 Martyrem facit non pœna, sed causa,— is an adage, as true as it is old.

3 Especially his work "on the Church," and his pamphlet: "The Six Errors" "The first" of these errors "was that of the priests who boasted of making the body of Jesus Christ in the mass, and of being the creator of their creator."— Bonnechose, p 45 Yet at Constance, he openly asserted the real presence, and took God to witness that he had never taught any thing against it! See Ib. p 90. seqq. This is but one, out of many, of the inconsistencies and contradictions of Huss. Cf also pp. 43, 45. with pp. 90, 104, 105, &c. of our author.

"He (Huss) protested his attachment and respect for the Catholic Church: he declared his unwillingness to separate from it, and yet unknown to himself (!), he was giving a sensible shock to its foundations, by maintaining that believers had the right to examine its decrees before they submitted to them. Who does not perceive that, on the one hand, obedience to a Church which declares itself to be immutable and infallible, and, on the other, examination and appeal to an internal criterion — the conscience — are two things contrary to each other and incompatible? *It would be a difficult thing to affirm that John Huss believed that he could reconcile them*, or that he had supposed that he had succeeded in the task. We can not, indeed, comprehend how he could have deceived himself on this point. Yet it is most certain that he attempted to effect an agreement between these two hostile principles, and that he thus carried in his bosom the germs of a violent struggle, at once irreconcilable and interminable. That was the formidable and insolvable problem, which agitated his life and hastened his end,"[1] &c.

We must furnish another curious extract from our author on the same subject. It occurs in the closing paragraph of the chapter in which he treats of the death of Huss; and it is valuable, as presenting his views of the general character of the reformer:

"As to the right of the matter, before he (Huss) admitted that any proposition was heretical or false, he required to have its falsehood demonstrated by Scripture. This was to recognize in the divine word, interpreted by private judgement, an authority superior to the decisions of the Church — it was to attack the clergy in their spiritual authority. . . Strange destiny of Huss! Most curious problem! In his way of thinking, all separation from the old trunk of the Church is a heresy worthy of hell; and yet the separated churches reckon him, with pride, amongst their martyrs! . . . . . John Huss considered himself a Catholic, and yet he appealed from the Church to his conscience and to God! *He was a Protestant without knowing it!*"[2]

We confess that we can not believe that Huss was so simple. He was not such a *goose*[3] as this theory would make him appear. The truth is, he had taken a wrong step, and he *felt* it; he occupied a false position, and he did not wish to leave it. He had a strong and clamorous party to sustain him: he was their leader and head; they hung upon his lips, and they could be led like children by his words. He *felt* that he could not retract without displeasing his party, on whose praises he had been so long accustomed to feast: he had not the humility nor the moral courage to go back: he would rather die first; — for, in this case, he would be hailed as a martyr, and he might live with posterity. He had evidently more regard for his party than for the truth. Had he been a solitary man, without a party, he never would have mustered courage to die at Constance. Such at least is our candid opinion; and we think we do him no injustice.

1 P. 34. 2 P. 105.

3 *Huss* is Bohemian for *goose;* and Huss himself often punned on his name. See Bonnechose, p. 86, note. So then if we err, either in taste or in politeness, we do it not without an illustrious precedent. It is remarkable, also, that the family name of Jerome of Prague, *Faulfish*, means a *foul fish*. At least the names of both of the Bohemian reformers were ominous. That of Jerome, however, was much more appropriate than that of Huss.

IV. A still more important question, is — had Huss a fair trial at Constance?

We sincerely believe that he had; and to prove it, we need no other vouchers than the *facts* of the case,— apart from the false coloring and unfair construction,— as given by M. Bonnechose himself. The following facts are certain and undoubted.

1st. John Huss went to the council of Constance, of his own accord, in *voluntary* obedience to the summons of the emperor Sigismund, and with the avowed purpose of answering the charges of his enemies, and proving that he had said and written nothing against the Catholic faith. He often boasted, even before the council, that he had come to Constance of his own free will; and that had he chosen to remain in Bohemia, his powerful partisans there could have concealed and protected him, even against the king of Bohemia, and his more powerful brother, the emperor Sigismund himself.[1] Before his departue from Prague,

"In a paper affixed to the gates of the palace, he announced that he was about to depart, in order to justify himself before the council. 'So that,' said he, 'if any one suspects me of heresy, let him proceed thither and prove, in presence of the Pope and the doctors, if I ever entertained or taught any false or mistaken doctrine. If any man can convict me of having inculcated any doctrine contrary to the Christian faith, *I will consent to undergo all the penalty to which heretics are liable.*' "[2] &c.

2d. After he had arrived at Constance, he had three different hearings from the council; and the investigation into his doctrines and writings was full, lengthy, and detailed. Though the weighty affair of the schism, and much other most perplexing business, pressed heavily on the council, yet the assembled fathers consented to go into a minute and patient examination of his doctrines, article by article, and to hear his answer to each of the charges preferred against him. Nothing could be fairer, or more in conformity with law and usage, than the whole order of the proceedings. His books were first produced, and he was asked whether they contained his genuine writings. Then his accusers, among whom the principal were his countrymen, Stephen Paletz and Michael Causis, stood forth in open court, and distinctly uttered their charges against him; and many witnesses were summoned to corroborate their testimony. John Huss had the privilege of answering all the accusations separately; and, though there seems to have been, once or twice, some murmuring in the assembly, owing to the exciting nature of the inquiry, yet the whole trial was generally conducted with calmness and with temper.[3]

3d. When John Huss denied the truth of many of the articles alleged against him, and maintained that he had never taught the doctrines with which he stood charged, the accusations were made good by a regular course of testimony,— by the oath of men who had heard him preach in Prague and Bohemia, some of whom had been his intimate friends,[4] and

1 See M Bonnechose, p. 92. 2 Ibid, p. 49. See also p 57

3 All this is admitted by M Bonnechose, p. 89 seqq. For the excitement in the council, which he certainly greatly exaggerates, we have little more evidence than his bare word.

4 As, for instance, Paletz.

all of whom were men of integrity and above suspicion. After this formidable array of evidence, the Cardinal of Florence, Gabarella, might well address Huss as follows:

"Master John Huss, you must know that it is written, that what is in the mouth of two or three witnesses must be considered a veritable testimony. Now here are *twenty* persons worthy of confidence, who declare that you have preached this doctrine which is imputed to you. The greater number of them adduce, in support of their assertions, unanswerable proofs: — is it possible that you defend yourself against them all?" [1]

4th. It was in vain that John Huss appealed to his God and to his conscience against all this testimony. Such an appeal would have been received against *such* evidence in no court of justice. It was a question of *fact*, and not of mere conscience; and the cardinal could well answer: "we cannot decide after your conscience, but on clear and well established evidence." [2] Besides, his chief accusers, Paletz and Causis, also appealed to their God and their conscience, in proof of their sincerity, and of the truth of their charges:

"Paletz then rose up and cried out: 'I call God to witness, in presence of the emperor and the sacred council, that I have said nothing here through hatred to John Huss, nor through any malevolent feeling, and that I have not set myself up as the adversary of so many errors, but through zeal for the Catholic church.' Michael Causis repeated the same oath." [3]

In view of all these unquestionable facts, it must be admitted that John Huss had a fair trial, and that, if he was convicted, it was solely by the force of evidence. He had appeared voluntarily before the council; he was a priest of the Catholic Church, and, therefore, was fairly amenable to her authority; he maintained that he was still a true Catholic, and that he had said no word, written no sentence, done no deed, against the Catholic faith; he challenged an investigation, and declared that he was willing to abide its result; it was a question of *fact* to be decided by evidence; evidence, strong and overwhelming, was produced; he answered it by an appeal to his conscience; the appeal was not legitimate and could not be admitted, he was convicted of erroneous doctrines under all these circumstances: — and where is the man, we would ask, not wholly blinded by prejudice, who will still say that he was not lawfully convicted, or that he had not a fair trial?

V. But we must pass on to the next inquiry: — did the council of Constance treat John Huss with wanton cruelty?

We answer, without hesitation, in the negative; and we think we can sustain our answer by facts, much stronger than the mere declamation of those who, for the last four centuries, have been in the habit of constantly reiterating this charge. Nor will it require much time or space to establish our proposition.

As we have already sufficiently proved, neither the Church, nor especi

1 See M. Bonnechose, p. 91 2 Ib. p. 91. 3 P. 96.

ally the council of Constance, made the law by which heretics were liable to be punished with death. It had been enacted two centuries before by the German emperors; and they alone,—and not the council of Constance, —were fairly responsible for it and for its results. It was the emperor Sigismund and the elector Palatine, and not the fathers of the council of Constance, who passed sentence of death on Huss.[1] It was the magistrates of Constance, acting under the direction of the two high functionaries just named, who presided at his execution. After having convicted him of heresy, and excommunicated and degraded him from his priestly office, the council *expressly* declared that it had no power to proceed any farther against him.[2] According to a fixed and standing law of the Catholic Church,—a law embodied as an adage[3] in the canon law itself, and strict and universal in its application,—the council could proceed no farther.

Before the council pronounced judgment on the doctrines of Huss, the emperor Sigismund had already declared to him, in presence of the assembled fathers, that, by a standing law of the empire, heresy was punishable with death; and he had added, that unless Huss would retract his errors, he would, with his own hands, be ready to light up the fire which would consume him.[4] Huss himself, as we have seen, was well aware of this law; he openly admitted its justice before the council itself; and in the placards he had put up in Prague and on his journey to Constance, he had declared his readiness to submit to its hard penalty, in case he should be convicted of heresy.[5]

Had the council thirsted for the blood of Huss, would it not have been eager to exact the punishment ordained by the imperial laws? Would it not have loudly clamored for his execution? The acts of the council, however, state nothing of the kind; but they do state, and M. Bonnechose himself admits the fact, that the fathers did every thing in their power to rescue Huss from death, by laboring to persuade him to make at least a modified retraction of his errors. No effort was spared to bring about this result; the only means, then known to the laws, by which he could be saved. Formulary after formulary of retraction was submitted to him; embassy after embassy was sent: cardinals, bishops, his own chief accuser Paletz, the emperor himself, with tears in their eyes, urged and entreated Huss to retract. But arguments, entreaties, tears, were all lost on the obstinate and immovable Bohemian. Huss was inflexible. He could have escaped death; but he rushed into its jaws.[6]

Nor let us be told that Huss could not retract, without sacrificing his conscience. He may have been conscientious: but, from what we have

1 Fiddes and Dr. Brown Willis, English Protestants, both candidly admit that if there was any blame in the matter, it attached, in all fairness, to the emperor alone. See Life of Card'l. Wolsey, p 137. L'Enfant also admits it, though a Calvinist, Hist. Conc. Const. L. iii, § 48.

2 See Acts of the Council, Sess. xv.

3 *Ecclesia abhorret a sanguine.* No clergyman was allowed to shed blood, even as a surgeon, much less to pronounce directly or indirectly, sentence of death on any one.

4 L'Enfant, *loco citato*, § 8.

5 In addition to the authorities already quoted, (*supra*) see L'Enfant Liv. 1, § 21, and L. iii, § 7.

6 See, for proof of all this, Bonnechose, pp. 95, 97, 98, 99.

seen of his character, there seems to have been more of false pride and of sheer obstinacy, than of conscience in his whole conduct. He had already, in open council, disavowed nearly all the errors imputed to him; he had condemned the most obnoxious principles of Wickliffe; he had sought to prove himself a thorough and obedient Catholic. He had declared, over and over again, that he had never taught the doctrines ascribed to him, as he said, by his enemies, through sheer malice and calumny; and yet he would not retract them! And he based his refusal on the ground, that if he did retract them, his opponents would say that he had taught them! The emperor Sigismund answered this quibble, as follows:

"What can you fear in abjuring all these articles? For my part, I have no hesitation in disavowing all kinds of errors; but does it follow that I have entertained them?"[1]

The emperor himself, after all other means had failed, sent a commission of four bishops, with some of the principal friends of Huss, to persuade him to submit. Huss wished to argue with them; not to acquiesce quietly in the decision of the council. "Do you, then," said one of the bishops, "believe yourself wiser than the whole council?"[2] Huss evaded this searching question by an appeal to the Scriptures and to his conscience, and by a professed willingness to be taught "in the divine word by the least person in the council!"[3] Here, then, was the real issue: — private judgment against Church authority. This was the true secret of his obstinacy. And this overweening pride and obstinate self-will were greatly encouraged by John de Chlum and his other partisans at Constance.[4]

Had the principles of Huss been merely speculative and harmless; had they not struck at the very foundations of all social order; had they not already produced their legitimate effects of seditions and bloodshed in Bohemia; we think that, notwithstanding his obstinacy, he might yet have been spared. At least, in that supposition, we would feel much more strongly inclined to sympathize with him. But with all these unquestionable facts in view, we cannot, at least, coincide with those who would fain exalt him to the rank of a saint and a martyr.

VI. But the most weighty charge against the council of Constance remains yet to be examined: — did the council act perfidiously towards John Huss?

That the council decoyed John Huss to Constance under the faith and protection of a safe conduct; that it then decreed his death in spite of that plighted faith; and that, to sustain this perfidious course, it openly sanctioned the principle that "no faith is to be kept with heretics;" these are charges so often made by prejudiced and ignorant writers, and so often and so triumphantly refuted from the history and acts of the council itself.

1 See M. Bonnechose, p. 95. 2 Ibid, p. 99. 3 Ibid.

4 Much has been said and written about the imprisonment of Huss, and the cruelties inflicted on him in prison. But was he not permitted to correspond with his friends, and even to write whole treatises in prison? And did not he himself thank his keepers for their humanity and good treatment? (See Bonnechose, p. 104)

that we are much pleased to find so prejudiced a writer as M. Bonnechose abandon them altogether.[1] This is some evidence that truth and good sense are beginning at length to resume their sway in the world.

This implied admission will release us from the necessity of going into lengthy details on this branch of the subject. But as our author intimates in more places than one, that the emperor Sigismund violated the safe conduct which he had given to John Huss; as he garbles the safe conduct itself, and as he omits many important facts and misstates others, we may be pardoned for furnishing a brief exposition of the whole case.

First, then, it is altogether certain that the council of Constance never gave a safe conduct to John Huss at all, and, therefore, that it could not, by possibility, have violated any faith plighted to him. This fact no one will or can deny.

2. It gave, indeed, a safe conduct to Jerome of Prague; but that instrument merely guaranteed to him protection in coming to Constance, and in defending his doctrine while there; but it expressly stipulated, that this protection was not meant to prevent his conviction, if guilty, or to frustrate the due course of law.[2] Besides, M. Bonnechose admits, that this safe conduct did not reach Jerome before his arrest by the civil officers in the Black Forest, while he was flying from Constance; and that, by a necessary inference, he could not properly claim the privileges which it granted.[3] Thus it is apparent, that there could have been no breach of faith on the part of the council, in regard either to Huss or to Jerome.

3. The safe conduct granted to John Huss by the emperor Sigismund was evidently a mere traveling passport, intended to protect him from indignity, detention, and outrage, on his journey from Bohemia to Constance, but not, by any means, to protect him from the consequences growing out of the due course of law. Huss never solicited nor even expected any such exemption, and the emperor could never have meant to grant anything of the kind. With an imperial document guaranteeing so wide a protection as this, what was the use of Huss' journey to Constance? What was the meaning of his boast, made at Prague and on the journey, that he went to Constance of his own accord, to defend himself against the charge of heresy, or to abide its penalty? There would have been no object whatever in his visit, and the whole affair would have been a solemn mockery and a ridiculous farce. Does a passport given now-a-days secure the bearer from legal prosecution and conviction? Or was a passport ever known, in the whole history of the world, to grant this species of exemption? If not, then why extort this absurd meaning from that granted by Sigismund to John Huss?

The clause — "to return," &c., was evidently a mere form usual in similar instruments, and the whole document, with all its details and legal

1 At least if M. Bonnechose says expressly any thing of the kind, it has entirely escaped our notice The only hint on the subject we have observed is found on p. 61, and that is not entirely clear or explicit.

2 M. Bonnechose admits this, though he ascribes unworthy motives to the council. The modifying clause was *salva justitia*, p. 73. 3 Ibid.

forms, marks it as a mere passport. Huss had many violent enemies in Germany, which he was compelled to traverse on his way to Constance. The German students, whom he had caused to be expelled from Prague, bore him a mortal grudge; and it was to secure his person from these enemies, and to facilitate his journey, that the safe conduct was given.[1] It could have had no other object.

4. The emperor himself gave precisely this explanation of the meaning attached by him to the safe conduct, in a public address delivered before the council of Constance, in the presence of Huss and his friends, and his explanation was acquiesced in by them; at least they said naught against it at the time.[2]

5. But whatever protection was intended to be granted by the imperial safe conduct, Huss forfeited all claims to it, by officiating openly at Constance, though under papal excommunication,[3] and especially by his attempted flight from the city. Of this last fact, though it was the immediate cause of the imprisonment of Huss,[4] M. Bonnechose says not a word! Yet it is attested by Ulrich Reichental, a citizen of Constance, and an eye-witness![5] Why omit so important a fact?[6]

Thus, then, it is manifest, from the clearest and most incontestable evidence, that neither the council of Constance nor the emperor Sigismund acted with bad faith towards either John Huss or Jerome of Prague. All these facts must be blotted from the pages of history, before any such conclusion can be reached.

Much is said about the patience and heroism with which Huss and Jerome met death. But even were we to admit all that their partisans have written on the subject, it would not prove them to have been either saints or martyrs. Sincere enthusiasts they might have been, martyrs they certainly were not. The ancient martyrs were patient, humble, *obedient to the Church*, and they died to seal with their blood the religion of Jesus Christ. Huss and Jerome died, as the founders and partisans of a truculent sect, the doctrines of which were subversive of all social order,

1 See the safe conduct as given entire from the original documents, by Natalis Alexander—Historia Ecclesiastica, vol. ix, p. 407, edit. Venet. 1778, in 10 vols. folio. The mere reading of the document proves it to have been nothing more nor less than a simple passport.

2 M. Bonnechose admits this, and gives the emperor's address, pp. 92, 93.

3 See the acts of the council, sess. 10.

4 The letters of Huss to his friends, and M. Bonnechose's own admission, establish the fact that, for more than twenty-six days, Huss was entirely free and unrestrained at Constance (Ib. p. 56.)

5 In his history of the council, written in German, and quoted by Cochlœus — Histor. Hussitarum, lib. ii, pp. 73, 74, Reichental gives all the details of the attempted flight of Huss, and of his arrest by Latzembock, a Bohemian nobleman to whose charge he had been entrusted by the emperor.

6 In the text, M. Bonnechose says not a syllable about this attempted flight of Huss. But in note II, at the end of the volume (p. 189), he admits that not only Reichental but another eye-witness, Gebhard Ducher, certifies the fact. Nay, more, he furnishes a lengthy extract from the sixth book of L'Enfant's (Calvinist) history of the council of Constance, in which this unexceptionable historian relates the whole occurrence in full. He also admits that Naucler and the Abbe Trithemius, who wrote about a century after the council, relate the fact as certain; and that John Cochlœus, Maimbourg, Varillas, and "*all* the modern authors" mention it. Yet he will not admit its authenticity, because, forsooth, certain other authors, favorites of his, did not think proper to relate it, and because no mention of it is made in the acts of the council! This preferring of negative to positive evidence would, if carried out, sap the foundations of all history.

and the acts of which filled all Bohemia with sedition, riots, sacrilege, and bloodshed; as we shall soon see more in detail.

The decree of the council, sanctioned in the nineteenth session, merely explained the safe conduct given to John Huss by the emperor in the very sense in which Sigismund had already explained it, viz: that it was not intended to prevent the legal examination and conviction of Huss by the council, but merely to insure him protection against illegal violence and outrage on his journey. To put any other construction upon it is to offer violence to the plainest language. It merely asserts, what every one admits, that a traveling passport is not intended to stop the ordinary course of law, nor to protect the guilty; and that he who has granted it is not responsible for the action of the law against the individual in whose favor it was given. The decree was probably made to quiet the clamors of some Bohemian partisans of Huss, after his arrest and imprisonment by order of the emperor.[1]

So far, in fact, was the council from approving the abominable maxim,—"Faith is not to be kept with heretics,"—or of sanctioning perjury in any form or shape, that, among the questions which it drew up after the election of Martin V., to be put to those suspected of heresy, there was one in which the suspected person was to be asked whether he believed that, under any circumstances, or for any reason whatever, it was allowable for him to falsify the truth, or to perjure himself. The motive for adopting this form of interrogation, was the charge often made against the Hussites, that they would not scruple to commit perjury, in order to conceal or defend their doctrines. If this charge was true,—and there is strong evidence to sustain it,—it appears that, as has often happened both before and since, the Catholic church was *accused* of the very maxims and crimes of which her adversaries were *guilty!*

We will conclude this paper by furnishing a very rapid sketch of what took place in Bohemia, after the death of John Huss and Jerome of Prague. The terrible events which ensued there, and filled all Bohemia with confusion, sacrilege, and bloodshed, for nearly half a century, present the best possible commentary on the life and doctrines of Huss. They were but the bitter fruits of that tree of disobedience, which *he* had planted in once peaceful and happy Bohemia! "By their fruits ye shall know them," said our blessed Lord; and we are going to apply this divine rule.

The mantle of Huss fell on the shoulders of Ziska, his friend, his disciple, his avenger, near whose tomb was engraved this inscription: "O

1 The decree is as follows in the original:—"Præsens Sancta Synodus ex quovis salvo conductu per imperatorem, reges et alios sœculi principes, hæreticis vel de haeresi diffamatis, putantes eosdem sic a suis erroribus revocare, quocumque vinculo se adstrinxerint, concesso. nullum fidei Catholicæ vel jurisdictioni ecclesiasticæ præjudicum generari vel impedimentum praestari posse seu debere declarat, quominus dicto salvo conductu non obstante, liceat judici competenti et ecclesiastico de hujusmodi personarum erroribus inquirere, et alias contra eos debite procedere. eosdemquo punire in quantum justitia suadebit, si suos errores revocare pertinaciter recusaverint, etamsi de salvo conductu confisi ad locum venerint judicii. alias non venturi; nec sic promittentem, cum fecerit quod in ipso est, ex hoc in aliquo remansisse obligatum." Sessio xix. Labbei Concilia, vol. xii col. 169

Huss! here reposes John Ziska, thy avenger, and the emperor himself has quailed before him!"[1] Perhaps of all the dark deeds recorded in the annals of mankind, those done in Bohemia, at this period, were the darkest; and of all the dark names which are found on the pages of history, that of Ziska is the darkest!

During his lifetime, and for half a century after his death, his very name made all Europe shudder with horror. Whithersoever he bent his course, he rioted amidst carnage and ruins. He combined the cruelty of Attila with the fanaticism of Cromwell; and his fanatical followers had the fierce ruthlessness of the Huns, blended with, but not softened by, the stern religious enthusiasm of the Roundheads. During the few years that this truculent monster headed the armies of the Hussites,— from the death of Huss in 1415 to his own death on the 11th of October, 1424,— Bohemia was changed from a blooming garden into a frightful and frowning wilderness. Let us hear even our very partial historian, M. Bonnechose, on this subject:—

"Bohemia, from one extremity to the other, soon became one vast field of carnage; everywhere conflagrations displayed to view dreadful massacres; woe to the towns, castles, and, above all, the monasteries that closed their gates,— all passed by the edge of the sword. The sight of a monk or a priest filled Ziska with a gloomy rage. . . . . He smote, burned, and exterminated, coldly glutting his vengeance in the shock of combatants, the gleam of flames, the shrieks of victims, 'punishing,' as Balbinus expresses it, 'one sacrilege by a thousand!' Bohemia, Germany, and Europe, were soon filled with the name of this terrible man. Wenceslaus awoke from his shameful slumber at the noise of his falling palaces, of his churches in ashes, of his senate massacred; he started up in a frightful fit of passion, which was injurious to himself alone, for his fury suffocated him."[2]

The followers of "this terrible man" were called Taborites; "their enemies were the Philistines, the Moabites, the Ammonites: Sigismund was the red horse of the Apocalypse: Bohemia was the land of promise. The mountains adjoining Prague received the biblical name of Horeb: their fierce inhabitants descended from them at the call of Ziska, and hurried to his standard,"[3] and their leader called himself "Ziska of the cup."

Already blind of one eye, he was deprived of the other by the wound of an arrow at the siege of Raby:

"But in becoming blind, he became still more terrible,— his wound was a fresh stimulus to his rage as to his genius, and revealed in him faculties really almost incredible. His memory of localities was prodigious: it was quite sufficient for him to have once passed through a country, to remain forever perfect master of all its slightest incidents. Bohemia, with her waters, woods, valleys, and plains, was now as present to his thoughts as the reality had ever been to his sight. A spirit of fire in a body of iron, his activity knew no fatigue, and became exasperated at rest. 'All seasons and weather are alike to this blind man,' his soldiers

1 Bonnechose, p. 165. 2 Ib. p. 158. 3 Ib. p. 160.

used to mutter; 'he goes by night as by day.' Wherever there was a monastery to burn, or a town to take, or an army to combat, he hurried to the spot, and was soon accomplishing the deed of blood, with a superhuman force, as if urged to the work by an exterminating God."[1]

Such was Ziska "of the cup," the successor of John Huss, and the very impersonation of Hussism. He never knew defeat; he conquered in eleven pitched battles. He often raged against his own followers, with as much cruelty as against his enemies. He bequeathed his fiendish spirit to the two Procopiuses, who succeeded him as leaders of the Hussites; and to animate their courage, and to keep up the fierce and sanguinary spirit of his followers, he bequeathed to them a martial instrument of music, such as never was heard of either before or since!

"He expired (of the plague) on October 11, 1424, ordering his soldiers *to abandon his body to birds of prey, and to have his skin made into a drum, the mere noise of which would cast terror into his enemies.*"[2]

Such, then, were the fruits of the doctrines and of the obstinacy of John Huss! For it was certainly more owing to the truculent character and tendency of those doctrines, than to any mere revenge for his death, that Bohemia was filled with all those atrocities. Such was the dark and bloody monument which Bohemia erected to his memory! So much mischief can one bad man do in the world!

1 Bonnechose, p. 161. 2 Ib. p. 164.

XI. THE SPANISH INQUISITION.—PRESCOTT'S VIEW.*

Interest of Spanish history—Evils arising from the French revolution—Can Spain become Protestant?—Prescott's Ferdinand and Isabella—His character as an historian—His prejudices—His authorities on the Spanish Inquisition—Who was Limborch?—His reliability—Character of Llorente—Writers on the other side—Prescott's view—His statements examined—Three propositions established—Was the Spanish Inquisition a religious or a political institution?—Its origin traced—A parallel case—Remarkable testimony of Ranke—The alleged cruelties of the inquisition—Are they exaggerated?—Authority of Voltaire—Of Bourgoing—And of Limborch—The civil and ecclesiastical courts—"Justice and Mercy"—Mode of procedure—Motive for secresy—Torture—Jurisprudence of the time—In what court was the final decision given?—Count Polnitz—English and Genevan Inquisition—Was counsel allowed the accused?—Is the Catholic Church responsible for the Spanish Inquisition?—Agency of the Roman Pontiffs—Their efforts to restrain cruelty—The Portuguese Inquisition.

The history of few countries is invested with greater interest than that of Spain. Her annals are varied in incident, rich in moral, and full of instruction for the philosopher and Christian. No country of Europe has preserved the spirit of mediæval chivalry so pure, or for so long a time. This spirit is impressed on all her institutions, and is yet visible in the high character and lofty bearing of her people. The type of her national character is still, to a great extent, that of the ancient knights of St. Iago, of Calatrava, and of Alcantara; the only difference is, that it has been softened down to suit the more pacific tendencies of the present age. Her whole history is replete with strange vicissitudes and startling occurrences.

No country, perhaps, has exercised a more powerful influence on civilization in Europe, or done more to extend its boundaries into regions remote and before unknown. But for the liberal enterprise and enlightened policy of her sovereigns, the ardor of Columbus might have cooled, and America remained undiscovered for centuries. With the names of Alfonso the Wise, of Sancho the Great, and of Ferdinand and Isabella, among her princes and legislators; with those of Don Rodrigo Diaz del Bivar, the renowned *Campion* or Cid, and of Gonsalvo de Cordova, the "great captain," among her generals; and with those of Calderon, Lope de Vega, Cervantes, Herrera, and Garcilaso de la Vega among her literati, not to mention many others, she has little to fear from comparison with any other nation. The calendar is crowded with the names of her saints; St. Dominic, St. Vincent Ferrer, St. Teresa, St. Peter of Alcantara, St. Ignatius, St. Francis Xavier, and hosts of others are her patrons in heaven.

The interest in Spanish history and institutions is greatly increased by the present critical condition of that country. The storm which lately swept over Spain, threatened to destroy almost every monument of her former greatness, and to carry away every vestige of the middle ages. It was an evil day for Spain when, half a century ago, her soil became the

*History of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, the Catholic. By William H. Prescott. 3 vols. 8 vo. pp. 411, 509, and 496. Boston. Fifth edition 1839.

theatre of a sanguinary struggle between the hosts of France and England All her present evils date back to that ill-fated period. The Peninsular war sowed upon her soil the seeds of French infidelity and of English Protestantism, and these seeds are now producing their bitter fruits. And it is remarkable that the startling proceedings which took place in Spain about ten years ago were accordingly distinguished by the fierce fanaticism of the French revolution, tempered with the cold, calculating policy of the reformation in England under Henry VIII. We trace the policy of England in the invasion of Church property, and in the destruction of the monasteries ; and that of France in the massacre of the monks at Barcelona and elsewhere.

Whatever may be the final results of the fierce revolutionary struggle through which the peninsula has lately passed, one thing at least appears to be certain. The climate of Spain is too *warm* for Protestantism; on *her* soil the Protestant sects would be exotics which could have but a sickly growth at best, and which would soon wither and die. The only climate at all congenial with Protestantism is the cold, calculating north ; it is too dreary, too devoid of feeling and soul, to suit the ardent temperament of the south. The Spaniards are too thoroughly Catholic, ever to be tainted, at least to any great extent, by the errors of the last three centuries. The appeal of the late sovereign Pontiff in behalf of suffering Spain, met with such a response, in the bosoms of millions all over the world, as bespoke Catholic unity, and told of the depths of that sympathy, which flows from Catholic charity. Only the Catholic Church can present the spectacle of the whole world thus forgetting every sectional and political difference, and, at the voice of one old man, kneeling before one common altar, and in divine unison of faith and feeling, praying for one common object. That prayer was heard, and Spain has been preserved to the Church !

Mr. Prescott has selected for the subject of his work the most interesting and brilliant period of Spanish history. The age of Ferdinand and Isabella is to Spain, what that of Louis XIV. was subsequently to France ; and what, immediately after, the pontificate of Leo X. was to Italy and to the world. It was the era in which she laid broad and deep the foundations of that solid glory, which made her for more than two centuries the first country in Europe. It was the age which witnessed the glories of Ponce De Leon, and of Gonsalvo de Cordova, in the field; of Cardinals Mendoza and Ximenes, in the cabinet ; and of Christopher Columbus on the broader field of the world, discovering a new continent. Mr. Prescott could scarcely have chosen a loftier theme. And he has brought to the execution of his task a great amount of learning, as well as much industry and care in the arrangement of his copious materials. His work manifests a degree of research into Spanish history highly creditable to the author ; the more so, as in its preparation he had to encounter for a time the formidable obstacle of almost total blindness.[1] Such works may be often met with in Italy or Germany, and occasionally in France or England, but they

1 See his Preface.

are extremely rare in our light and frivolous age, and yet more so in our republic, where the *utilitarian* system of estimating every thing in dollars and cents, has perhaps taken deeper root than any where else in the world. The United States may well be proud of two such historians as Prescott and Bancroft.

It is not our purpose to furnish a lengthy review of Mr. Prescott's history. It is before the American community and may speak for itself. In our opinion the style is more natural, and better adapted to historical narrative than the more florid manner of Bancroft, who seems to have caught no little of the transcendental and *Bulwerian* infection of the age. What is, however, most pleasing in the history of Ferdinand and Isabella, is the array of learned references, by which each statement is sustained. Not only is every original document and work cited, but the very edition and page are carefully marked, so as to facilitate, in a high degree, the researches of the scholar who might feel disposed to verify the quotations. The statements of the author may be relied on, wherever he confines himself to facts, unless when he views them through the improper medium of undue prejudice, or is misled, as to the facts themselves, by prejudiced authority. Then he either greatly miscolors, or wholly perverts the facts. We will endeavor to show that he has committed both these faults in the seventh Chapter of his first volume, pp. 230–269, where he gives a detailed history of the "Modern Inquisition" in Spain; and our remarks on his history will be confined to this Chapter.

That he was greatly under the influence of anticatholic prejudice, we infer from the whole tenor of the Chapter, which is in fact as virulent a libel upon Catholicity as we have ever chanced to read. To prove that the establishment of the Spanish Inquisition were in accordance with the principles of the Catholic Church, he repeats[1] the stale calumny that a Catholic principle is embodied in the odious proposition, "the end justifies the means." He turns out of his way to attack the Catholic doctrine of confession, which he designates[2] an "artful institution" of the priests, to gain influence with the people; and to show how Isabella's repugnance to the establishment of the Inquisition was overcome, he relates a very simple, if not absurd anecdote of what passed between her and her confessor, Talavera.[3] In opposition to all history, he still asserts that St. Dominic was the founder of the ancient Inquisition, or at least maintains that if he was not, in point of fact, he *ought* to have been.[4] He tells, in a satirical tone, of the divine eloquence and wonderful miracles by which St. Vincent Ferrer, in the fourteenth century, converted to Christianity thirty-five thousand Spanish Jews.[5] The sufferings of this unfortunate people enlist his deepest sympathy; the Moors of Grenada have also his warmest feelings; these two people seem to have exhausted his stock of

1 Vol. i. p. 245. 2 Ibid. p. 246. 3 Ibid.

4 This is the purport of his reasoning (p. 232, note). See La Cordaire's late work "Apology for the order of St. Dominic," in which this charge is ably refuted by undeniable evidence.

5 Vol. i, p. 240.

humanity, and he has no sympathy to throw away upon the Catholic Christians of Spain! Nor is he alone in this respect. It is the fault of most Protestant historians. Their sympathies run strongly in favor of Jew, Turk, or dissenter of every shade of opinion, while for the Catholic they reserve the vials of their wrath! Is it, that there is a kindred spirit among errorists of every hue, a certain relationship which makes them have a tender feeling for one another? It would seem so. The chief severity of this remark consists in its truth; and we have only to open Protestant historians *passim*, to become persuaded of it. Mr. Prescott furnishes abundant evidence of this spirit throughout his work.

It was scarcely to be expected that, reared as he evidently has been in all the prejudices of Protestantism, Mr. Prescott should have become wholly divested of the early impressions of the nursery, so as to approach the subject of the horrible Spanish Inquisition, with a calm mind and a steady nerve. It was difficult to dispel the bloody phantoms of slaughtered victims, which had haunted his early days, and to get rid of the opinions in regard to that tribunal which had been fastened on his mind by the teachings of the press and of the pulpit. But at least, as a faithful historian, he should have exhibited its redeeming as well as its odious features; and to have qualified himself for this task, he should have read both sides, and not have suffered himself to be misled by violently prejudiced writers. That many of those whom he has followed are of this character, we will endeavor to show; and then we will glance rapidly at the principal works written in defense of the Inquisition, which Mr. Prescott seems either not to have seen at all, or not to have read.

The historians of the Spanish Inquisition most in favor with Protestants, are Limborch and Llorente. Mr. Prescott cites them both, and bases most of his statements upon the authority of the latter, who is so great a favorite with him as to merit a special biographical notice at the close of his chapter on the Inquisition. To ascertain how far they are to be relied on, as historians of the Inquisition, we must see who they were, under what circumstances they wrote their respective histories, and what motives prompted them to the task.

Philip Limborch was a native of Holland, and he belonged to the sect of the Remonstrants or mitigated Calvinists. He was a disciple of the famous scholar, Vossius, who with Grotius had suffered so much from the intolerant synod of Dort, which in 1619 had consummated the division of the Dutch Calvinists. He attained to considerable eminence in his sect, in which he became a minister, and subsequently a professor of theology at Amsterdam. He was not, however, very rigid in adhering even to the slight standard of orthodoxy required by his own party; for he became a Unitarian, and was a great friend of the noted Unitarian, John Le Clerc, who lauds his writings to the skies. Had John Calvin been able to arise from his tomb, his recreant disciple might have stood a good chance to be bound to the stake with Servetus, whose tenets he advocated; and had the Gomarist, or rigid Calvinist party in Holland been

unchecked in enforcing the exclusive and persecuting canons of Dort, Limborch might have suffered martyrdom, or at least have been a confessor with Grotius and Vossius.[1] However, he escaped unscathed, but with a deep and abiding sense of the wrongs his party had endured from the Gomarists. He determined to shoot an arrow at them through the Spaniards, whose very name had been execrated in Holland, since the days of Philip II. of Spain, and of the duke of Alba. The memory of the fierce and bloody struggle with the Spaniards, in which so many harrowing scenes had occurred on both sides, was still fresh in the minds of the Dutch. To be sure they had, to say the least, been guilty of as much cruelty, as the duke of Alba and his soldiery; but this was forgotten, and the cruelty of the Spaniard was alone remembered, and that Inquisition which he had in vain endeavored to establish in the two countries was viewed with inconceivable horror. The very name caused a cold shudder to seize on every Hollander. Limborch shared deeply in these feelings, and he knew how extensive and how all absorbing they were among his countrymen. He knew that he could not better cater to their taste than by writing a detailed history of this odious tribunal: and he accordingly set about the work and published it in one volume folio, at Amsterdam, in 1692. His anticipations were realized; the work was received with acclamations. The minds of his countrymen were too much excited to enable them to perceive the glaring inaccuracies and gross misstatements of the book; and had he painted the horrors of the Inquisition with tenfold force, their deadly hatred of the tribunal would have caused them to devour the work without one misgiving!

Such was Limborch. He evidently wrote his history under such excitement as would naturally lead us to expect little of the impartiality of the historian, and much of the exaggeration of a man writing against a tribunal odious in a religious and political point of view, and pandering also to a taste greatly vitiated and highly excited. Accordingly we find in his work few of the intrinsic qualities of a veridical history. He professes to derive his statements from the works of the Inquisitors themselves; yet Fra Paolo, the Italian historian of the council of Trent, whose hypocrisy made him conceal the mind and heart of a Protestant under the cowl of a Catholic friar, and Dellon, the famous Protestant author of the too famous "Relation of the Inquisition at Goa," are among his favorite authors for reference! And when he does cite the works of the inquisitors themselves, such as Eymeriek, Pegna, &c., he garbles the extracts, quoting only what suits his purpose, very often extracting only the concluding sentence from a lengthy passage, and thereby often making the inquisitors say just the contrary of what they had intended. This wretched cutting up of quotations is unpardonable in a work so extensive; it would have been bad enough in a duodecimo, but in a folio volume it is utterly inexcusable, and is a strong evidence of bad faith in the writer.

1 See Brandt's History, copious extracts from which are cited in the Oral Discussion of Hughes and Breckenridge, on the second question.

No wonder that Voltaire and the infidels of France received the book with enthusiasm. It was just the kind of work they wanted. Its whole tendency was to throw odium on the Catholic priesthood, whom it represented as gloating over the blood of their victims. But we are a little surprised that the Abbê Marsollier, a cotemporary French Catholic priest, should have presented it, in an abridged form, to the French people in their own language, and that many very estimable French writers should have been misled by its statements. A morbid appetite seems to have seized upon the French people about that time. Writers, male and female, published works on Spain. Madame d'Aunoy wrote a book remarkable for its gross inaccuracy, in regard to the Spanish Inquisition, and for its caustic ridicule of everything Spanish. The Abbê De Vayrac, who had spent twenty years of his active life in Spain, answered these misrepresentations in his famous work "L'Etat present d'Espagne," published at Amsterdam, in 1719, 4 vols. 12mo. He proved that the statements of Limborch and Madame d'Aunoy, in regard to the Spanish Inquisition were greatly exaggerated, or positively false. No one was better calculated to write on Spanish affairs, than the Abbê; but so vitiated was the taste of his day, even in France, that the work caused a great outcry, and the author had to encounter a storm of opposition. In the preface to a second edition of his work, he ably defends himself from charges made against his statements under five different heads; with what effect on his cotemporaries, history does not tell. It is much to be regretted that this work of De Vayrac is not more generally known.

But the most popular history of the Spanish Inquisition among the enemies of this tribunal, is that by Don Juan Antonio Llorente, published at Paris, 1818, in four volumes, 8vo. A brief sketch of this remarkable man's life, will show us what motives prompted the publication of this work. He was born at Calahorra in Spain, A. D. 1756. He studied for the Church, took the degree of bachelor in theology, with considerable credit, and was ordained priest at an early age. A singular incident occurred at his ordination: after the consecration in which he had recited the sacred words of Christ, together with the ordaining bishop, he was seized with a sudden illness, which prevented his receiving the holy communion: some viewed the occurrence as ominous. His first work after ordination was a comedy "on matrimony,"[1] which, however, at the earnest solicitations of a friend, he consented to burn. When subsequently vicar general of the diocese of Calahorra, he composed another comedy, and had it acted on the stage, very little to the edification of the people and of the clergy of that city. So great was his passion for this kind of writing, that when afterwards wholly engaged in politics, he employed his leisure hours in translating into Spanish many of the unchaste poems of the lascivious Casti! His was a troubled and restless spirit. Not content with his retirement at Calahorra, he proceeded to Madrid, where he spent his time intriguing for place. He succeeded, and rose step by

1 El Matrimonio a desgusto.

step, until he became secretary of the Inquisition at Madrid, an office which he held from 1790 to 1792. Having been guilty of a grievous betrayal of the confidence reposed in him by the Inquisitor General, and of several other irregularities of conduct, he was ordered to leave Madrid, and to repair to his native place.

Here he was equally restless and intriguing. Detected by the Spanish government in a secret correspondence with the emissaries of the French republic in 1793, and suspected of other misdemeanors, he was arrested, and sent by the Inquisition, not into a dungeon, but merely into a retired convent of the Recollects at some distance from Calahorra, to compose in solitude his restless spirit and to do penance for his sins. Among his writings which were seized, several were found against the Spanish government, against the Holy See, and against the Inquisition. And yet, strange cruelty of the bloody Inquisition! upon his writing letters full of repentance and abject submission, he was released from his place of retreat, and again received into favor. He now made his appearance at court, and pushed his fortunes more rapidly than ever. By the aid of powerful friends, he was soon created canon of Toledo, and received the cross of the order of Charles III. At the court of Ferdinand VII., he was loaded with honors; and yet, on the first invasion of the French, he sought out Murat, their commander in chief, turned traitor to his country, and ranged himself on the side of her enemies! He repaired to Bayonne to pay his court to the new king, Joseph Buonaparte, took the oath of fidelity to him, and was appointed one of his secret counselors. He now gave himself up entirely to politics; abandoning every ecclesiastical function, some say, even doffing the ecclesiastical habit.

Charged by Joseph Buonaparte with a commission for the suppression of the convents in Spain, he discharged his office with *singular* zeal and efficiency. In 1809, he was ordered by Joseph to write a history of the Spanish Inquisition, and he was no doubt well paid for his labor. He knew well what kind of a work would suit the palate of his royal master, and what kind of a work he was *expected* to write. He set about his task with great ardor; but owing to the expulsion of the French from Spain, and to other causes, he was not able to complete it until nine years later. He fled to Paris with his royal patron, and after having taken temporary shelter in England, he returned to Paris, after the treaty of Vienna, in 1815.

Nothing shows more fully his restless ambition and his total want of principle, than the course which he now adopted. Finding that the sun of the Buonaparte family had set forever, he determined again to pay his court to that Ferdinand whom he had abandoned and betrayed! He employed his usual weapon of low adulation, wrote a genealogical table of the royal family, and addressed letters full of flattery to the king and to the chapter at Toledo. But all was unavailing: his letters remained unnoticed. Then it was that he gave way to all the bitterness of his spirit He wrote his portraits of the Popes, full of invective and misrepresentation. When accused of gallantry with a French countess, at the age

of sixty-six, his friends defended him on the ground that he had previously married her, though he was a priest who had vowed celibacy! He was finally banished from France, by the French government, for improper conduct,[1] and died shortly after at Madrid, February 25th, 1823, in the sixty-seventh year of his age. Had the Spanish government and the Inquisition been such as he had represented them, he would not perhaps have been permitted to re-enter Spain, and to terminate his life peacefully in his own country.

Such was Llorente, a traitor to his country, and probably to his religion; who tried to play off, in Spanish affairs, the same part that Talleyrand did in those of France, but failed for want of the genius of the latter. He was in Spain the counterpart of Fra Paolo in Italy, and of Courayer and Du Pin in France. Could we expect an impartial history of the Spanish Inquisition from such a man? He alters texts to suit his own purposes, and gives us only his own word for most of his statements. To show how little his assertions are to be relied on, in a pamphlet published at Paris in 1818, he boldly asserted that, between the years 1700 and 1808, the Spanish Inquisition had immolated at the stake no less than fifteen hundred and seventy-eight victims. This is not only a gross exaggeration, but a manifest misstatement.[2] Since the accession of the house of Bourbon to the Spanish throne in 1709, it would be difficult to prove that *one* victim was so immolated, or suffered capital punishment in any other way, through the agency of the Inquisition; and neither Llorente nor any other man has furnished proofs to the contrary. During this period, and for a long time previous, the chief inmates of the Inquisition were state prisoners guilty of high political misdemeanors, who had either accused themselves of imaginary crimes against religion, to avoid the greater rigors of the civil courts, or had been sent there by the Spanish government in order to prevent the *eclat* of a public trial. The terrible Inquisition thus became little more, under the Bourbon dynasty in Spain, than a department of the police.

Among the writers who have defended the Spanish Inquisition, besides the Abbe De Vayrac, mentioned above, Count De Maistre,[3] and La Cordaire,[4] are the most distinguished. The works of both these conspicuous men are already before the American public, and it is unnecessary to offer much comment on them. La Cordaire devotes two chapters of his work to the Inquisition, of which he treats only in its connection with his main subject — the defence of the order of St. Dominic. He adduces few facts or arguments, which had not been already ably handled by De

1 The writer of his life, prefixed to his "History of the Inquisition," ascribes his banishment from France to the persecution of the French clergy. Mr. Prescott hints at the same cause. But we think that the true cause is to be found in his own restless ambition, and the jealousy of the French government.

2 Mr. Prescott detects many gross historical inaccuracies in Llorente, unconnected with the Inquisition, in painting which, according to him, he was never at fault! See Prescott, vol. i, p. 250, *note*; vol. ii, p. 108, *note*.

3 In his "Letters on the Spanish Inquisition."

4 "Apology for the order of St. Dominic," 18mo, p. 143.

Maistre, whose work had been considered by many as the best which has ever appeared on the subject. Its chief fault is its brevity. We rise from its perusal with a desire to know more. Perhaps, too, the author has indulged rather too much in philosophic speculation, and has advanced some principles for the defence of the odious tribunal, which its enemies would scarcely admit. Had he been less apparently solicitous to defend everything connected with the Inquisition, and had he given up certain things, which are wholly indefensible, his work would have carried with it a greater appearance of candor and plausibility. Catholicity never can be injured by the truth. There is also a certain vagueness, and something that savors of inconsistency. Thus, for example, in his last letter, he says: "The tribunal of the Inquisition is purely royal," and yet a little farther on, he remarks, quoting from the report of the Cortes: "These tribunals (the Inquisition) are thus at once ecclesiastical and royal," &c. He meant to say, what the truth of history warrants, that of the two tribunals of the Inquisition the royal is predominant, and generally paramount in its authority; but it would have been better to have been more explicit. Notwithstanding these defects, the work of De Maistre is still excellent, and no one can peruse it without thinking better of the Inquisition.

The best compendious view of the subject which we have ever seen, is an essay by John Murary, inserted in a late work published by him in London.[1] But a full, fair, and extensive history of the Inquisition,— one that might, by its learning, serve as an antidote to those of Limborch and Llorente,— is still a *desideratum* in our Catholic literature. It requires the extensive learning and patient research of a Dr. Lingard, or a Dr. Wiseman, to dispel the clouds which have hung around the tribunal for centuries, and to present to the world, in the terse and condensed style of the one, or the copious and luminous details of the other, such a history as the importance of the subject demands.

Yet enough has been already published to enable us to detect many of the inaccuracies of Mr. Prescott, in his history of the "Modern Inquisition" in Spain. To attempt to review all of his statements in detail, would swell this essay to an unwarrantable length: we will confine ourselves to certain general erroneous views, which pervade the entire history, cover the whole ground of the controversy, and include the minor inaccuracies. We have already endeavored to trace the sources of these errors in the authors whom he has chiefly followed.

Mr. Prescott views the Inquisition as a religious, and not as a political institution;[2] ascribes its establishment, notwithstanding the repugnance of Isabella, to the importunities of the clergy,[3] and the fanaticism of the people, demanding the sacrifice of the Jews, through selfish motives and religious hatred of that race;[4] and he more than intimates that the tribunal, with all its laws and proceedings, was but a carrying out of the principles

1 A compendium of modern geography, 1 vol. 8vo, p. 398.

2 Vol. 1, p. 245, note. At least he asserts this in regard to the Inquisition established in Castile.

3 Vol. 1, pp. 249, 250, *et seq.* 4 Ib. pp. 243, 244, *et seq.*

of the Catholic Church.[1] He presents[2] a very dark picture of its forms of trial, of the presumptive proofs of Judaism, of the various forms of torture, and of the awful "*autos da fe*," giving only those details which were calculated to make the institution appear odious, and mixing up with his account of the original Inquisition, established by Ferdinand and Isabella, many forms and abuses, which, if they ever existed at all, certainly belong to a much later period. To make the Catholic church appear in a still more odious light in the whole matter,[3] he says, that the Roman Pontiff, Sixtus IV., was moved to the publication of his first bull regarding the Inquisition, in 1478, by "the sources of wealth and influence which this measure opened to the court of Rome."

To these charges most of the others may be reduced. These are the shades: we will endeavor to exhibit some of the lights of the picture. We will accordingly now proceed to establish, by summary proofs, the three following propositions, which, it will be seen, are diametrically opposed to the assertions of Mr. Prescott. *Audi alteram partem*,— hear the other side :—

I. The Spanish Inquisition was mainly a political institution, and the result of extraordinary political circumstances.

II. Its cruelties have been greatly exaggerated.

III. The Catholic Church is not responsible for the institution itself, much less for its abuses, real or alleged.

I. It requires but a slight acquaintance with Spanish history to be convinced of the fact, that the Inquisition in that country was an instrument of state policy, employed under circumstances of high political excitement. The causes which led to its establishment had been steadily operating for nearly eight hundred years. In 711, the Moors had invaded Spain, seized upon its finest provinces, driven the original inhabitants into the mountains of the Asturias, and fastened a galling foreign yoke upon the neck of a hitherto free people. But the Spaniards did not tamely submit to foreign oppression: with the stern, unyielding perseverance which belongs to their national character, they maintained the unequal contest with the enemy which had overpowered them and crushed their liberties. From the council held by the fugitive Spanish chiefs in the cave of Cavadonga, in 711, to the conquest of Grenada, in 1492, the great struggle for the mastery continued between the two races with but little intermission. Never was there a contest of so long a continuance, or which resulted in a political hatred so deep and abiding. It was a civil and a border war, between two races which could never amalgamate, because kept asunder by different religions, different temperaments, and different interests. The Spaniards were fighting for their liberties, for their firesides, and their altars: the Moors sought to annihilate the one, and to pollute and desecrate the other. All prisoners taken in war by the latter were sold into bondage

1 Ibid. vol. i, pp. 245, 246, 248, and *passim* throughout the chapter.
2 Ib. p. 255, *et seq.*
3 Ib. p. 248

in Morocco, and religious orders were established by the Christians for the redemption of these forlorn captives. The war thus assumed a religious cast, and the military orders of St. Iago, of Calatrava, and of Alcantara, were established among the Spaniards to keep up the crusade against the enemies of their country and of their religion.

Can we wonder that, under all these circumstances, the Spaniards should have had a deadly political hatred of the Moors? Can we be surprised that, when this great struggle was approaching its crisis in the brilliant reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, and when, for the first time for seven hundred and eighty-one years, the Spanish nation had a fair opportunity to shake off the yoke, this political feeling should have increased to a fearful excitement? And that this excitement should have manifested itself in the establishment of a tribunal of great severity, to assist the government in ferreting out the Moors, and in expelling them from the country? We are rather surprised, that so much moderation was evinced under circumstances so exciting. After the conquest of Grenada, in 1492, the Moors were allowed the free exercise of their religion, and it was only after repeated rebellions, both in Grenada, and in different parts of the ancient Moorish kingdom of that name, that the Spanish government resorted to the extreme measure of leaving the Moors no alternative but to embrace Christianity or leave the country.[1] The bitter experience of nearly eight centuries had convinced the Spaniards that the name of a Moor was identified with that of a traitor and enemy of his country and of religion.

Intercepted letters in cipher proved that, after the conquest of Grenada, the Moors were concerting with their brethren in Africa measures for regaining their lost power in Spain. The Jews, who were very rich, who were scattered all over Spain, and were intermarried with the most opulent Spanish families,[2] were also deeply engaged in these plots.[3] They were, if possible, more odious in Spain than the Moors themselves. They were, likewise, accused of other crimes of dreadful atrocity: of kidnapping Christian children,[4] and of selling them into bondage into Africa, and even of feasting on the flesh of infant Christian babes, at the celebration of their passover![5] They had monopolized the trade of the country, and, by usury and extortion, had fattened on "the spoils of the Egyptians" (Christians), in Spain. As early as the year 1391, popular indignation against this unhappy people had burst forth into an insurrection, in which many of them were massacred. Other countries witnessed similar scenes about the same time.[6] The expulsion of the Jews from

1 Mr. Prescott admits this, but still labors to prove that the indiscreet zeal of Cardinal Ximenes led him to adopt such measures for proselytizing the Moors of Grenada, as infringed the treaty made with them, and stimulated them to rebellion. Yet the facts he alleges scarcely prove this. Prescott, vol. ii, ch. 6. 2 See report of Cortes.

3 Mr. Prescott says, vol. i, p. 136, that they were accused "perhaps with reason," with having facilitated the first Saracenic invasion.

4 Similar charges were made against the Moors after the conquest of Grenada. See an interesting paragraph in Prescott, vol. i, p. 253. 5 See Prescott, vol. ii, p. 136.

6 See Prescott, vol. ii, p. 152; note. Was Frederic the Great, of Prussia, actuated by religious bigotry, in expelling the Jews, in the last century?

Spain, was demanded by the popular voice ; but the government, content with some severe measures of precaution against them, resisted this appeal for nearly a hundred years, and it was only after the Jews were known to be leagued with the Moors for the subversion of Spanish liberty, and after they had been detected in writing a libel[1] on the Spanish government, that the edict for their banishment was published, and the tribunal of the Inquisition established to carry it into execution.

In order the better to understand this whole history, let us put a parallel case. Suppose the Indian tribes on our western frontier should invade one of our western states, should subdue the finest portion of it, and drive such of the original inhabitants, as had not fallen under the tomahawk and scalping knife, into remote and unproductive portions of the state. Suppose that they should establish a new government on the ruins of the old, and that a bloody border war should be carried on for centuries between them and the original inhabitants, and that these should at length succeed in regaining their lost territory. But to make the parallel complete, suppose that among the whites, a large and opulent party should be found leagued with the Indians, and employing every intrigue to maintain *their* usurpation, would any one be surprised if this party should become more odious than the Indians themselves ? And if popular indignation should be enkindled against them, even before the expulsion of the Indians, would it not be perfectly natural ? But if the Indians, after having been subdued, should be suffered to remain in the country with all their national usages untouched, and should be expelled, only after repeated attempts on their part, to regain their lost dominion ; would not this be viewed as an evidence of unwonted lenity ? And, if even after this continued treachery, they should be still suffered to remain in the country, provided they would conform to the religion and usages of the whites, would we not consider it a clemency, astonishing even in this age of boasted refinement ? For the whites expelled from their homes, substitute the Spaniards ; for the Indians, substitute the Moors, and for the treacherous party among the whites, the Jews ; and the case will apply to the condition of Spain, on the establishment of the Inquisition.

Leopold Rankê, an unexceptionable Protestant witness, gives the following opinion concerning Llorente and the Spanish Inquisition : —

" Llorente has given us a famous book on this subject, and if I may presume to say anything that contravenes the opinion of such a predecessor, let my excuse be that this well-informed author wrote in the interest of the *Afrancesados*,[2] of the Josephine administration. In that interest, he disputes the immunities of the Basque provinces, though these were hardly to be denied. In that interest too, he looks on the Inquisition as an usurpation of the spiritual over the secular authority. Nevertheless, if I am not altogether in error, it appears, even from his own facts, that the Inquisition was a royal court of judicature, only armed with ecclesiastical weapons.

1 Mr. Prescott mentions this fact, vol. i, p 249. But why hide away in a note a fact, which had so great an influence on the destiny of this miserable people ?

2 The Spanish party devoted to French interests.

"In the first place, the inquisitors were royal officers. The kings had the right of appointing and dismissing them; the kings had, among the various councils at their court, a council likewise of the Inquisition: the courts of the Inquisition were subject, like other magistracies, to royal visiters; the same men were often assessors therein, who sat in the supreme court of Castile. It was to no purpose Ximenes scrupled to admit into the council of the Inquisition a layman nominated by Ferdinand the Catholic. 'Do you not know,' said the king, 'that if this tribunal possesses jurisdiction, it is from the king it derives it?' * * *

"In the second place, all the profit of the confiscations by this court accrued to the king. These were carried out in a very unsparing manner. Claims were laid even to the presents which had been made by the condemned long before their trials, and to the portions they had bestowed on their daughters. Though the *fueros* (privileges) of Aragon forbade the king to confiscate the property of his convicted subjects, he deemed himself exalted above the law in matters pertaining to this court. It was calculated in the year 1522, that the property of those alone who had voluntarily pleaded guilty of heresy, had, even in the short period since the accession of Charles, brought him in upwards of a million of ducats. The proceeds of these confiscations formed a sort of regular income for the royal exchequer. It was even believed and asserted from the beginning, that the kings had been moved to establish and countenance this tribunal, more by their hankering after the wealth it confiscated, than by motives of piety.

"In the third place, it was the Inquisition, and the Inquisition alone, that completely shut out all extraneous interference with the state; the sovereign had now at his disposal a tribunal, from which no grandee, no archbishop, could withdraw himself. Foreigners were particularly struck with this fact. 'The Inquisition,' says Segni, 'was invented to rob the wealthy of their property, and the powerful of their consequence.' As Charles knew no other means of bringing certain punishment upon the bishops who had taken part in the insurrection of the *Communidades*,[1] he chose to have them judged by the Inquisition. Philip II., despairing of being able to punish Antonio Perez, called in the aid of the Inquisition. For open heresy was not the only question it had to try. Already Ferdinand had felt the advantages it afforded, and had enlarged the sphere of its activity. Under Philip it interfered in matters of trade and of the arts, of customs and marine. How much further could it go, when it pronounced it heresy to dispose of horses or munition to France?

"Accordingly, as this court derived its authority from the king, it directed it to the advantage of the royal power. It was a portion of those spolia of the ecclesiastical power, by which the government was made mighty; such as the administration of the grand masterships,[2] and the appointment of the bishops. It was in spirit, and tendency above all, a political institution. THE POPE HAD AN INTEREST IN THWARTING IT; AND HE DID SO, AND AS OFTEN AS HE COULD. But the king had an interest in constantly upholding it."[3]

This was a merely religious tribunal, forsooth! The whole texture of its constitution was as political as was its origin. The king named the

1 The Communes, who were struggling for their rights and liberties, (*fueros*) against the encroachments of royal prerogative. The bishops took the side of the people in the contest;—a fact as striking as it is honorable.

2 Of the military orders, which were very rich and influential.

3 "The Ottoman and Spanish Empires in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; by Leopold Ranke, etc." Philadelphia Lea and Blanchard; 1845, p. 78–9.

Inquisitor General, who, with the *approval of the king*, named the subordinate officers of the tribunal. The whole institution was under the control of the royal council, without the sanction of which it was powerless: while the king with his council could stay any prosecution, or crush any process at will. So manifest was it to the whole world, that this tribunal was a local political institution, growing out of circumstances peculiar to Spain, and designed only for the Jews and Moors, that when subsequently the Spanish government, under Philip II., sought to establish it in Milan, the people revolted, exclaiming "that it was tyranny to impose on a Christian city, a form of Inquisition designed for Moors and Jews."[1] And so intimately was it connected with Spanish politics, that the great Charles V., in a codicil to his will, recommended it specially to his son Philip II., as an institution "upon which the safety of Spain depended."[2] In 1812, the famous convention of the Spanish Cortes, assembled for drafting a new constitution, appointed a special committee to draw up a report on the Spanish Inquisition. The learned men who drew up this able document, were no doubt well acquainted with Spanish history and politics, and they are unexceptionable witnesses on another account,—they were violently opposed to the Inquisition. Yet they assert, that "it was an institution demanded and established by the monarchs of Spain in difficult and extraordinary circumstances."[3] And M. Guizot, a famous historian, and, though a Calvinist, the late prime minister of Catholic France, says: "that it was at first more political than religious, and destined to maintain order, rather than to defend the faith."[4]

II. Much more might be said on this branch of the subject, but we must hasten to the proofs of the second proposition, in which we will endeavor to show that Mr. Prescott has drawn too dark a picture of the Inquisition,—of its forms of procedure, and of its abuses and cruelties. Our limits will allow only a bare statement of the facts: our readers will readily make the comments. Far be it from us to defend many abuses of this tribunal, which, as we shall show, the Popes and the Church uniformly condemned. Under the circumstances of extraordinary excitement which gave rise to the Inquisition, it was natural to expect some unnecessary severity; and the authority of the famous Spanish historian Mariana, who details those acts of rigor, is thus easily explained. Again, when Philip II., about sixty years later, re-established the tribunal with renewed severity, we may look for many abuses. But these two periods of excitement were, thank heaven, of very short duration, and the severities then resorted to are not a fair criterion, whereby to judge of the general character of the Inquisition. At other times, many of its rigorous laws were often, like some of the grotesque forms of jurisprudence adopted by the Venitian republic, a mere dead letter, retained on the statute book, *in terrorem*.

1 Limborch, Book i, ch. 27. 2 Ibid, B. i, ch. 30.

3 They also declare that "no decree (of the Inquisition) could be published without the consent of the king." (Report Cortes in 1812).

4 "Elle fut d'abord plus politique que religieuse, et destinée a maintenir l'ordre plutot qu'a defendre la foi." Cours d'histoire moderne. Paris, vol. 5, Lect. 11.

That the abuses of the Inquisition have been greatly exaggerated, we prove by the express words of that arch-enemy of the tribunal, Voltaire,[1] whose testimony Mr. Prescott cites with so much complacency, to prove that the wicked measures of princes have generally originated in the evil counsels of their confessors.[2] We prove it by another unexceptionable witness, Mons. Bourgoing, sent by the French republic in 1789, as minister plenipotentiary to Spain. He was violently opposed to the Inquisition, and yet he says:[3] "I will acknowledge, in order to give homage to truth, that the Inquisition might be cited in our days, as a model of equity." This avowal, however unpalatable to himself, and to his employers, was wrung from him only by the stern evidence of truth. Our third witness is Philip Limborch, whose character we have given above. Out of a very long list of criminals condemned by the Spanish Inquisition, during a very long period, he admits that only fifteen men and four women were executed, and most of these for treason, witchcraft, sacrilege, or other crimes than heresy.[4] From this fact we draw two inferences: first, that the rigid laws of the Inquisition were very feebly executed; and secondly, that a very small proportion of the criminals were tried for heresy. The Roman Pontiff, Clement X., in a bull published in 1672, enumerates the offences for which persons might be proceeded against by the Inquisition, and it is remarkable, that out of thirteen different classes of crimes only one is heresy.[5] If our readers be inclined to smile at the prominent place assigned to witchcraft, sorcery, &c,, by the Pontiff, we ask them only to remember the history of the Salem witchcraft.

Of the two courts of the Inquisition, the civil and the ecclesiastical, the latter was in fact strictly a court of equity. The motto on its banner, "Mercy and Justice," was indicative of its character. "Mercy" was first offered to the culprit, and if he would not accept it, he was delivered over to the "Justice" of the civil court; but even then, with great reluctance, and always with a recommendation to "Mercy."[6] Before the accused was arrested at all by the Inquisition, it was necessary to have the sworn evidence of three different witnesses, each of whom was required to swear that he was actuated by no malice, and that he did not act in collusion with any other person.[7] And both the accusers, and the officers of the Inqui-

1 His words as given in the French "Dict. des Sciences," are remarkable. "Sans doute, qu'on a imputè a un tribunal si justement detestè, des exces d'horreurs qu'il n'a pas tonjours commis: mais c'est etre mal adroit, que de s'elever contre l'Inquisition par des faits douteux, et plus encore, de chercher dans le mensonge de quoi la rendre odieuse."—"Without doubt writers have imputed to a tribunal so justly detested horrible excesses which it has not always committed; but it is very injudicious to decry the Inquisition by doubtful facts; and still more so to seek to render it odious by falsehood." And yet this is precisely what all the enemies of the Inquisition have done, and none more so than Voltaire!

2 Vol. i, ch. 6. p. 246.

3 "Picture of Spain," reviewed by the French "Journal des Debats," of September 17, 1805. See La Cordaire's Apology, &c. p. 117.

4 See Fletcher's notes to De Maistre's first letter.

5 Bullarium Rom. T. vii, p. 185.

6 Some authors think, without any reason, that this was a mere form. Jurieu, the famous French Calvinist, in his "History of the Papacy," Tom. ii, ch. 6, admits the fact.

7 Simancas, Institutiones Catholicæ. Tit. xliv. p. 230, Edit, Romæ, 1575, 4to. This work had great

sition were subject to excommunication, if they were guided by malice, or any other unworthy motive[1]. It was only after the deposition of the third witness, that the accused was summoned, when if he disproved the charges, he was released. If he failed to do so, he was still released, if he declared his repentance. If, after being released, he was again arraigned in the same manner as at first, and was convicted a second time, he was again pardoned on repentance.[2] It was only on the third conviction, by three different sets of witnesses, each consisting of three, that he was finally delivered over to the civil court, to be judged for the offense.[3]

The chief motive for secrecy in the proceedings of the tribunal, was a wish that the civil court might gain no knowledge of the facts, until the ecclesiastical court had exhausted every expedient for reclaiming the delinquent. And so far was this secrecy carried, that there is no evidence to prove that, when the criminal was handed over to the secular court, the evidence elicited before the ecclesiastical tribunal was even so much as communicated, to his prejudice. A trial altogether new seems then to have commenced before the civil court, and it was only at this stage of the prosecution, that the cruel practice of torturing the accused was resorted to. Ecclesiastics were not concerned in the infliction of punishment: it was contrary to the spirit of their order, and to the express laws of the Inquisition itself.[4] So that Mr. Prescott's frightful picture of the clergy applying the torture to their victims is, at best, but a fancy sketch.[5]

The practice of torturing the accused, in certain cases, was then almost universal in the jurisprudence of all nations. It was a part of the civil law, was embodied in the Theodosian and Justinian codes, and had the sanction of Ulpian, and other distinguished expounders of these codes. It had been borrowed from the old Roman jurisprudence. The Church did much

authority among the early Inquisitors. The testimony of the several witnesses was carefully noted down, and diligently sifted, and if on being again called, as they often were in the progress of the examination, they did not confirm the previous statement in every particular, their testimony was set at naught. Nor was the previous record of their testimony again read to them, but they were left entirely to their memory. If, under this rigid scrutiny, they were detected in equivocation, self contradiction or perjury, they were liable to imprisonment, and to other severe penalties. See Simancas, p. 333.

1 Benedict X., in a special bull, renewed these censures, and reserved the absolution from them to the Holy See.

2 Even P. Limborch, cited by Fleury, admits that the criminal was twice pardoned, by the ecclesiastical court, on his repentance.

3 Some of the courts required only two, but the more general practice demanded three unexceptionable witnesses, for each conviction. True, witnesses of suspicious character were sometimes allowed to testify, but their testimony was received only for what it was worth;—"*qualem qualem probationem*," as Simancas says. It might afford conjectural evidence, and might aid in eliciting something more conclusive; but of itself, it never could cause the conviction of the accused. (Simancas, Tit. li, p. 419.) In fact, to condemn the accused, the clearest evidence, and the most unexceptionable testimony, were always required; "*probationes luce clariores requiruntur*" (Simancas, Ibid p. 418.)

4 The maxim, *Ecclesia abhorret a sanguine*, The Church abhors bloodshed.—is a standing principle of the canon law, by which the clergy were specially bound. So far was this maxim carried that clergymen were forbidden to practise surgery, or even to bleed a patient. And yet, in the face of this evidence, the Catholic clergy must still be represented as thirsting for blood!

5 In fact, he confounds the proceedings of the two courts throughout, barely remarking in a note on page 225, that Ferdinand had established a supreme council to supervise the proceedings of the subordinate tribunals. Why this important omission?

to mitigate this and many other odious features of the civil law, and many distinguished men, such as Ludovicus Vives, condemned the whole practice as cruel and unjust.[1] Tortures were employed by the civil courts of the Inquisition, only in extreme cases, and then more to prompt the repentance, than to bring about the condemnation of the accused.[2] The confession elicited under torture could not be used against the accused, unless he voluntarily confirmed it three days afterwards, according to the usage of the Spanish courts.[3] If he would not confess, he was generally acquitted.[4] The application of the torture was restricted within very narrow limits, and all abuses in inflicting it were severely condemned,[5] and they subjected the officers, thus transcending their powers, to the obligation in the forum of conscience, as well as in that of the public courts, of repairing all injury done to those thus tortured.[6]

In one word, the ecclesiastical court of the Inquisition was but preparatory. The final decision of the case always took place before the civil court, which alone inflicted the punishments ordained by the Spanish laws. The former court had only to decide, whether there was sufficient reason to have the accused indicted before the latter. It performed very much the same office as our modern grand juries, with these important differences, that it took cognizance only of a certain class of offenses connected with religion, pardoned twice whenever the criminal gave satisfactory signs of repentance, and never *presented* but when there was no hope of reforming the offender. Where will you find any civil court thus lenient ?[7] It is a thing unheard of in modern judicial proceedings ; and yet the Inquisition is to be held up to scorn as the most cruel of all tribunals! Count Pollnitz, in his very interesting memoirs,[8] is astonished at the ideas Protestants entertain on a subject about which they know so little. "For my part, I own to you I cannot imagine in what the barbarity consists, which you Protestants attribute to the Inquisition. On the contrary it is, in my opinion, the mildest and most lenient tribunal that exists." And he assigns the same reason that we do above, appeals to his own observation in Catholic countries, and hints at the opposite spirit of the Calvinistic consistory of Geneva. This was in fact an Inquisition which *never* forgave ; and the English court of high commission prosecuted the inoffensive Catholic with a rigor that never relented, no matter how much the victim cried out for mercy ! Even Mr. Prescott allows that Elizabeth's Inquisition equalled in severity that established by Ferdinand and Isabella[9]. That fact is, the

1 Simancas, Tit. lxv. p. 495, *et. seq.* 2 Ibid, Tit. lxv. p. 496. 3 Ibid, p. 509.
4 Ibid, p. 510. 5 Ibid, p. 497.

6 For an account of the instruments of torture employed against the Catholics of England under Elizabeth and her successors, for more than one hundred years, see Lingard's England—Elizabeth, Butler's Book of the Catholic Church, Cobbett's Letters, &c. England was the last country in Europe to abolish the barbarous custom of burning at the stake, an instance of which occurred as late as the ninth year of George II. And yet Englishmen dare talk of the cruelties of the Spanish Inquisition!

7 So equitable was the ancient Inquisition, that the Order of the Templars, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, sought to be judged by it in preference to any other court.

8 Pollnitz's "Memoirs," volume iii, quoted in Fletcher's notes to De Maistre.

9 Prescott, vol. iii, p. 202.

former far outstripped the latter in every respect; and the English are the last people under the sun who should talk about the Spanish Inquisition.[1] And yet they precisely have raised the greatest clamor on the subject.

It is not true that counsel was not allowed to the party accused;[2] it is not true that the articles of accusation were not shown to him;[3] it is not true that he had not proper means of defence allowed him. Finally, though the *autos da fe* were bad enough, yet the picture of them which represents the clergy assisting in order to enjoy the agony of the victims, is as unjust as it is fanciful. They attempted to soothe, not to aggravate the sufferings of the condemned, as ministers of all denominations at the present day accompany the culprit to the scaffold. These are the principal erroneous charges against the Spanish Inquisition, many of which Mr. Prescott has revived. When presenting a sketch of the form of trial by the Inquisition, why did he make so many important omissions? Why present even the few facts which he does give, with a coloring which indicates a prejudice more worthy of the fierce religious acrimony of the sixteenth century, than of the refinement and goodly feeling of the present day?

III. But the most mischievous part of Mr. Prescott's account of the Spanish Inquisition is that, in which he deliberately charges on the Catholic Church, not only the institution itself, but even its cruelties and abuses. Nothing could be more unjust. The Inquisition is connected with no doctrine of the Catholic Church, nor is it even a part of her discipline. It was never established in any country without the concurrence of its temporal rulers. In Spain the people and the Cortes demanded its establishment from the king, as the *only* remedy to the desperate political evils of the country.[4] Ferdinand and Isabella, according to Limborch,[5] "earnestly solicited the Roman Pontiff," to allow them to name inquisitors for their dominions. It is doubtful whether the Pontiff, Sixtus IV., could have effectually resisted an appeal made with so much earnestness, and involving a matter so intimately interwoven with the welfare of Spain. He heard the petition, and issued the bulls demanded, in 1478; but, on the appeal of the Jews against the excessive severity of the inquisitors, he issued another bull in 1481, in which "he rebuked their intemperate zeal, and even threatened them with deprivation."[6] A little later, Pope Leo X. received the petition of the Arragonese, stating their grievances under the operation of the Inquisition, and granted the prayer thereof by a special bull, by which he greatly modified the form

1 See Lingard's England, Elizabeth; Butler's "Book of the Catholic Church;" Cobbett's Letters, and De Maistre's fifth and sixth Letters, for proofs on this subject.

2 Simancas, Tit. xliv. p. 332, from whose testimony it appears that, in the Spanish courts, counsel was not only allowed, but that he had unreserved communication with the accused for three days, in order, with his aid, to prepare suitable answers to the different charges of the indictment.

3 This is admitted by the writer of a most virulent article in the Edinburgh Encyclopedia, Article, Inquisition. Mr. Prescott admits it too, but with a qualification which destroys the force of the admission; vol. i, p. 257. See Simancas, Tit. xliv. p. 332, where this is asserted without any qualification.

4 See Report of Cortes. 5 Limborch, b. i, ch. 24. 6 Prescott, vol. i, p. 254.

of the whole tribunal, and restrained the powers of the inquisitors; but to show how powerless the Pope was in this matter, the Emperor Charles V. annulled the papal decree by his royal authority![1] But the Popes succeeded better in regard to Naples, over which they had more political influence; they steadily opposed the introduction of the Inquisition into that kingdom, and after a long struggle with the Spanish monarchs, they gained the victory.[2] It was Charles V., and not the Pope, who established the Inquisition in Sicily.[3] It was the Senate of Venice, and not the Pope, that established the Inquisition in this republic.[4]

The general policy of the Popes deprecated severity towards sinners and those who had wandered from the true faith. The Bullarium Romanum is full of proofs of this assertion. Our limits will allow but a few of the most prominent facts. As early as 1268, we find Pope Clement IV. disapproving of the severe laws against blasphemy enacted by the sainted French monarch, Louis IX. Various Popes sought to protect the Jews from the insults and injuries to which they were liable from the populace, in various countries in Europe. Thus Honorius III., in 1217,[5] published a bull in which he forbade, under the severest ecclesiastical penalties, any one to force them to be baptized against their will, or to offer any other indignity to their persons, or injury to their property.[6] The Bull of Martin V., published in 1425,[7] in which they were declared liable to various penalties, if they persevered in buying and selling Christians, as they were accused of having done, did not, however, revoke the acts of his predecessors in favor of that obdurate race. As a proof of the clemency of the Roman Pontiffs towards the Jewish people, there is a proverb current among the latter to this day, that "Rome is the paradise of the Jews."

In regard to the Inquisition in Portugal, the Popes maintained a long struggle with the Portuguese monarchs before they would at all consent to its establishment, and then they did so *with regret*, according to the testimony of Antonio Sousa, cited by Limborch.[8] And after it had been established, they did everything in their power to mitigate its severity. Thus we find Clement X., in 1674–5, in separate bulls,[9] receiving appeals from the decisions of the Portuguese tribunals, and threatening deprivation and other penalties to the inquisitors, if they persisted. When the latter proved disobedient to the papal mandate, we find Innocent XI., the successor of Clement X., enforcing the decree of his predecessor against them (A. D. 1679), and declaring their acts null and void.[10] In another bull published in 1681,[11] the same Pontiff corrects many abuses which had crept into the Inquisition of Portugal, and makes many salutary

1 Report of Cortes. 2 Limborch, b. i, ch. 26. 3 Ibid. b. i, ch. 27.
4 See La Cordaire, *sup. cit.* p. 125 5 Bullarium Rom. tom iii, p. 191.
6 Those who wish to see more on this interesting subject are referred to Guerra, Pontificiarum Constitutionum Epitome, vol. i. p. 191, *et seq.*, Edit. Venitiis, 1772, 4 vols folio.
7 Bullarium Rom. tom. iii, p 453. 8 B. i, ch. 25.
9 Bull. Rom. tom. vii, pp. 266, 271, and 312.
10 Ibid. tom. viii, p. 96. 11 Ibid. p. 230.

enactments for the guidance of the inquisitors. Among these, one gives to the accused the privilege of selecting other counsel, if that assigned by the Inquisitorial court be not agreeable to him, and enjoins that the new counsel have free access to his client; and another directs that the prisoners be treated with greater mildness, that the prisons be less dark, and the confinement less rigid. More evidence might be adduced to prove what we have above asserted, but we must stop here.[1]

In the face of all these facts, is it not very unjust, to charge the Popes, or the Catholic Church, with the abuses of the Inquisition? It is certain that they did everything in their power to restrain the excesses of that tribunal; and if they frequently failed, it was the fault of temporal princes and of the times, not of the Church. One fact in regard to the Spanish Inquisition, would alone suffice to show how utterly unable the Pope, and even a general council of the Catholic Church was to reverse one of its decisions. While the council of Trent was in session, Bartholomew Caranza, archbishop of Toledo, was arrested by the Inquisition and confined in prison on a charge of heresy. The interference of Pius IV., and the protest of the council of Trent, were unavailing; the Inquisition was inflexible, and the archbishop was released only after eight years, by order of Philip II.[2] If this fact does not prove that the Church had no control over the Spanish Inquisition, we are at a loss to know what could prove this proposition.

Mr. Prescott[3] attributes perfidy and interested motives to the Roman Pontiffs in their relations towards the Spanish Inquisition. No assertion could be more groundless. The Popes never derived any emolument from the inquisitorial tribunals; it was one of the standing rules of the "Supreme Roman Inquisition," established by a bull of Paul III., in 1542,[4] that its decisions should be given *gratis* in every case. In establishing this supreme court, the Pontiff revoked all inquisitorial powers, and laid down such rules as were well calculated to prevent every abuse. And though three hundred years have elapsed since the establishment of this court, it would be difficult to point to an instance in which it ever pronounced sentence of capital punishment.[5] The only thing for which it has ever been blamed, is its very delicate treatment of the great Galileo, when a clamor was raised against him by jealous rivals whom he had eclipsed.[6] Such was the conduct of the Popes at home, where they had the power to act according to their own judgment, untrammelled by the political intrigues of princes.

The comparatively weak and imbecile condition of Spain for the last century, has been ascribed to the Inquisition. If such be the case, how

1 For more on this subject, see Guerra, p. 175. *et seq.* This author has, however, omitted to notice several papal bulls regarding the Inquisition.

2 See La Cordaire, Apology, etc. pp. 133–4.

3 Vol. i. pp 248 and 267

4 Bull Rom. tom iv. p. 211.

5 See Bergier's Dict. de Theologie, Art Inquisition, where he makes this same assertion even more strongly, and challenges any one to produce a proof to the contrary.

6 See La Cordaire, Apology, p 134, and Dublin Review for July, 1833

are we to explain the fact, that for two hundred years after its establishment, Spain was the first country in Europe? The decline of Spain may be traced, with greater probability, to other causes. The emigration of her people to America, the influx of wealth from her colonies, and the consequent decline of industry among her population, contributed, with various other well known causes, to lower her in the scale of European nations. We often hear of the number of victims who were immolated by her Inquisition, but we are not told of the far greater number who fell in the various religious wars by which Germany, France, and England were convulsed, while Spain was secured by this institution from the acrimonious controversy in which those wars originated![1] Where the Spanish Inquisition immolated one victim, the Moloch of religious dissension has immolated whole hecatombs!

We cannot think that Mr. Prescott would have hazarded many of the aspersions on the Catholic Church with which his book is filled, had he been fully aware of the facts above stated. He might have learned a lesson of moderation in this respect from his illustrious countrymen, Bancroft and Irving, especially as the Inquisition, the cause of his indignation, no longer exists. We regret still more the faults of his book, because it will descend to posterity as a standard work of American literature, of which his country may justly be proud. It is time for all of us to learn the lesson of forbearance taught by the Gospel, and confirmed by the bitter experience of the past. Have the Protestant sects been immaculate on the score of religious persecution, in regard to the mother Church, or even in regard to each other? If they have, then may they rail at the Spanish Inquisition! But if they have some misgivings on the subject, then would we say to them in the language of our blessed Lord addressed to the Scribes and Pharisees, who sought the death of the woman taken in adultery: "He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone."

1 See Muzzarelli, "Il buon uso della logica," etc. vol. v, p. 108, for a beautiful passage on this subject.

XII. THE REFORMATION IN SWITZERLAND.—BERNESE INTRIGUES.*

The late religious war in Switzerland — Policy of France and Austria — Intrigues of England — Character of the War — Whence the liberties of Switzerland — Analogy between the late struggle, and that preceding the Reformation — Berne the centre of operations — M. de Haller's point of view — His character as an historian — His authorities — Wavering of Berne — Tortuous policy — How she embraced the Reform — The *bear* and the *pears* — Treacherous perjury of Berne — Zuinglian Council — Its decrees — Religious liberty crushed — Riot and sacrilege — Proceedings of Bernese commissioners — Downright tyranny — The minister Farel — His *fiery* zeal — An appalling picture — A parallel — Priests hunted down — Character of the ministers — Avowal of Capito — The glorious privilege of private judgment — How consistent! — Persecution of brother Protestants — Drowning the Anabaptists — Reformation in Geneva — Rapid summary of horrors — The Bernese army of invasion — The sword and the Bible — Forbearance of Catholics — Affecting incident at Soleure — The war of Cappell — Points of resemblance — An *armed* apostle — A prophet quailing before danger — Battle of Cappell — Death of Zuingle — Triumph of Catholic cantons — Treaty of Peace.

THE exciting occurrences which took place in Switzerland a few years ago, caused the eyes of the whole civilized world to be directed to that most interesting country. All Europe stood looking on with the most lively interest, while those scenes were enacting; and France and Austria, with their powerful armies, hovered over the Swiss frontiers, ready to interpose in case of necessity; — whether to stay the onward progress of anarchy and civil war, or to turn the course which events might take to their own advantage.

And these two great Catholic powers, after witnessing the noble heroism with which the Catholic Swiss at first successfully repelled the army of invaders, which came to assail their dearest rights, and to pollute their very firesides, could calmly look on and see those same noble heroes finally succumb to overwhelming numbers! Without striking a blow, or even entering a serious protest, they could see the ancient liberties of Switzerland crushed in the dust, and its brave defenders bowed down under the yoke of a most degrading slavery! The vile intrigues of England gained for her the diplomatic victory; and the Catholic cabinets, at her bidding, consented ignobly to sacrifice the cause of right and justice to that of mere political expediency. The spirit of chivalry had fled, and the weak, nobly struggling for their altars and their liberties, were permitted to be overwhelmed by the strong; might thus gaining the day over right.

* *Histoire de la revolution religieuse, ou de la reforme Protestante dans la Suisse Occidentale.* Par Charles Louis de Haller, ancien membre du conseil souverain, et du conseil secret de Berne, chevalier de l'ordre royal de la legion d'honneur, et de celui de Charles III. d'Espagne, &c. *History of the religious revolution, or of the Protestant Reformation, in Western Switzerland.* By Charles Louis de Haller, former member of the supreme and of the secret counells of Berne, Knight of the royal order of the legion of honor, and of that of Charles III. of Spain, &c. 4th edition. Paris, 1839. 1 vol. 12mo, pp. 436.

It is admitted on all hands, that, in the disturbances to which we allude, the Protestants were the aggressors, and that the Catholics acted only on the defensive. Lucerne, the principal Catholic canton of the confederacy, claimed the right of managing her own educational concerns without the interference of her neighbors; this right was clearly guaranteed to her by the fundamental articles of the Swiss confederation; and she resolved to maintain it at all hazards. If the Catholic Lucerners thought proper to entrust the education of their children to the Jesuits, what right had the Protestants of Argovia, Berne, and Bâle Campagne to object? What right had the latter to say to the former, you shall not employ these teachers, but you shall employ such as may be agreeable to *our* taste? Yet they did thus wantonly and rudely interfere with what was clearly not their business; but they received a lesson which may serve as a warning to all busy meddlers in future.

In the late desperate attempts to subvert the constitution, and to crush the very independence of Lucerne by force, this brave old Catholic canton, assisted by its faithful allies of Schwytz, Uri, Zug, and Unterwald, proved to all the world that it could fight as well as pray; and that Catholicity, far from enervating, had strengthened its primitive vigor and courage. The old Catholic cantons proved themselves worthy descendants of those noble patriots who had fought at Morgarten, under the victorious banners of Tell and Fürst. These Catholic heroes had laid the foundations of Swiss independence, in the beginning of the fourteenth century; and with their watch-word, LIBERTY, they had ever proved terrible to their foes, and unconquerable in battle. The fierce Gorgón of despotism had not dared, for centuries, to desecrate, with his foul footsteps, the soil beneath which rested the mortal remains of those soldiers of freedom; nor to pollute, with his pestilent breath, that pure and bracing air of the mountains, which was itself the most appropriate emblem of the pure, and lofty, and untrammeled patriotism, cherished as their own heart's blood by the brave, sturdy, and enthusiastic Swiss mountaineers.

How could the Protestant reformation hope to pervert such men as these? It might easily gain over to its standard the comparatively effeminate, and the far more worldly-minded and corrupt inhabitants of the plains; it could never proselytize the unsophisticated children of the mountains. These prized their religion as dearly as they did their ancestral glory; in fact, the two were intimately associated together in their minds, as they had ever been in the heroic period of their history. It was the Catholic religion which had inspired the ardent patriotism, stimulated the noble courage, and nerved for battle the brawny arms of Tell and his associates; it was the Catholic religion which had crowned the victors with laurel, had celebrated the triumphal disenthralment of the country by its splendid services of thanksgiving, and had erected the public monuments which commemorated the victory. Bending reverently before the altar of his God, and falling prostrate before the Lamb offered up thereon, the Swiss hero had prayed with confidence for victory; and he had there, too, returned

his fervid thanks to God, when victory had been finally won by his good sword blessed by heaven.

No wonder, then, that Lucerne and the other Catholic cantons could not brook to be dictated to by their neighbors, in matters involving the free exercise of their religion. No wonder that they were willing to shed the last drop of their blood, rather than have the bright jewel of faith torn from their bosoms, or than wear, riveted upon their necks, the galling yoke of a religious despotism.

The late war in Switzerland was a religious war, in which one party was struggling for its religious independence, and the other, for the establishment of a religious ascendency. That such a struggle should have happened a hundred years back, would create little or no surprise; but that it should have occurred in our own day; in this enlightened and tolerant nineteenth century; in this *enlightened age of dollars and cents*, in which almost every thing else is valued more highly than religion;— is indeed not a little astonishing. It might even seem that this age was awaking from its lethargic stupor of indifference, and was putting on once more something of that religious zeal and enthusiasm which whilom animated the crusaders. But such was really not the case. The awakening was only local, partial, and fitful; it was but a momentary outburst of a religious bigotry as blind as it was hateful, on the one side; and of a religious enthusiasm for self-defense, both deep and determined, on the other. It was a fitful war of two great conflicting elements in society — *anarchy* and *order*. Order at first triumphed; but anarchy finally gained the day!

It would be but a very imperfect and short-sighted view of the subject, to consider the late Swiss disturbances as merely isolated events, unconnected with the past history of Switzerland. To understand them aright, we must look back three hundred years, to the period when the great religious revolution, called by courtesy the *reformation*, swept over that country, scattering broadcast upon its once peaceful and happy soil the prolific seeds of dissensions, and divisions, and civil wars. There is no more doubt that all the evils, all the bitter feuds, all the rancorous civil broils, and nearly all the bloodshed of Switzerland during the last three centuries, have sprung from the reformation, than there is of this other fact, that all the previous liberty, and peace, and glory of the country, had sprung from the great political revolution effected by Catholics in the beginning of the fourteenth century. These two great revolutions are the starting points of Swiss glory and of Swiss disgrace.

It is with this view that we now proceed to present some of the leading facts in the early history of the Swiss reformation; a revolution, as we sincerely believe, pregnant with infinite mischief of every kind to the Swiss confederation.

Zurich was the first city in Switzerland which embraced the reformation; or, as M. de Haller expresses it, she was "the mother and the root of all religious and political Protestantism in Switzerland."[1] She was nearly

1 Page 434.

eight years in advance of Berne in the race of reform; and it was through her influence mainly that the latter at length consented to accept the new gospel. But once Berne had embraced it, she far outstripped her preceptor in religious zeal or fanaticism; and she took the lead in all the subsequent religioso-political affairs of the country. Her central position, her rich and extensive territory, her untiring industry, and her adroit and unscrupulous diplomacy, gave her the ascendency over the other Protestant cantons, and made her the leader in every great enterprise. It was through her intrigues that Geneva was induced to receive the new doctrines; it was by her triumphant physical power that the reformation was thrust down the throats of the good Catholic people of Vaud. Bernese preachers, escorted by Bernese bailiffs and spies, traversed all the north-western cantons, scattering dissension wherever they went, and establishing the new gospel, either by intrigue or by force, wherever they could. Cautiously and cunningly, but with an industry that never tired, and a resolution that never faltered, Berne pursued her Machiavellian policy; until, by one means or another, about half of the Swiss confederation was torn from Catholic unity, and bound at the same time, by strong political ties, to herself. Thus she became the great leader of the Protestant, as Lucerne has ever been that of the Catholic cantons of Switzerland.

It is from this elevated point of view, that M. de Haller looks down upon the history of the Swiss reformation. Himself a Bernese, and, until he became a Catholic,[1] a Bernese counsellor as high in power and influence as he was in wisdom and talents, he was eminently qualified to write a history of the religious revolution in Switzerland. Candid and moderate by nature, of an enlarged mind and comprehensive genius, his scrupulous veracity has not been denied even by his strongest opponents; while he certainly had every opportunity to become thoroughly acquainted with the events he relates. He assures us in his preface, that his history "cannot be taxed with exaggeration, for it has been faithfully derived from Historical Fragments of the city of Berne, composed by a Bernese ecclesiastic (Protestant); from the History of the Swiss, by Mallett, a Genevan Protestant; from that of Baron d'Alt, a Catholic, it is true, but excessively reserved upon all that might displease the Bernese; and above all, in fine, from the History of the Reformation in Switzerland, by M. Ruchat, a zealous Protestant minister and professor of belles-lettres at the academy of Lausanne, to whom all the archives were opened for the composition of his work."[2]

This last named writer, whom he quotes continually, was a most violent partisan of the Swiss reformation; and yet even he was compelled to relate a large portion of the truth, mixed up, as usual, with much adroit and canting misrepresentation. Thus he asserts, among other things, "that the Catholic religion is idolatrous and superstitious, and that it cannot be sustained but by ignorance, by interest, by violence, and by

1 For having become a Catholic, he was expelled from the council, probably in order to prove Protestant love of liberty!

2 P. ix.

fraud."[1] M. de Haller meets the injurious charge, not by asserting, but by *proving*, from undeniable evidence, that the Swiss reformation was established precisely by these identical means, and that it could not, in fact, have been established otherwise. He says:—

"Protestants of good faith — and there are many such among our separated brethren — will judge for themselves, from a simple exposition of facts, whether it was not rather their own religion which was introduced by ignorance, interest, violence, and fraud: by *ignorance*, for it was every where the ignorant multitude that decided, without knowledge of the cause, upon questions of faith and discipline, and this was carried so far that even children of fourteen years were called to these popular assemblies; by *interest*, for the robbery of churches, of temples, and of monasteries, was the first act of the reformation; by *violence*, for it was with armed force that altars were overturned, images broken, convents pillaged, and it became necessary to employ fire and sword, confiscation and exile, in order to make the new religion prevail over the ancient belief; by *lying* and by *fraud*, for Luther and Zuingle formally recommended both to their followers as means of success, and their counsel has been followed with fidelity and perseverance even unto our own day. We will now pass on to the facts and the proof."[2]

We defy any one to read attentively M. de Haller's work, without admitting that he has triumphantly proved all this, and even more, by facts and evidence derived mainly from Protestant sources. Our limits will not, of course, allow us to go into all the details of the evidence; yet we hope to be able to furnish enough to convince any impartial mind that M. de Haller's position is entirely sound and tenable. But first we must glance rapidly at the manner in which the reformation was first introduced into Berne; which, as we have already intimated, subsequently exercised so strong an influence, both religious and political, on other parts of Switzerland.

It was slowly and cautiously that Berne embraced the new doctrines. Long did she resist the intrigues of the Zurichers, and the wily arts of their new apostle, Ulrich Zuingle. This man understood well the character of the Bernese; their wary distrust of any thing new, their deeply seated self-interest, and their dogged obstinacy in maintaining whatever they finally settled down upon. He well knew all this, and he acted accordingly. Writing to Berchtold Haller, the first herald of the new gospel at Berne, he advised moderation and caution; "for," says he, "the minds of the Bernese are not yet ripe for the new gospel."[3] In a letter subsequently addressed to Francis Kolb, he uses this quaint language, alluding to the cantonal type of Berne — the *bear*:—

"My dear Francis! proceed slowly, and not too rudely, in the business; do not throw to the *bear* at first but one sour pear along with a great many sweet ones, afterwards two, then three; and if he begin to swallow them, throw him always more and more, sour and sweet, pellmell.

1 Quoted by de Haller, Pref. x.

2 Pref. x. and xi. He gives us in a note, besides some curious facts about Zuingle, the following passage from a letter of Luther to Melancthon, dated August 30, 1530: "When we will have nothing more to fear, and when we shall be left in repose, we will then *repair all our present lies, our frauds, and our acts of violence.*"

3 Quoted by de Haller p. 18.

Finally, empty the sack altogether; soft, hard, sweet, sour, and crude; he will devour them all, and will not suffer any one to take them away from him, nor to drive him away." [1]

Zuingle understood his men, and his arts succeeded even beyond his most sanguine expectations. Berne vacillated for several years between truth and error; her policy was wavering and tortuous; but at length she threw her whole influence into the scale of the reformation; and once she had taken her position, she maintained it with her characteristic obstinacy.

Though her counsels were often uncertain, yet, in the main, she had continued faithful to the old religion up to the year 1527. On the 26th of January, 1524, we find her delegates uniting with those of the twelve cantons at Lucerne in a strong decree, *unanimously* passed, for the maintenance of Catholicity.[2] Shortly afterwards, she listened with respect to the voice of the three Catholic bishops of Constance, Bâle, and Lausanne, who strongly urged the cantons to remain steadfast in their faith, and who promised "that if, in lapse of time, some abuses had glided into the ecclesiastical state, they would examine the matter with unremitting diligence, and abolish the abuses with all their power."[3]

In 1525–6, the terrible revolt of the peasants took place in Germany, and penetrated even into Switzerland. It had certainly grown out of the revolutionary principles broached by the reformers, and it was headed by Protestant preachers, as M. Ruchat, himself a preacher, admits in the following passage: "Having at their head *the preachers of the reform*, they pillaged, ravaged, massacred, and burnt every thing that fell into their hands."[4] Sartorius, another Protestant historian of Germany, admits the same.[5] All social order was threatened with annihilation by these wild fanatics, whose number was legion; and Berne, appalled by the danger, made a temporary truce with her tergiversation, recoiled from the precipice, on the brink of which she had been standing, and fell back on her old vantage ground of conservative Catholicity. On the 21st of May, 1526, her grand council published an edict for the preservation of the old religion, and its members bound themselves, *by a solemn oath, to maintain it inviolate.*"[6]

Yet, in the following year, Berne revoked this decree, violated this solemnly plighted oath, joined the reformation, and lent her whole influence to its propagation throughout Switzerland! Her wavering ceased all of a sudden, and her policy, hitherto tortuous and always unprincipled, now became firmly settled. Not only she declared for the reformation, but she spared no labor, no intrigue, no money, — nothing, to make it triumph every where. It was mainly through her subsequent efforts, that the reformation was fastened on a large portion of the Swiss republic. By what means this was accomplished, we have already intimated; and now we will furnish some of the principal specifications and evidence bearing on the subject. The facts we are going to allege clearly prove this great

1 Quoted by de Haller, p. 18, note. 2 Ibid, p. 22. 3 Ibid., p. 23.
4 Ibid., p. 23. 5 Ibid. 6 Ibid., ch. iv, p. 27 seqq.

leading feature of the Swiss reformation: — that it was only by intrigue, chicanery, persecution, and open violence, that it was finally established at the city of Berne and throughout the canton, as well as in all the other cantons where Bernese influence could make itself felt.

In 1528, a conference, or rather a species of Zuinglian council, was held at Berne, for the purpose of deciding on the articles of faith to be adopted in the proposed reformation. Zuingle was the master spirit of the assembly, at which very few Catholics assisted. Ten articles, or *theses*, were there adopted by the ministers; but, though drawn up with studied ambiguity and vagueness, they were still signed only by a minority of the Bernese clergy, the majority still clinging to the old faith. Yet the Bernese grand council of state not only adopted and confirmed these articles, but enjoined their adoption on all the people of the canton. Pastors and curates were forbidden to teach any thing opposed to them; the mass was abolished, altars were to be demolished, images to be burnt, and the four bishops of Switzerland were declared deprived of all jurisdiction! Moreover, priests were permitted to marry, and religious persons of both sexes to leave their convents; the ministers were ordered to preach four times each week under penalty of suspension; and finally the council reserved to itself the right "to change this new religion if any one would prove to them any thing better by the Scriptures."[1]

Such was the tenor of the famous Bernese decree, by which the new gospel was first *established by law*. Nor did it remain a dead letter. Violence, sacrilege, and robbery rioted throughout the canton. The churches of the Catholics were forcibly seized on, the altars were overturned, the beautiful decorations of paintings and statuary were defaced or broken to pieces, people were forbidden any longer to worship at the altars and shrines of their fathers; and very soon the whole canton presented the appearance of a country through which an army of Vandals and Huns had but lately marched. It is a certain and undoubted *fact*, that the reformation was *forced* upon the Bernese people, against the positive will of the majority! But the minority were active, untiring, revolutionary, and they had the civil authorities to back them; the majority were often indifferent and negligent; their natural protectors, the more zealous among the clergy, had been compelled to fly; and thus left alone, a flock without shepherds, the people were at length wearied out and harassed into conformity.

To enforce the new religious law, commissioners were sent from Berne into all the communes of the canton, with instructions to address the people, and to use every effort to induce them to embrace the new gospel. After their harangues, the matter was to be immediately put to the popular vote, boys of fourteen years being entitled to the privilege of suffrage! If the majority went for the new gospel, even if this majority consisted but of one voice, the minority were compelled to abandon the old religion, and the mass was declared publicly abolished throughout the commune! If, on the contrary, the majority, as was often the case, in spite of every entreaty

1 Ibid. pp. 52, 53.

and threat, went for the old religion, the Protestant minority still remained free to practice publicly their worship. Moreover, in this latter case, the vote of the commune was again taken by parishes, in order that those in which the majority were Protestants might be protected by the civil authority. Even if a commune voted unanimously in favor of Catholicity, the possibility of practising their religion was taken away from the Catholics by the banishment of their priests, and the stationing amongst them of Protestant preachers; or if their Bernese Excellencies graciously allowed them to retain their pastors, it was only for a time and until farther orders![1]

We ask whether all this was not downright tyranny of the worst kind; and whether our assertion made above was at all exaggerated? But this is not yet all, nor even half. There were in Switzerland certain cities and districts under the joint government and control of Berne, Friburg and other Catholic cantons. To these Berne sent out her emissaries, both religious and political. If they could be gained over to the new religion, they would probably throw off the yoke of their Catholic joint sovereigns, and fall solely under the government of Berne, to say nothing of the spiritual good which would accrue to their souls from the new gospel. Hence no money nor intrigue was to be spared to proselytize them.

The fiery minister, Farel, armed with Bernese passports, and accompanied or sustained by Bernese deputies and bailiffs, ran over these common cities and districts, with the impetuous fury of one possessed by an evil spirit. He stirred up seditions whitherseover he went, either against the old religion or against himself; and his progress was every where marked by conflagrations and ruins. In the bishopric of Bâle, in several towns and communes belonging to the present canton of Vaud, in Soleure, and elsewhere, this furious fanatic and political firebrand agitated society to its very depths, and lashed popular passions into a fury which was entirely uncontrollable. Wherever the populace could be won over to his party, or even overawed into silence, he caused the mass to be abolished, churches to be stripped, pillaged, and sacrilegiously desecrated, and altars to be overturned! And the Bernese authorities not only calmly looked on, but they even sanctioned all these ferocious deeds, and cast the shield of their protection around the person of Farel.[2]

Insurrections and violence every where marked the progress of the reformation. Look, for instance, at the following graphic picture of Switzerland during the epoch in question, drawn by M. de Haller:

"During the years 1529, 1530, and 1531, Switzerland found herself in a frightful condition, and altogether similar to that of which we are now witnesses, three centuries later. Nothing was seen everywhere but hatred, broils, and acts of violence; everywhere reigned discord and division; discord between the cantons, discord in the bosom of the governments, discord between sovereigns and subjects, in fine, discord and division even in every parish and in every family. The defection of Berne, at which the Zurichers had labored for six years, had unchained the audacity of all the

1 Ibid. pp. 52, 54.

2 See ibid. p. 71 seq., for detailed proofs of all this.

meddlers and bad men in Switzerland. On all sides new revolutions broke out; — at Bâle, at St. Gall, at Bienne, at Thurgovia, at Frauenfeld, at Mellingen, at Bremgarten, even at Gaster and in the Toggenburg, at Herissau, at Wettingen, and finally at Schaffhousen. Everywhere they were brought about by a band of poltroons or at least of ignorant burgesses, both turbulent and factious, against the will of the intimidated magistrates, and of the more numerous and peaceable portion of the inhabitants who looked upon these innovations with horror, but whose indignation was arrested and whose zeal was paralyzed, as happens during our own days, by a pretended necessity of avoiding the effusion of blood, and preventing the horrors of a civil war. Thus one party declared an implacable war against their fellow-citizens and every thing that is sacred, while the other was condemned to suffer without resistance all manner of injuries, all manner of hostilities; and this state of triumphant iniquity and of miserable servitude was qualified by the fine name of peace. Everywhere, except at Schaffhousen, a city which was always distinguished for its tranquillity and the peaceful character of its inhabitants, seditious armed mobs rushed of their own accord to the churches, broke down the altars, burnt the images, destroyed the most magnificent monuments of art, pillaged the sacred vases as well as other objects of value, and put up for public sale at auction the sacred vestments: by such vandalism and by such sacrileges was the religious revolution of the sixteenth century signalized."[1]

Just imagine that the United States were densely populated and filled with cities, and that the Catholic religion were that of the people; but that a religious revolution had been effected in one of our great cities, — say Philadelphia, — by violence, sustained by the civil authorities; that there all our churches had been pillaged and desecrated, a part of them burned down and the other part seized on for the Protestant worship; that the frensy spread, until similar scenes were enacted in half the cities and towns of our republic; imagine, in a word, the Philadelphia riots, aggravated a hundred fold, extending through half the country, and keeping the people in a state of anarchy and civil war for more than twenty years; imagine our hitherto peaceful republic broken up by discord, and bathed in the blood of its citizens, until at last the fierce rioters sit down in triumph amidst the ruins they had every where strewn around them; and you will then have some faint conception of the rise, progress, and triumph of the Protestant reformation in a large portion of Switzerland! Recent events, both in this country and in Switzerland, have proved that Protestantism has not yet lost all of its original fierceness, and that its turbulent spirit has not been yet entirely subdued by the onward march of refinement and civilization.

As might have been anticipated, the Bernese met with frequent resistance in their efforts to destroy the old religion, and to force the new one on the people. Popular insurrections broke out at Aigle, and in the bailiwicks of Lentzburg, Frutigen, Interlaken, and Haut-Siebenthal, as well as in other places. How was this resistance met? It was crushed by main force, probably with a view to demonstrate to all the world how sincerely the Bernese were attached to the great fundamental principles

1 Pp. 62—64.

of the reformation,—that each one should read the Bible and judge for himself! As M. de Haller says:

"An edict of persecution was issued, which directed that images should be everywhere broken and altars demolished, as well in the churches as in private houses; *that priests who yet said mass should be everywhere hunted down,* seized on wherever they could be caught, and put in prison; that every one who spoke badly of the Bernese authorities should be treated in like manner; for, says M. Ruchat, the Catholics of the canton and vicinity declaimed horribly against them. In case of relapse, the priests were outlawed and delivered up to public vengeance: in fine, the same edict decreed punishment against all who should sustain these refractory priests (that is, all who remained faithful to the ancient religion), or who afforded them an asylum. A third edict of the 22d December, forbade any one to go into the neighboring cantons to hear mass, under penalty of deprivation for those who held office, and of arbitrary punishment for private individuals."[1]

Was ever tyranny and persecution carried further than this? And yet this is but one chapter in the history of the Swiss reformation. The same ferocious intolerance was witnessed wherever the reformation made its appearance, in the once peaceful and happy land of William Tell. Did our limits permit, we might prove this by facts, as undeniable as they are appalling. Those Catholic priests who were not willing to betray their religion, or to sell their conscience for a mess of pottage, were everywhere thrown into prison or banished the country. They were succeeded by preachers, many of them fugitives from France and Germany, and most of them men of little learning and less piety, remarkable only for a certain boldness and rude popular eloquence or declamation. Men of this stamp, who had suddenly, and often without vocation or ordination, intruded themselves into the holy ministry, could not hope to win or secure the confidence of the people. Accordingly, we find the following candid avowal on the subject, in a confidential letter of the minister Capito to Farel, written as late as 1537. He says:

"The authority of the ministers is entirely abolished; all is lost, all goes to ruin. The people say to us boldly: you wish to make yourselves the tyrants of the Church, you wish to establish a new papacy. God makes me know what it is to be a pastor, *and the wrong we have done the Church by the precipitate and inconsiderate vehemence which has caused us to reject the Pope.* For the people, accustomed to unbounded freedom, and as it were nourished by it, have spurned the rein altogether; they cry out to us: we know enough of the gospel, what need have we of your help to find Jesus Christ? Go and preach to those who wish to hear you."[2]

The intolerance of the Protestant party was surpassed only by its utter inconsistency. The glorious privileges of private judgment, of liberty of conscience and of the press, were forever on their lips; and yet they recklessly trampled them all under their feet! Each one was to interpret the Bible for himself, and yet he who dared interpret it differently from their Excellencies, the counsellors of Berne, was punished as an enemy of the government! The counter principle of a union of church and state, was

1 Pp. 57, 58 2 Epistola ad Farel. inter epist. Calvini, p. 5; quoted by de Haller, p. 99, note.

even openly avowed and constantly acted on. The council of ministers, held at Berne in 1532, subscribed a confession of faith drawn up by Capito, in which the following remarkable passages are found:

"The ministers acknowledge *that it is not possible for them to produce any fruit in their church, unless the civil magistrate lend his assistance to advance the good work.* . . . Every Christian magistrate ought, in the exercise of his power, to be the lieutenant and minister of God, and to maintain among his subjects the evangelical doctrine and life, so far at least as it is exercised outwardly and is practised in external things.[1] . . . . The magistrates should then take great care to preserve sound doctrine; to prevent error and seduction, to punish blasphemy and all outward sins affecting religion and conduct, to protect the truth and good morals."[2]

This forcibly reminds us of the doctrines of the *nursing fathers*, so much spoken of, even in our American Presbyterian Confession of Faith. As some additional evidence of the love which the Swiss reformers bore to the liberty of the press and to that of conscience, read the two following extracts from our author:

"The Bernese, who had talked so much about the liberty of conscience and that of the press while it was a question of establishing the reform, then sent deputies to Bâle to complain of the libels which were there printed against the deputies of Berne, and they demanded that silence should be imposed on the preachers unfavorable to the reform. Thus it is that the Protestants did not wish to allow liberty to any one, so soon as they became the masters. The Bernese deputation was, however, dismissed from Bâle without having attained its object."[3]

"In virtue of the freedom of conscience, the triumphant innovators removed all the Catholic counsellors, and forbade any one to preach against what they called the reform. At Bâle, in particular, the nobility were driven away, and the Catholic clergy, the chapter, and even the professors of the university, abandoned forever a city of which they were the ornament and the glory, and which owed to them its lustre and its very existence."[4]

Those who were guilty of the unpardonable crime of adhering tenaciously and fondly to the time-honored religion of their fathers, were not the only ones who felt the smart of Protestant intolerance in Switzerland. Brother Protestants were also persecuted, if they had the misfortune to believe either more or less than their more enlightened brethren, who happened to be orthodox *for the time being*. The Anabaptists, in particular, were hunted down with a ferocity which is almost inconceivable. The favorite mode of punishing them, especially at Berne, was by *drowning!* This manner of death was deemed the most appropriate, because it was only baptizing them in their own way![5] The rivers and lakes, which abound in Switzerland, often received the dead bodies of these poor deluded men. Sometimes, however, this mode of punishment was dispensed with in favor of others less revolting to humanity. Says M. de Haller:

"Their Excellencies of Berne, not being able to convince the Anabaptists,

1 De Haller, p. 97. He quotes Ruchat. 2 Ibid p. 100. 3 Pp. 58, 59.
4 P. 64. 5 See pp. 39, 69, *et alibi passim*.

found it much more simple to banish them, or to throw them into the water and drown them. These punishments having, however, rather increased than diminished their number, the council of Berne, being embarrassed, resorted to measures less severe, and *acting under the advice of the ministers*, published on the 2d of March, 1533, an edict announcing that the Anabaptists should be left in peace, if they would keep their belief to themselves, and maintain silence; but that if they continued to preach and to keep up a separate sect, they should not be any longer condemned to death, *but only to perpetual imprisonment on* BREAD AND WATER! This was certainly a singular favor. Catholics, who are accused of so much intolerance, had never molested the Zuinglians who had kept their faith to themselves, and even when these openly preached their doctrines from the pulpit, they were not condemned either to death or to perpetual imprisonment on bread and water." [1]

As we have already said, the progress of the Swiss reformation was everywhere marked by intrigues, popular commotions, mob violence, and sacrilege. So it was at Geneva, into which the reformation was introduced in the year 1535, chiefly again through the intrigues of Berne. It was not Calvin who established the reformation at Geneva; he only reaped the harvest which had been sown by others. The fiery Farel, shielded with the panoply of Bernese protection and acting in concert with Bernese envoys, had already succeeded in there subverting, to a great extent, the ancient faith. And by what means? We have not room for full details, for which we must refer our readers to a very interesting chapter in M. de Haller's history.[2] Suffice it to say, that the whole city was thrown into commotion; that the Catholic churches were violently seized upon, after having been first sacrilegiously defaced and desecrated in the hallowed name of religion; that the Catholic clergy were hunted down and forced to fly the city; that nearly half of the population was compelled to emigrate, in order to secure to themselves peace and freedom of conscience; that even after they had emigrated, their property was confiscated and they were disfranchised, in punishment for their having *dared* leave the city; that the harmless nuns of St. Clare, after having been long harassed and insulted by the mob, were also compelled to leave their home and to seek shelter elsewhere; that the Catholic church property was seized upon by the reformed party; that, after having filled the whole city, and especially the churches, with the "abomination of desolation," Farel and his *pious* associates were able to assemble congregations and to preach, in only *two* out of the many Genevan churches of which they had obtained possession; that even in these they often preached to empty benches, so great was the horror which all these multiplied sacrileges inspired in the popular mind; and that, finally, the reformation was established in Geneva by the great council, and afterwards by the swords and bayonets of the Bernese army, which entered the city in 1536!

Such were the first fruits of the reformation in Geneva. In the canton of Vaud, which was invaded and subdued by the Bernese army in the

1 Pp. 153, 154. 2 Chap. xvi.

same year, the proceedings were, if possible, still more violent, and the policy still more truculent. Wheresover the Bernese army marched, there the reformation was established by force of arms. The Bernese bore the sword in one hand and the Bible in the other; and they established the new gospel in Vaud pretty much after the Mohammedan fashion of proselytism!

M. de Haller proves all this by an array of evidence, which can neither be gainsayed nor resisted.[1] He proves it from the testimony of Ruchat, Mallet, Spon, and other Protestant historians. He furnishes FACTS, with names, dates, and specifications; *facts* as clear as the noonday sun; *facts* which we challenge any one to deny or contravene. And we ask, whether it be at all likely that a reformation effected by such means, was, or could possibly have been, the work of God? Could God have chosen such instruments and such means to effect His work? Could He smile on commotions, on riots, on robbery, on impurity, on broken vows, on sacrilege? Gracious heavens! How much do those delude themselves, who still cling to the belief that the reformation was the work of God! Well may we address to them, and to all who may chance to read these pages, the emphatic words of St. Augustine prefixed to the title-page of M. de Haller's work: "Let those hear who have not fallen, lest they fall; let those hear who have fallen, that they may rise!"[2]

If it be alleged, that the Catholics too sometimes resorted to violence and appealed to the sword; we answer that they did so, almost without an exception, only in necessary self-defense. Their forbearance, amidst all the terrible outrages which we have briefly enumerated, was indeed wonderful. If they sometimes repelled force by force; if they flew to arms more than once in their own defense, it was surely competent for them to do so. Their lives were threatened, their property was invaded, their altars were desecrated; and surely, when considerations such as these urged them to buckle on their good swords, they were not only excusable, but they would have been arrant cowards had they failed to do so. And no one has ever yet dared to taunt with cowardice the brave mountaineers of Lucerne, Schwytz, Uri, Unterwald, and Zug, who inherit the faith, the country, and the unconquerable spirit of William Tell. The recent occurrences in Switzerland prove that this spirit has not flagged in the lapse of centuries, that Catholicity is not incompatible with bravery; and that soldiers who pray, both before and after battle, are under the special protection of the great God of battles; though He, for His own wise and inscrutable purposes, may permit them sometimes to be overwhelmed by superior numbers.

But whoever will read M. de Haller's history must be convinced, that the Swiss Catholics were much more forbearing and tolerant than the Swiss Protestants. The former, in general, allowed the latter the free exercise of their religion in places where these were in the minority; whereas there

1 See p 271 seqq. and 321 seqq.

2 Audiant qui non ceciderunt, ne cadant; audiant qui ceciderunt, ut surgant.

are, indeed, but few instances on record, where the latter accorded the same privilege to the former under similar circumstances. Did our limits permit, we might go fully into the comparison, and prove the accuracy of our remark by undeniable evidence. But we must be content with a marginal reference.[1] and with the following touching anecdote, the scene of which is laid in the city of Soleure.

The Protestant party had sought to gain the ascendency in this place, by entirely overthrowing the Catholic religion. For this purpose they seized upon the moment when nearly all the members of the council were absent, for entering into a conspiracy to take possession of "the arsenal and of the Franciscan church, to surprise the priests in their bed, and to massacre all the Catholics in case of resistance."[2] The conspiracy was, however, discovered to the *avoyer*, or chief magistrate, left in charge of the city — Nicholas de Wengi; and he took every prudent precaution against the meditated attack. On the 30th day of October, 1533, at one hour after midnight, the conspirators rushed to the assault; but they were amazed to find nearly half the city turned out ready to receive them, and to defend themselves to the last extremity. After a sharp encounter, in which the arsenal was successively taken and retaken, without, however, any effusion of blood, the conspirators were finally driven off. But, though beaten, these had not yet given up the contest. They retired beyond the bridge, and having intrenched themselves, began to insult the Catholics. Indignant, the latter rushed to the arsenal, brought a cannon to bear upon the Protestant intrenchment, and fired one shot, but without effect. Just as they were preparing to fire another, the venerable *avoyer* Wengi rushed, out of breath, before the cannon's mouth, and exclaimed: "Beloved and pious fellow-citizens, if you wish to fire against the other side, I will be your first victim; consider better the state of things."[3] His interposition was effectual; calm was restored; and the insurgents left the city.

We will conclude this paper, already long enough, by glancing rapidly at the war of Cappell in 1531, the first great religious war that ever was waged in Switzerland.[4] And we do this the more willingly, because it seems to us that there is a striking parallelism between this first and the last religious war to which we have already alluded. In both, the Catholics acted strictly on the defensive; in both, Lucerne was at the head of the Catholic party; in both, the genuine children of Tell proved themselves worthy of him, of their ancestral glory, of their country. There is, however, this important difference in the two wars, that whereas in the first the Catholics were triumphant, in the last, after having performed prodigies of valor, they were finally overwhelmed by main force.

In the beginning of the year 1531, the Protestant cantons, and especially Zurich, flagrantly violated the treaty concluded in 1529, by which the Catholic and Protestant cantons had mutually promised not to molest or

1 De Haller, pp. 72, 150 note, 156, 272, &c.

2 P. 157. 3 P. 159.

4 There had been some troubles in 1529, which were, however, settled without much effusion of blood.

interfere with one another on account of religion. After having fomented troubles in various districts partly under the control of the Catholic cantons, Zurich at length openly invaded the territory of St. Gall, and issued a decree forbidding the five neighboring Catholic cantons to trade with her subjects in corn and salt. The object of this embargo was, to cut off from the Catholic mountaineers the supplies which they had been in the habit of deriving by commerce from those living in the plains, and thereby *to starve* them into acquiescence in the glorious work of the reformation! Zuingle and the preachers openly clamored for the blood of the Catholics, in their public harangues in Zurich. Here is an extract from one of the great Swiss reformer's sermons, delivered on the 21st September, 1531:

"Rise up, attack; the five cantons are in your power. I will march at the head of your ranks, and the nearest to the enemy. Then you will feel the power of God, for when I shall harangue them with the truth of the word of God, and shall say: whom seek you, O ye impious! then, seized with terror and with panic, they will not be able to answer, but they will fall back, and will take to flight, like the Jews on the mountain of Olives at the word of Christ. You will see that the artillery which they will direct against us, will turn against themselves, and will destroy them. Their pikes, their halberds, and their other arms, shall not hurt you, but will hurt them."[1]

This discourse was printed and circulated; but alas for the prophetic faculty of the reformer! The event falsified his prediction in every particular. And, as Zuingle himself marked the preparations the five cantons were making for the coming struggle, even his own heart failed him; and the lately inspired prophet of God dwindled down into a miserable poltroon, overcome by terror, and pretending to have had strange presentiments, and observed strange signs in the heavens! Nevertheless, the Zurichers compelled him to march at their head to the village of Cappel, near the confines of the hostile cantons.

Here the two armies encountered; but fiery and fanatical as were the Zuinglians, they could not withstand the impetuous charge of the brave Swiss mountaineers. These carried everything before them. The Zurichers took to flight in great disorder, with the loss of "nineteen cannon, four stands of colors, all their baggage, and of at least fifteen hundred men, among whom were twenty-seven magistrates, and FIFTEEN PREACHERS."[2] Zuingle, the apostle of Switzerland, fell, sword in hand, fighting the battles of the Lord, as never apostle had fought them before!

The Zurichers, however, recovered from their fright in a few days, and on the 21st of October,[3] "having been reinforced by their allies of Saint Gall, of Toggenburg, of Thurgovia, and even of the Grisons, of Berne, of Bâle, and of Soleure, they again attacked the Catholics with very superior forces; but they were a second time defeated at the mountain of Zug, and took to flight in disorder, abandoning their artillery, their money, and their baggage."[4]

1 Quoted by de Haller, pp. 78, 79, note.
2 Ibid, pp. 79, 80.
3 The battle of Cappell was fought on the 11th of October.
4 P. 81.

The Catholic army now marched in triumph almost to the very walls of Zurich, after having a third time defeated the Zurichers, and driven them from their position.[1] The Zuinglians, thus humbled by defeat, were now disposed to accede to the terms of peace proposed by the Catholic cantons. The treaty bound the Zurichers "to leave the five cantons, with their allies and adherents, from the present to all future time, in peaceable possession of *their ancient, true, and undoubted Christian faith*, without molesting or importuning them with disputes or chicanery, and renouncing all evil intentions, stratagems, and finesse; and that, on their side, the five cantons would leave the Zurichers and their adherents free in their belief; that in the common districts, of which the cantons were co-sovereigns, the parishes which had embraced the new faith, might retain it if it suited them, that those which had not yet renounced the ancient faith would also be free to retain it, and that, in fine, those who should wish to return to the *true and ancient Christian faith* would have the right to do so."[2] The Zurichers farther bound themselves to pay or rather to restore to the five cantons, the money which the latter had expended in the difficulties of 1529; and to replace, at their own expense, the ornaments destroyed or forcibly taken from the different churches during the preceding years.

Thus terminated the war of Cappell. It left the Catholics in the ascendant, and contributed more than anything else to check the headlong progress of the Swiss reformation.

1 Page. 88. 2 Page. 85.

XIII. PRESCOTT'S CONQUEST OF MEXICO.*

ARTICLE I.

CHARACTER OF THE CONQUERORS.

Prescott as an historian—Compared with other American writers—His style and manner—Qualities essential to an historian—Prescott's research—His authorities—His accuracy—His impartiality—His religious prejudices—The ghost of the Inquisition haunts him—His gross charges against the Catholic Church—His enthusiasm awakened—Romantic character of the conquest—Rapid sketch of its history—Character of the conquerors—Hernando Cortes—Compared with ancient generals—Was the conquest justifiable?—Principles and facts bearing on this question—Horrid human sacrifices among the Aztecs—The Spaniards and the Puritans compared—Were the conquerors wantonly cruel?—Facts and specifications alleged and explained—Palliating circumstances—Seizure of Montezuma—And execution of Guatamozin—Prescott's testimony—Spanish conquest of Mexico and English conquest of India compared—Cortes and Lord Clive—Macaulay.

The History of the Conquest of Mexico is truly a splendid work on a splendid subject. Much as we expected from the accomplished historian of the magnificent reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, our expectations have not been disappointed in the present work. It not only fully sustains, but it even elevates the character of Mr. Prescott as an historian. We view his second as far superior to his first production, both in matter and manner; and we have not a doubt, that if he persevere in the career upon which he has so happily entered, he will rank ere long among the very first, if not as the first, of our writers, and will stand very high even in proud and jealous England.

The style of the present work is chaste, polished, dramatic; and it compares favorably with that of any American writer with whom we are acquainted, not excepting even the exquisite Washington Irving. It combines something of the chaste smoothness and delicate taste of Irving, with the liveliness of Paulding and Stephens; while it is, to a great extent, free from the carelessness and occasional bad taste of the two last, and of Cooper; and it is far superior, in every respect, to that of the inflated and transcendental Bancroft. The constant sweetness of Irving cloys. After perusing one of his works, you feel as if you had spent a day in a rich flower garden, laid off with exquisite taste, and filled with the choicest plants: you are delighted with every thing; you behold nothing to find fault with, but, in the evening, your head is wearied, and it aches with the excessive fragrance.

**History of the Conquest of Mexico, with a Preliminary View of the Ancient Mexican Civilization, and the Life of the Conqueror, Hernando Cortez.* By William H. Prescott. Author of the History of Ferdinand and Isabella. In 3 vols. 8 vo. pp. 488, 480, 524 Harper & Brothers, New York, 1843.

The atmosphere in which Mr. Prescott moves is less aromatic, but is, perhaps for this, all the purer and more refreshing. His Conquest of Mexico loses little by comparison with the Life of Columbus and Astoria, perhaps the best historical works of Irving, — productions which do not appear to come under the remark just made. In other respects, however, Prescott falls greatly below Irving,— in modesty, in good humor, in freedom from undue prejudice.

Still it would be exaggerated eulogy to say that Mr. Prescott's style is wholly faultless. The severe critic will perhaps find it too stiff and labored in the introduction, and occasionally too tame or careless in the body of the work. The former evidently smells of the lamp; in it the writer appears ill at ease; he treads the stage clad in the buskin and uniform. In the latter he descends, puts on a graceful deshabille, and intermingles carelessly in the stirring scenes of life. And as far as style is concerned, we are free to acknowledge, that we greatly prefer too much carelessness to too great rigidity.

The introduction, comprising two hundred pages on the Aztec civilization, is one of the most highly wrought and elaborate essays we have ever read. This, together with another essay in the appendix to the third volume, on the origin of the Aztec civilization, the author assures us, "cost him as much labor, and nearly as much time, as the remainder of the history."[1] The inquiry into the origin of the Aztec civilization furnishes a very learned, though somewhat skeptical, view of the various theories of antiquaries, for explaining what Mr. Prescott calls, "the riddle of the Sphinx, which no Œdipus has yet had the ingenuity to solve."[2] And the result of his labors proves that he himself is no Œdipus: he reaches a conclusion which strongly reminds us of that of Johnson's Rasselas, "in which nothing is concluded."[3]

The introduction embodies, in a highly condensed form, whatever Clavigero, Sahagun, Torquemada, Boturini, Veytia, Camargo, Ixtlilxochitl,[4] Baron Humboldt, Lord Kingsborough, and other learned antiquaries had written on the interesting subject of the Aztec civilization. From it we gather, that however advanced the nations of Anahuac might have been in civilization, they were still in a very rude and and savage condition. Their ignorance of the metals, and of the use of domestic beasts of burden; their imperfect and cumbrous picture-writing; their mean and crouching subserviency to the will of a despot; and above all, their brutish cannibalism, and their loathsome human sacrifices, all contributed to sink them very low in the scale of civilization. From their semi-civilized, or rather wholly barbaric condition, even Voltaire could not contrive to make out a plausible argument, or even a sneer, against Christianity.

It appears to us that Mr. Prescott's *forte* lies in description. Many of

1 Pref. p. x. 2 Prescott iii, 376. 3 Cf. Ibid. iii, 418.

4 The Mexican name of a distinguished Indian writer—the lord of Tezcuco. Those who are startled at this euphonious name, may try whether they can pronounce, at a breath, the following specimens of Mexican diction: *Nottazomahuiztcopixcatatzin*, the name of a priest; or this name of a messenger, *Amatlacuilolitquitcatlaxtlahuitli!!* See Prescott, iii, 395 *note*.

his descriptions, whether of scenery, of battles, or of natural phenomena, are peculiarly dramatic: some of them have the vividness of pictures. We might furnish many examples of this from the History of the Conquest. But we have much to say on a theme so ample and inviting, and our limits are very contracted. Hence we must reluctantly confine ourselves to those passages which will naturally come up in the train of our remarks; and we can barely allude to the following additional ones which struck us forcibly, viz: the graphic description of a storm which broke over Mexico on the night of the Conquest;[1] the vivid account of the storming of the great temple by Cortez and his veterans;[2] and the lively manner in which are painted the dreadful horrors of the *Noche Triste*.[3]

But style, however important, is not every thing in an historian. It is to him what drapery is to a statue. To ascertain the real merit of the work, we should examine the proportions and symmetry of the figure itself, its fidelity as a representation of the original, and the amount of artistic skill displayed in its formation. Research, accuracy, and impartiality, are three essential qualities of a good historian.

Without the first, he were wholly unqualified for the task; he would be like an artist without suitable materials and tools. Without the second, all research, however laborious, would be thrown away; and the historian would resemble the statuary, who, with polished instruments and beautiful marble, should still, through carelessness or want of genius, execute but a wretched piece. Finally, without the third, all previous research, as well as the sincere wish to be accurate, would generally prove unavailing: the historian would perhaps unconsciously miscolor or misstate facts. His work would resemble that of a painter who, though not deficient in labor, mechanical skill, and exactness, should yet spoil his piece with misplaced or excessive coloring.

Does Mr. Prescott possess these three qualities essential to an historian? We would be much pleased to be able to answer, without exception or reservation, in the affirmative: we are really partial to the man, who, besides being a fellow-countryman, exhibits himself in his writings the easy and polished gentleman. We feel no disposition to do him the least injustice; and deeply do we regret that a love of truth compels us to give different answers in regard to these different characteristics of the historian.

His laborious research is unquestionable. He has thoroughly examined, and seems to have carefully sifted all the original authorities in relation to the Conquest. To obtain the necessary documents, many of which were in manuscript, he spared no labor nor expense. The great facilities which his previous researches had already afforded him, while he was preparing the History of Ferdinand and Isabella, were still farther increased by the kindness and liberality of many of the leading Spanish *literati* of the day. He was allowed free access to the valuable papers collected with great labor and care by Don Juan Baptista Muñoz, the indefatigable royal historiographer of the Indies; as well as to those of

1 Prescott, iii, 208, *et seq.* 2 Ibid. ii, 334, *et. seq.* 3 Ibid. ii, 361, *et. seq*

Don Vargas Ponce, the late president of the royal academy of history at Madrid. The present liberal president of this academy, the learned and accomplished Don Martin Fernandes de Navarette, also permitted the free use of his numerous manuscripts.[1]

From these ample collections, the accumulation of half a century, he obtained no less than eight thousand pages of unpublished documents.[2] He was also greatly aided in his task by men of distinguished learning in Mexico; among whom he names with gratitude Count Cortina, Don Lucas Alaman, the minister of foreign affairs, and his friend, Don Angel Calderon de la Barca, late minister plenipotentiary of the court of Madrid to the Mexican republic, and subsequently to the United States.[3]

To these abundant sources of information, was added the liberal aid of several Italian scholars of eminence, among whom the most conspicuous was the duke of Monteleone, the heir and representative of Cortes, who freely communicated the family papers.[4] With all these facilities, Mr. Prescott was enabled to give to the world, we believe for the first time, the whole substance, and a partial translation of the famous fifth despatch or *Carta Quinta* of Cortes, detailing the startling events of his dreadful march through Chiapa to Honduras.[5]

Most of the original historians of the Conquest, as well as those who composed the earliest and best accounts of it from the original authorities, were either Spaniards or Mexicans. To the former class — by far the most numerous and important — belong the terse and vigorous Cortes himself, the sympathetic, enthusiastic and exaggerating Las Casas, the faithful Torquemada, the profound antiquary Sahagun, the concise and elegant Gomara, the pious and learned Toribio, the classical Herrera, the judicious Zurita, the brilliant though more recent De Solis, and last, not least, that charming old gossipping chronicler, Bernal Diaz, himself one of the Conquerors. To the latter belong the accomplished and elaborate Father Clavigero, a native of Vera Cruz; the learned and diffuse Ixtlilxochitl, the lord of Tezcuco; Muñoz Camargo, the historian of Tlascala; and the later Antonio Mariano, Veytia, Gama, and Archbishop Lorenzana.[6]

To these authors we may add Boturini, a learned antiquary, who, though an Italian by birth, yet wrote in Spanish. And be it borne in mind, that the most ancient and famous of all these writers — Sahagun, Torquemada, Gomara, Las Casas, Toribio, and Clavigero — were all Catholic priests. But for their labors and patient researches, in fact, our accounts of the Conquest would have been meagre indeed.

All these early historians our author seems to have thoroughly studied and examined. Appropriate references to them fill the margin of his pages. He furnishes chapter and verse for every important statement; and where the original authors disagree, he seems fairly to canvass their

1 Pref. pp. vi. vii. 2 Ibid. 3 Ibid. 4 Ibid. viii.

5 Volume iii. p 279, *et seq.* and Appendix, No. XIV.

6 Mr. Prescott furnishes us with excellent and well written sketches of all these distinguished writers: and this is perhaps one of the greatest merits of his book.

respective weight and arguments. We are delighted with this: there is some satisfaction in reading an author who thus proves himself fully acquainted with his subject. No one who has carefully perused the history of the Conquest can deny to the accomplished writer the praise of ample research.

His general accuracy seems equally unquestionable. Whenever his judgment is not unduly biassed, he does substantial justice both to the subject, and to the character of the Conquerors. He manifests in general a charming moderation, and he furnishes his readers with the arguments on both sides of the more important questions which arise. Perhaps he even carries this apparent fairness too far: he occasionally falls into the error of the modern eclectic school of history, which makes it fashionable to support both sides of an historical argument with so much plausibility, as almost to bewilder the understanding, and to leave the real position of the historian a complete puzzle.[1]

But the most important question is: was he really impartial? Did he approach the subject with a mind free from all undue bias? Was there no lurking prejudice to cause obliquity of view? In other words, would he have drawn precisely the same picture of the Conquerors, had they not been Roman Catholics? Has he, in one word, redeemed the pledge given by himself in his preface? —

"I have endeavored not only to present a picture true in itself, but to place it in its proper light, and to put the spectator in a proper point of view for seeing it to the best advantage. I have endeavored at the expense of some repetition to surround him with the spirit of the times, and, in a word, to make him, if I may so express myself, a cotemporary of the sixteenth century. Whether, and how far, I have succeeded in this, he must determine."

Availing ourselves of the privilege thus extended to us, as one of his readers, we regret to have to express the deliberate conviction, that he has not "succeeded" in accomplishing, to the full, what he "endeavored" to do, with so much apparent honesty of purpose. More than once religious prejudice has betrayed him into grievous error, as well as into gross injustice to the Conquerors. And we say it the more freely, as it is almost the only stain on an otherwise faultless book,— a dark spot, or rather a collection of spots on the sun,— which, however, it requires no telescope to discover. We regret this fault the more, as such prejudice is wholly unworthy the enlightened and moderate mind of Mr. Prescott; and it will add nothing to his posthumous fame.

What particular set of religious opinions he entertains, or whether he entertain any, we have no means of ascertaining. From some passages in his work, we would infer that his religious tenets sit very lightly on him.

1 We have detected a few inaccuracies, not, however, of much moment. We will mention one. In a note (vol. i, p. 230), he alleges this testimony of a Spanish writer: "Cortes came into the world the same day that that infernal beast, the false heretic, Luther, went out of it," and he concludes from it, that, according to this writer, Cortes was born in 1483. Now this is the date, not of Luther's "going out of the world," which happened in 1546, but of his "coming into it." There is an error *somewhere*.

But one thing is certain: his prejudices against every person and thing Catholic flow in a strong and turbid current, which bears him along on its foamy waters, and overwhelms at times his otherwise clear intellect. We will furnish a few out of many proofs of this, to show how much fairness and impartiality we may expect, even from the polished Mr. Prescott, whenever our religious principles are involved. These specifications will further enable the impartial to judge, with how many grains of allowance many of his statements concerning the essentially religious character of the Conquest and of the Conquerors are to be received.

He seems to be terribly haunted by the ghost of the defunct Spanish Inquisition. Its "raw head and bloody bones" must have been an almost hourly apparition to him, while engaged in preparing his work; and we have no doubt that he was often startled, amidst his historical researches, by suddenly observing its fiery eye-balls fiercely glaring at him through the keyhole of his study! Foully has he been dealt with, and grossly misled, by that miscreant traitor and apostate, Llorente.[1] It is really deplorable, that a man of Mr. Prescott's liberal and enlightened mind should have permitted his credulity to be thus sported with by such a wretch.

That this language is not too severe, will be manifest from the following extracts from the History of the Conquest. Speaking of the horrible human sacrifices enjoined by the Aztec religion, he says:

"Thus we find the same religion inculcating lessons of pure philanthropy on the one hand, and of merciless extermination, as we shall soon see, on the other. The inconsistency will not appear incredible to those who are familiar with the history of the Roman Catholic Church in the early ages of the inquisition."[1]

According to him the Aztec priests, preparing their victims for the dreadful sacrifice and gloating over their excruciating tortures, were but the inquisitors, or as he says in another place, the "Dominicans" of the new world!

"It should be remarked, however, that such tortures were not the spontaneous suggestions of cruelty, as with the North American Indians; but were all religiously prescribed in the Aztec ritual, and doubtless were often inflicted with the same compunctious visitings which a devout familiar of the holy office might at times experience in executing its stern decrees."[2]

In the course of his History, he drags in this odious comparison by the heels, *usque ad nauseam;* and he even seems greatly to prefer the human sacrifices of the Aztecs to those made by the inquisition! Thus, to reconcile his exaggerated theory of the Aztec civilization with the practice of human sacrifices in Anahuac, he says:

One may, perhaps, better understand the anomaly, by reflecting on the condition of some of the most polished countries in Europe, in the sixteenth century, after the establishment of the modern inquisition; an institution which yearly destroyed its thousands, by a death more painful than the

1 The character of this man has been already exhibited, in our paper on the Spanish Inquisition.
2 Vol I, p. 71. 3 Ibid. p. 77.

Aztec sacrifices: which armed brother against brother, and setting its burning seal upon the lip, did more to stay the march of improvement than any other scheme ever devised by human cunning. . . The inquisition, on the other hand, branded its victims with infamy in this world, and consigned them to everlasting perdition in the next. One detestable feature of the Aztec superstition, however, sunk it far below the Christian. This was its cannibalism," &c.[1]

In another place he generalizes this loud declamation against the Spanish inquisition by unequivocally ascribing the alleged cruelties of that tribunal to the doctrines of the Catholic Church. Mark the spirit which breathes in the following sweeping assertion, to establish the truth of which he refers his readers, in a note, to his History of Ferdinand and Isabella:

"But it should be remembered that religious infidelity at this period, and till a much later, was regarded—no matter whether founded on ignorance or education, whether hereditary or acquired, heretical or pagan—as a sin to be punished with fire and faggot in this world, and eternal suffering in the next. This doctrine, monstrous as it is, was the creed of the Romish (!), in other words, of the Christian Church,—the basis of the inquisition, and of those other species of religious persecution, which have stained the annals, at one time or other, of nearly every nation in Christendom."[2]

Such assertions deserve no comment, except that of just indignation or pity, that one who should have known better, has thought proper thus to travel out of his way, and to abandon the legitimate province of history, in order foully to asperse the religious principles of the oldest and most numerous body of Christians on the face of the earth,—of a body which was alone for fifteen hundred years in its championship of Christianity,—of a body, without whose advocacy of Christian principles, and guardianship of the Bible, Mr. Prescott himself would not, in all probability, have at this day the little religion with which he is blessed. What had the Spanish inquisition to do with a history of the Spanish conquest?

But the inquisition apart, what right had he deliberately to charge on the Catholic Church the practice and advocacy of idolatry? Was this, too, necessary to the integrity of his History? It is true he advances this accusation with some qualification and apparent misgiving; yet he advances it plainly enough. Speaking of the use, by Catholics, of "material representations of divinity,"—which, by the way, are not half so common among Catholics, as he would seem to imagine,—he says:

"It is true, such representations are used by him (the Catholic) only as incentives, not as the objects of worship. But this distinction is lost on the savage, who finds such forms of adoration too analogous to his own to impose any great violence on his feelings. It is only required of him to transfer his homage from the image of Quetzalcoatl, the benevolent deity who walked among men, to that of the Virgin or Redeemer; from the cross which he has worshiped as the emblem of the god of rain, to the same cross, the symbol of salvation."[3]

The bigotry of this passage is only surpassed by its absurdity. Is the

1 Ibid. pp. 83, 84. 2 Vol. ii, p. 30. 3 Vol. i, pp. 291, 292.

Virgin, is the cross a divinity? Or was either ever held as such by any Catholic that ever breathed? And so the poor savages could not be taught the distinction between stocks and stones, and the Divinity "who dwelleth in light inaccessible!"

It would seem, in fact, that, Mr. Prescott's natural acuteness wholly abandons him, whenever he enters on the hallowed ground of religious discussion. Once he has set his foot within the sanctuary, he plays all mannner of fantastic tricks, among which casting somersets — self-contradiction — is perhaps the most conspicuous.[1] Take the following passage as a specimen of this:

"It was not difficult to pass from the fasts and festivals of the one religion (the Aztec), to the fasts and festivals of the other (the Christian); to transfer their homage from the fantastic idols of their own creation, to the beautiful forms in sculpture and in painting, which decorated the Christian cathedral. It is true, they could have comprehended little of the dogmas of their new faith, and little, it may be, of its vital spirit. But if the philosopher may smile at the reflection, that conversion, under these circumstances, was one of form rather than of substance, the philanthropist will console himself by considering how much the cause of humanity and good morals must have gained by the substitution of these UNSULLIED rites, for the brutal abominations of the Aztecs."[2]

If Mr. Prescott's picture of the conversion of the Aztecs be faithful, —which it is not,— the philosopher, one would think, should rather weep than smile over its sad want of reality. If, however, he belong to the school of Democritus, rather than of Heraclitus, and have smiles to throw away, he might bestow one of the merriest on Mr. Prescott himself, for his singular consistency in styling *unsullied* those rites which he had just before said were sullied with the grossest and most stupid idolatry!

But the most singular instance of the bigotry of Mr. Prescott against every thing Catholic is yet to come. Who would ever have thought that the Spanish renegade and apostate, the notable and *veracious* Blanco White, — whose apostasy was so amply remunerated, if it was not purchased by British gold,— was a competent authority for reference in the history of the Conquest? Yet it is even so. Mr. Prescott — the smooth and refined Mr. Prescott — actually alleges his authority, in a note, to confirm or illustrate the following precious *morceau* in the text:

"But the doctrines (of Catholic Christianity) were too abstruse to be comprehended at a glance by the rude intellect of a barbarian. And Montezuma may have, perhaps, thought it was not more monstrous to feed on the flesh of a fellow-creature, than *on that of the Creator himself.*"(!)[3]

The shocking grossness of this passage, is equaled only by its glaring impiety, bordering on blasphemy, and by the lamentable ignorance it

1 Mr. Prescott does not seem to admit the soundness of Petit Jean's wise maxim in the "Plaideurs" of Racine: "O dame! On ne court pas deux lievres a la fois!" In the historic chase he often starts and follows two or more hares at once! Hence his blunders and inconsistencies.

2 Vol. iii, pp. 267, 268.

3 Vol. ii, pp. 88, and *note*.

displays. It is worthy of those carnal-minded Jews of Capharnaum, who asked: "How can this man give us his flesh to eat?"[1] And so revolting is it, in fact, that it has drawn down upon the author's head a severe and well merited rebuke from one of the leading American Reviews.[2]

We might present many more extracts breathing a similar spirit; but what we have already furnished will suffice for the present, and the subject may recur in the sequel. We would ask whether Mr. Prescott, with all those gross and bitter prejudices, could have entered cordially into the feelings, and given proper explanations of the motives and conduct of men whose religion he so cordially hated? Like Diogenes, trampling with his muddy feet the costly carpets of Plato, he rebukes, with still greater bigotry,[3] the imputed bigotry of the Spaniards. Yet we will do him the justice to say that he has honestly "endeavored" to paint correctly the Spanish Conquest, as well as the noble heroism of the men who accomplished it. And, considering his deep religious prejudices, he has succeeded much better in this than could have been anticipated.

Perhaps, in composing his history, he had also an eye to business, and cast a shrewd glance at the religious atmosphere breathed by those for whom it was written. Perhaps, too, he may have been under the impression that he could not hope to reach the Elysium of popular favor, without first casting some crusts to the many-headed Cerberus of religious prejudice! Many a modern writer thinks himself compelled to pay this unworthy tribute in passing — shall we be allowed the comparison, made with all due respect to old Charon and to printers' devils? — the Styx of the press. When will this unworthy trembling before the slightest breath of the *aura popularis* cease? When will authors of respectability be free from a thraldom as galling as it is degrading? Will the Moloch of religious bigotry continue to prove more insatiable than was even the war-god of the Aztecs, fed on human victims?

But, as we have already intimated, in spite of the religious prejudice which so strongly swayed the bosom of Mr. Prescott, the greatness and magnificence of his theme inspired him and carried him away. Cold and puritanical as his soul may have been, it could not resist the torrent of enthusiasm which bore away the Conquerors on its bosom, any more than could the warlike Aztecs resist their strong arms, their good swords, and their iron will. Hence he kindles with his subject, enters heartily into its stirring scenes and startling adventures, shares in the sufferings and triumphs of the Conquerors, and, bating some gross insults to the religion which they prized more dearly than life, appreciates their lofty motives, and does them ample justice.

The annals of mankind, though they unfold many scenes which show "how thin is the partition that divides romance from reality," yet tell of

1 St. John vi, 53

2 The Democratic Review. Feb'ry, 1844. Article on "Prescott's Conquest of Mexico."

3 The incident here alluded to is well known. Diogenes, soiling with his muddy feet the carpets of Plato, observed with a sneer: "*Calco fastum Platonis.*" Plato calmly replied; "*At majori astu!*"

few such feats as the Conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards. As our historian well remarks: "The whole story has the air of fable rather than of history; a legend of romance — a tale of the genii." [1] He thus happily groups together the principal startling incidents of which it is made up, when viewed merely as a military achievement:—

"That a handful of adventurers, indifferently armed and equipped, should have landed on the shores of a powerful empire, inhabited by a fierce and warlike race, and, in defiance of the reiterated prohibitions of its sovereign, have forced their way into the interior; — that they should have done this, without knowledge of the language and the land, without chart or compass to guide them, without any idea of the difficulties they were to encounter, totally uncertain whether the next step might bring them on a hostile nation or on a desert, feeling their way along in the dark, as it were; — that, though nearly overwhelmed by their first encounter with the inhabitants, they should still have pressed on to the capital of the empire, and, having reached it, thrown themselves unhesitatingly into the midst of their enemies; — that, so far from being daunted by the extraordinary spectacle there exhibited of power and civilization, they should have been but the more confirmed in their original design; — that they should have seized the monarch, have executed his ministers before the eyes of his subjects, and, when driven forth with ruin from the gates, have gathered their scattered wreck together, and, after a system of operations, pursued with consummate policy and daring, have succeeded in overturning the capital, and establishing their sway over the country; that all this should have been effected by a mere handful of indigent adventurers, is a fact little short of the miraculous,— too startling for the probabilities demanded by fiction, and without a parallel in the pages of history." [2]

The number of Spaniards, who marched the first time against Mexico, fell short of four hundred.[3] Accompanying the expedition there were about six thousand Tlascalans, and a few Cempoallans; and the whole force did not exceed seven thousand men, who were to fight against and to conquer the countless myriads of Montezuma. The Spaniards were compelled to fight their way to the capital inch by inch; and they had first to subdue, before they could avail themselves of the services of, the intervening warlike tribes. Among these, the most formidable were the fierce mountaineers — "the Swiss of Anahuac," as Mr. Prescott styles them, or rather the Spartans,— the brave and independent Tlascalans; first the most deadly enemies, and then the most steadfast friends of the Conquerors.

With this mere handful of ill-assorted troops, the Spaniards had to encounter, in his own capital, the dread Montezuma, a name terrible throughout Anahuac — a name which could summon in an instant millions of fierce warriors, prepared to do battle to the death under his banner! They had to plant their standard in the very heart of Tenochtitlan,— "the Venice of the Aztecs;" they had to uphold it there, against the myriads who, lashed into a wild fury by the battle cry of their great war-god, rushed to the onslaught, and made almost superhuman efforts to pull it down. Cut off from all communication with the main land, by the surrounding lakes and the opened sluices of the dykes,— hemmed in by

1 Vol. iii, p. 215. 2 Ibid., pp. 221, 222. 3 Vol. ii, p. 69

the hosts who were fiercely shouting for their blood, and clamoring for new human victims for their terrible Moloch,— exhausted with fatigue, reeking with wounds, and almost expiring with hunger; — they yet maintained with desperate bravery the unequal contest.

Driven from the capital amid the unutterable horrors of the *Noche Triste,* they gathered together the miserable wreck of their former army; and, after fighting their way back to the coast, contending at every step with hunger, with thirst, with snares laid for their destruction, with hostile armies sent out to cut off their retreat, doomed to destruction, though "fated not to die;" they again, in nothing dismayed by their past sufferings, fought their way back to the capital, unmindful of danger, and regardless of the awful death on the fatal stone of sacrifice; — a doom which stared them in the face, and which had already fallen to the lot of many among their comrades.

Montezuma was no more; but a greater than Montezuma now sat on the imperial throne of the Aztecs. Young, active, persevering, fertile in resources, and determined rather to die with his people than to submit to the Spanish yoke, Guatamozin — the last of the Aztecs — was prepared to defend his capital to the last extremity; and his people, to a man, shared in the determination of their youthful sovereign. The superstitious awe which had seized them on the first appearance of the Spaniards, had now yielded to a deadly hatred of men, whose past reverses had proved them equally mortal with themselves. Now came the deadly strife, the fierce tug of war.

The result is known, and the story is soon told. After feats of daring and bravery which only Spanish chivalry could achieve,— after a siege, perhaps the most memorable in the annals of history,— after a series of desperate assaults, and equally desperate defenses, almost without a parallel,— the iron purpose of the Spaniards won the day, and the banner of Castile floated in triumph from the loftiest pinnacle of the great temple of Tenochtitlan. But it floated over a city laid in ruins, and reeking with the blood of the slain. The Aztecs would have it so: they had fiercely resisted every offer of capitulation; they had determined to bury themselves under the ruins of their capital! Thus fell the proud "Venice of the Aztecs." But two years had elapsed since the Spaniards began their first march to Mexico, and already they had subdued an immense empire.

However the hearts of the Conquerors may have bled over the ruined palaces and fallen turrets of the capital; however they may have sympathized with the appalling sufferings of its people, yet the iron fate of war left them no alternative. The Conquest, through the desperate resistance of the Aztecs, could have been effected with no less disastrous results. The city, however, rose speedily from its ruins; the Spaniards soon made it more beautiful and magnificent than ever, and they substituted the Christian church for the odious and blood-stained *Teocalli;* the cross for the gory statue of the war-god; and the pure and unbloody sacrifice of Christianity for the horrible human sacrifices of the Aztec superstition.

Thus, by almost supernatural exertions and sacrifices, was a vast barbaric empire subdued, and reclaimed to Christian civilization.

The actors in the stirring scenes of this great drama were men of iron nerve and chivalrous daring. They all achieved feats of almost superhuman strength, and won imperishable laurels in this contest. From the common soldier, old Bernal Diaz,— who, to hear his own account, was one of the prime movers in every leading enterprise,— up to the great Captain himself, all distinguished themselves by a perseverance and a patient endurance of toil and suffering, which would have done honor to the Spartans of Leonidas, or to the legions of Cæsar.

Among the leaders, there was Gonzalo de Sandoval, the brilliant, the bold, the daring, the successful, the darling of the army and of his general, the soul of chivalry,— the Tancred of the expedition. There was the equally brave, though less amiable and scrupulous Alvarado, the future conqueror of Guatemala, the *Tonatiuh*, or "child of the sun," of the Aztecs,— the Bohemond of the Conquest. But peering far above them all, a pyramid of strength, stands forth the colossal character of Hernando Cortes,— the Godfrey de Bouillon of the Conquest. He was the very man for the emergency. He was the body as well as the soul of the enterprise: it was *his* work, in its inception, in its progress, in its termination. *His* genius originated it, created the means by which it might be accomplished, not only overcame, but turned to account, the seemingly insuperable obstacles which interposed, watched over it in every trying stage of its progress, and finally brought it to a glorious consummation. Few men, whether in ancient or modern times, ever contended with more difficulties, endured more hardships, were more fertile in expedients, or triumphed with means so slender and inadequate.

Once he had landed in Mexico, and conceived the idea of conquering the empire, he burnt his fleet; thus cutting off all hope of retreat, and leaving his men no alternative but to conquer or to die. He then buckled on his good sword, and with his little army followed fearlessly the banner of the Cross, which he had resolved to plant on the loftiest pinnacle of the city of Montezuma. On, on, with the battle cry of "God and St. Iago!" No dangers appal, no difficulties discourage him. Labor, and toil, and hardships, and reverses, are his daily bread: his soul rises with obstacles, as the ship rises with the waves. A child of fortune, he seems to rise superior to fortune; or rather, his genius transmutes misfortunes into brilliant success.

When, after incredible toil and hazard, he has the golden prize already in his grasp, and reposes quietly in the capital of Montezuma, he learns that Narvaez had been sent with a formidable force to supersede him in the command. Not a moment is lost. He marches with electric rapidity to meet his rival, surprises him in his camp, defeats his fresh and regular troops with one-fourth of their number, and, almost without a struggle, takes them prisoners; wins their affections, incorporates them with his own army, and thereby doubles his own effective force. He finds that he

cannot hope to take the capital, without a fleet to command the surrounding lakes; and his genius creates a fleet, and has it transported across the mountains on the shoulders of his men.

Olid, a subordinate chieftain rebels: Cortes leaves all his Mexican laurels behind him, and to chastise him, marches three thousand miles through the unexplored wilderness of Chiapa,— through wood and marsh, over lake and river; making every obstacle bend to his iron will, checking the rising disaffection of his troops, reviving their drooping spirits, himself leading the way in every toil and hardship: nor does he give over the seemingly hopeless enterprise, but boldly pushes on, till he has attained his object. Perhaps, in all the annals of mankind, there is not to be found a parallel to this dreadful march to Honduras. It cost the great Conqueror nearly as much time, and perhaps more hardship and danger, than the Conquest of the Mexican empire itself.

In one word, Cortes was ready to undertake anything and everything; and he seldom failed to accomplish whatever he undertook. He had the intuition of genius; his mind took in at a glance all the incidents and bearings of an enterprise, no matter how difficult or complicated it might appear.[1]

We know of no exact parallel to his character, but he possessed traits in common with many great generals of antiquity. He moved and conquered with the electric rapidity of Pyrrhus, but he was more successful: he subdued a more warlike empire than Alexander, but he did not, like him, subsequently waste his energies in debauch: he had the courage, skill, and indomitable energy of Scipio Africanus, and, like him, he destroyed a great capital; — but, unlike Scipio, he caused this capital to rise again from its ashes more splendid than ever. He conquered with Cæsar, and with him, "he wrote his own commentaries,"[2] almost amidst the stirring scenes of the battle-field itself. He had the iron nerve and the fertile invention of Hannibal, and the same unconquerable energy in encountering difficulties; but he was much more fortunate than Hannibal. And it is remarkable that old Bernal Diaz compares him to the two generals last named:

"He preferred to be called 'Cortes' by us, to being called by any title; and with good reason, for the name of Cortes is as famous in our day, as was that of Cæsar among the Romans, or of Hannibal among the Carthagenians."[3]

We regret that our limits will not allow of copious extracts from the History of the Conquest, setting forth the character of Cortes, to which Mr. Prescott does as ample justice as his religious prejudices would possibly permit. We can make room for but one or two:

"Indeed, the history of the Conquest, as I have already had occasion

1 Old Bernal Diaz makes the following *naïve* and pious reflection on the exploits of the Conquerors: "and, as I ponder on *our* exploits, I feel that it was not of ourselves that we performed them, but that it was the providence of God which guided us. Much food is there here for meditation!" — *Ap. Presc.* ii. 178.

2 Cf. Prescott, iii, 352.

3 Apud eundem, iii, 356.

to remark, is necessarily that of Cortes, who is, if I may so say, not merely the soul, but the body of the enterprise,— present everywhere in person, in the thick of the fight, or in the building of the works, with his sword or with his musket, sometimes leading his soldiers, and sometimes directing his little navy. The negotiations, intrigues, correspondence, are all conducted by him; and, like Cæsar, he wrote his own commentaries in the heat of the stirring scenes which form the subject of them."[1]

"He was a knight errant in the literal sense of the word. Of all the band of adventurous cavaliers, whom Spain, in the sixteenth century, sent forth on the career of discovery and conquest, there was none more deeply filled with the spirit of romantic enterprise than Hernando Cortes. Dangers and difficulties, instead of deterring, seemed to have a charm in his eyes. They were necessary to rouse him to a full consciousness of his powers. He grappled with them, at the outset, and, if I may so express myself, seemed to prefer to take his enterprises by the most difficult side! He conceived, at the first moment of his landing in Mexico, (*doubtful*) the design of its conquest. When he saw the strength of its civilization, he was not turned from his purpose. When he was assailed by the superior force of Narvaez, he still persisted in it; and, when he was driven in ruin from the capital, he still cherished his original idea. How successfully he carried it into execution, we have seen. After the few years of repose which succeeded the Conquest, his adventurous spirit impelled him to that dreary march across the marshes of Chiapa; and, after another interval, to seek his fortunes on the stormy Californian gulf. When he found that no other continent remained for him to conquer, he made serious proposals to the emperor to equip a fleet at his own expense, with which he would sail to the Moluccas, and subdue the spice islands for the crown of Castile!"[2]

A convincing proof of the great interest which attaches to the personal history of Cortes, and an evidence, too, of the skill of Mr. Prescott as a historian, is found in the fact, that his work loses none of its attractiveness, after the description of the final siege and fall of Mexico. The brilliant De Solis had closed his History of the Conquest with this last scene of the great drama; but Mr. Prescott, at the hazard of not sustaining his narrative, continues it after this event, and unfolds the various startling vicissitudes in the subsequent career of Cortes. And never was a biography more interesting, both in itself and in the manner in which it is treated. Few readers who have gone as far as the fall of Mexico, will refuse to accompany the author to the close of his volume; and many even will read with pleasure the valuable papers in the Appendix.

We cannot close this notice without attempting briefly to answer two questions, which have been often asked respecting the Conquest of Mexico:

1. Was the Conquest justifiable?

2. Was it stained with unnecessary and wanton cruelty by the Spanish Conquerors?

1. The principles by which we judge, in the abstract, of the right of conquest, are very abstruse and difficult to be ascertained with certainty. They lie back in the very foundations of society, and constitute the most delicate and difficult portions of international jurisprudence. Conquerors

1 Ibid. 352.

2 Ibid. 353, 354.

seldom reason; they act. They come up to Sheil's definition of an Irishman: "they act first, and think afterwards." *Might* and *right* are not synonymous terms; but they have been too often viewed as such in the annals of conquest. We recollect once to have read on the barrel of a cannon the significant inscription: ULTIMA RATIO REGUM, — the last reason of kings. This saying is perhaps still more true of conquerors than of kings.

The right of conquest involves a number of very complicated questions; and the slightest circumstance may change a whole case. Hence, perhaps, the best method of deciding the question, whether the Spanish Conquest was justifiable, will be to present a succinct statement of the facts bearing on the case, with such reflections interspersed, as the facts may themselves suggest or warrant. We will adopt this method, and will state nothing which is not undoubted, and for which we will not have the authority of Mr. Prescott himself; though we shall be compelled to controvert some of his positions. And, unless we are greatly mistaken, it will clearly appear from the train of our remarks, that, if ever a conquest was justifiable, that of Mexico by the Spaniards was so.

Before the expedition of Cortes, the enterprise of the Spaniards had already discovered the continent bordering on the gulf of Mexico, and it had been visited by two other adventurers, Cordova and Grijalva:

"Under this chivalrous spirit of enterprise, the progress of discovery had extended, by the beginning of Charles the Fifth's reign, from the bay of Honduras, along the winding shores of Darien, and the South American continent, to the Rio de la Plata. The mighty barrier of the isthmus had been climbed, and the Pacific descried by Nuñez de Balboa; second only to Columbus in this valiant band of 'ocean chivalry.'"[1]

Grijalva had not returned; but Cordova had, by his glowing accounts, quickened the zeal, and stimulated the enterprise of Velasquez, the governor of Cuba. The latter accordingly fitted out an expedition, at the head of which he placed Hernando Cortes. The objects of this enterprise were: to find Grijalva; to rescue six Christians whom Cordova had reported as lingering in captivity in Yucatan; and lastly and chiefly, to extend the Spanish commerce with the natives. In the instructions given to Cortes, no allusion is made to a conquest of the country, properly so called:

"But the great object of the expedition was barter with the natives. In pursuing this, special care was to be taken that they should receive no wrong, but be treated with kindness and humanity. Cortes was to bear in mind, above all things, that the object which the Spanish monarch had most at heart was the conversion of the Indians. He was to impress on them the grandeur and goodness of his royal master, to invite them 'to give in their allegiance to him, and to manifest it by regaling him with such comfortable presents of gold, pearls and precious stones, as, by showing their own good will, would secure his favor and protection.' He was to make an accurate survey of the coast, sounding its bays and inlets for the benefit of future navigators. He was to acquaint himself with the natural products of the country,"[2] &c.

1 Vol. i, p. 217.

2 Ibid. 248—9.

The author adds, that the general tenor of the instructions given to Cortes "must be admitted to provide for the interests of science and humanity, as well as for those which had reference only to a commercial speculation."[1]

Armed with these humane and pacific instructions, Cortes landed in Mexico; nor did he violate either the spirit or the letter of them, until compelled to do so by the indomitable hostility of the Indians. They, and not he, struck the first blow; and his appeal to arms was a necessary measure of self-defense. The first battle occurred at Tobasco; and Mr. Prescott speaks of the conduct of Cortes as follows:

"Before commencing hostilities, that 'he might act with entire regard to justice, and in obedience to the instructions of the royal council,' he first caused proclamation to be made through the interpreter, that he desired only a free passage for his men; and that he proposed to revive the friendly relations which had formerly subsisted between his countrymen and the natives. He assured them that if blood were spilt, the sin would lie on their heads and that resistance would be useless, since he was resolved at all hazards to take up his quarters that night in the town of Tobasco."[2]

This proclamation was received by the Indians, "with shouts of defiance and a shower of arrows."[3] This was a usual mode of procedure with Cortes, who was, *in no instance*, the aggressor; —at least on his first march to Mexico, and until he had been hopelessly committed in the war of the Conquest. Thus, ere he encountered the fierce Tlascalans,

"Cortes, when he had come within hearing, ordered the interpreter to proclaim that he had no hostile intentions, but wished to be allowed a passage through their country, which he had entered as a friend. This declaration he commanded the royal notary, Godey, to record on the spot, that if blood were shed it might not be charged on the Spaniards."[4]

At Cempoalla, the capital of the Totonacs, he had already heard of the tyranny of Montezuma, and of the horrid human sacrifices practiced by the Aztecs. The Cempoallan cazique had told him, that Montezuma was "a stern prince, merciless in his exactions, and, in case of resistance, or any offense, sure to wreak his vengeance by carrying off their young men and maidens to be sacrificed to his deities. Cortes assured him, that he would never consent to such enormities; he had been sent by his sovereign to redress abuses and to punish the oppressor; and if the Totanacs would be true to him, he would enable them to throw off the detested yoke of the Aztecs."[5] He had already assured the cazique "that he had come to the Aztec shores to abolish the inhuman worship which prevailed there, and to introduce the knowledge of the true God."[6]

The more nearly the Spaniards approached the capital, the more were their souls harrowed by the spectacles which everywhere met their eyes, revealing both the execrable tyranny of Montezuma, and the awful extent to which was carried the practice of human sacrifices among the Aztecs. In one place — called *Cocotlan* by Bernal Diaz — "there were thirteen *teo callis* (temples); . . . and in the suburbs they had seen a receptacle,

1 Vol i. p 248-9. 2 Ibid p. 278 3 Ibid.
4 Ibid. p 426. 5 Ibid. p 346. 6 Ibid. p. 445.

in which, according to Bernal Diaz, were stored a hundred thousand skulls of human victims, all piled and ranged in order! He reports the number as ascertained by counting them himself."[1] The author adds: "The Spaniards were destined to become familiar with this appalling spectacle as they approached nearer to the Aztec capital."[2]

These human sacrifices, of which many among the Spaniards themselves were destined subsequently to become the victims,[3] had been long carried to a frightful extent in Anahuac. It was an essential part of the Aztec religion, and was yearly on the increase. On this subject Mr. Prescott says:

"The amount of victims immolated on its accursed altars would stagger the faith of the least scrupulous believer. Scarcely any author pretends to estimate the yearly sacrifice throughout the empire at less than twenty thousand, and some carry the number as high as fifty. On great occasions, as the coronation of a king, or the consecration of a temple, the number becomes still more appalling. At the dedication of the great temple of Huitzilopotchli, in 1486, the prisoners, who for some years had been reserved for the purpose, were drawn from all quarters of the capital. They were ranged in files, forming a procession nearly two miles long. The ceremony consumed several days, and seventy thousand captives are said to have perished at the shrine of this terrible deity!"[4]

"One fact may be considered certain. It was customary to preserve the skulls of the sacrificed, in buildings appropriated to the purpose. The companions of Cortes counted one hundred and thirty-six thousand in one of these edifices. . . . Indeed the great object of war with the Aztecs was quite as much to gather victims for their sacrifices, as to extend their empire. Hence it was that an enemy was never slain in battle, if there were a chance to take him alive. To this circumstance the Spaniards repeatedly owed their own preservation. When Montezuma was asked, 'why he had suffered the republic of Tlascala to maintain her independence on his borders,' he replied, 'that she might furnish him with victims for his gods.'"[5]

Such then was the tyranny, and such were the horrible abominations prevalent among the Aztecs! Could the Spaniards, could Cortes look on those scenes unmoved? Could he, as a Spanish chevalier of lofty bearing, leave all those wrongs unredressed? Could he resist the cry of the fettered slave who implored his aid in breaking his bonds, and asserting his freedom from an odious tyranny which was crushing him in the dust? Could he, as a knight of the cross, suffer the temples any longer to be besmeared with human gore, or the smoke of the horrid sacrifice any longer to ascend from wreaking human victims? Could he, when he had the power to prevent it, permit the most sacred laws of society and of humanity to be thus openly and frightfully trampled on, under his very eyes? Could

1 Ibid. p. 399. 2 Ibid. pp. 399—400.

3 See Prescott, volume iii, pp. 152—3, for a graphic description of the dreadful sacrifice of the Spaniards on the summit of the great *teocalli* of Mexico. 4. Introduction, pp 79, 80

5 Ibid. pp. 81—2. For a lively picture of the manner in which the revolting sacrifice was performed, see ibid. p. 75, *et. seq.* For the appalling spectacle which met the eyes of the Conquerors when they first visited the Aztec temples of Mexico, see Vol ii. p 152 Old Bernal Diaz testifies that those "hells" smelled more strongly than the worst charnel houses of Castile.

he, in one word, as a true knight, sworn to redress grievances, to protect the weak, and to assert the right, do otherwise than he actually did?

He had come to Mexico with pacific intentions; he had not been the aggressor; he was drawn into the war against his own will; by circumstances beyond his control, he was subsequently hurried into it more and more deeply: at every step of his progress, he saw new grievances to redress, new abominations to suppress; the oppressed nations of Anahuac loudly called on him for protection against an inhuman despot, who was grinding them down with exactions, and snatching away, for the horrid sacrifice, their sons and their daughters: in the midst of all these stirring scenes, the hearts of both himself and his companions in arms, beat high with the chivalrous feelings which had lingered longer in Spain than in any other country: — could he, we repeat it, under all these circumstances, have acted otherwise than he did?

Was he, in the first moment of danger, through an over-nice point of honor, or a too delicate sense of the Aztec rights, to turn his back on men, who themselves respected the rights of neither God nor man; — insulting the former with human sacrifices, and trampling systematically on the the dearest rights of the latter? Had he thus ingloriously fled, he would not have been a true Castilian chevalier, nor a faithful knight of the cross. But Providence had entrusted to him a higher mission, and well and truly did he fulfill it. Wherever his arms were victorious, the fetters of the crouching slave were stricken off, and the trembling captive, reserved for the sacrifice, escaped from his horrid cage.[1] Whithersoever he went, he was the protector of the weak, and the scourge of the oppressor. Nor did he desist, until the throne of the haughty Aztec was laid low; until his temples were purified from the abominations of human victims, and dedicated to the true God in a purer worship.

According to the principles of natural reason, and the authority of Montesquieu, Grotius, Puffendorf, and most writers on international law, human sacrifices alone, generally practised among a people, would justify their subjugation by another, in case they would not consent, on being properly appealed to, to abolish of themselves the abominable custom. If war may be lawfully declared for the flagrant violations of the rights of property, is it not, *a fortiori*, lawful, when it is waged to protect from the most barbarous death hundreds of thousands of human beings? If by the universally received principles of international law, war may be declared to abolish the slave trade, can it not, *a fortiori*, be declared for the object just referred to? Mr. Prescott, in fact, does not dissent from these views, however he may seek to conceal or to qualify his opinion. Take this passage as an evidence; he is speaking of the Aztec sacrifices:

"Men became familiar with scenes of horror and the most loathsome abominations. Women and children — the whole nation became familiar with, and assisted at them. The heart was hardened, the manners were made ferocious, the feeble light of civilization, transmitted from a milder

1 Cf. Prescott, vol. ii, p. 38.

race, was growing fainter and fainter, as thousands and thousands of miserable victims, throughout the empire were yearly fattened in its cages, sacrificed on its altars, dressed and served at its banquets! The whole land was converted into a vast human shambles! The empire of the Aztecs did not fall before its time!"[1]

Then follows this singular passage:

"Whether these unparalleled outrages furnish a sufficient plea to the Spaniards for their invasion, whether with the Protestant, we are content to find a reward for it in the natural rights and demands of civilization, or, with the Roman Catholic, in the good pleasure of the Pope (!)—on the one or the other of which grounds, the conquests by most Christian nations in the east and west have been defended—it is unnecessary to discuss, as it has already been considered in a former chapter."[2]

One would have thought, had not Mr. Prescott intimated the contrary, that Protestants had not monopolized all the common sense of the world; and that Roman Catholics could claim an equal right with them to defend their conquests by an appeal "to the natural rights and demands of civilization." We boldly deny the truth of the assertion, that any Catholic power ever rested the defense of its conquests, "in the good pleasure of the Pope;" and the authorities to which Mr. Prescott refers for proof of this, "in a former chapter," do not establish it, any more than a long note appended to the present one, establishes the immaculateness of the Puritans who colonized New England.

This will clearly appear from a very brief examination of Mr. Prescott's curious opinion, on the theory of the right of conquest as maintained by Catholics. After having asserted, without any sufficient evidence, that the holy See claimed a right to all pagan lands, he adds:

"Thus Alexander VI. generously granted a large portion of the western hemisphere to the Spaniards, and of the eastern to the Portuguese. These lofty pretensions of the successors of the humble fishermen of Galilee, far from being nominal, were acknowledged and appealed to as conclusive in controversies between nations."[3]

This last fact solves the whole problem. The Catholic powers of Europe, fearing to come into collision in the rapid progress of their discoveries, appealed, by mutual consent, to the common father of the faithful, as a freely chosen arbitrator, to mark out the limits of their prospective territories. The Popes, feeling that their powerful mediation might prevent war and bloodshed, as freely acceded to the proposal. The result proved their wisdom and forecast. The treaty of Tordesillas between the Spanish and Portuguese governments, proceeding on the basis of this papal partition, settled, without a drop of blood, a controversy which otherwise might have involved both governments in a dreadful war.[4]

That this is the true view of the whole matter, appears more clearly from Mr. Prescott's own admission — singularly inconsistent with his previous random assertions. He says:[5]

"It should be remarked that, whatever difference of opinion existed

1 Vol iii. p. 117. 2 Ibid. 3 Ibid. vol. ii, p. 31.
4 Cf Prescott, ibid. *note*. 5 Ibid p 32, *note*.

between the Roman Catholic — or rather the Spanish and Portuguese nations — and the rest of Europe, in relation to the true foundation of their titles in a moral view, they have *always* been content in their controversies with one another, to rest them *exclusively* on priority of discovery."

And in proof of this, he quotes Vattel and Chancellor Kent. Thus it is manifest, from our author's own showing, that his assertion concerning the Catholic nations resting their titles "in the good pleasure of the Pope," is all a fallacy, — a mere insipid crust thrown to the Cerberus of bigotry.

We have a word to bestow, by the way, on our old friends, the good Puritans of New England, whom Mr. Prescott draws into the discussion on the right of conquest. He admits "that King James' patent asserted rights as absolute nearly as those claimed by the Roman See."[1] But the Puritans of New England did not rest their claims on this patent — not they! Nor did they rest them on the general arguments alleged by other Protestants, drawn from the design of God that the soil of the earth should be extensively cultivated, or from the wants of an ever-expanding civilization. They were far too enlightened to maintain their titles under any such flimsy pretexts! "On the contrary," our author tells us, "they established their title to the soil by *fair* purchase of the aborigines; thus forming an honorable contrast to the policy pursued by too many of the settlers on the American continent."[2]

All that this fine picture needs is fidelity of outline, and truth of coloring. In bargaining, the aborigines of North America were no match for the shrewd Puritans; especially, as was often the case, after the heads of the former had been excited "by copious draughts of rum!" They often sold their territory for a mere trifle: sometimes, as in the case of the Pequods of Connecticut, their soil was seized on by reckless violence. The good Puritans were too often wont to treat them as Amalecites, who were to be driven without mercy from their new Chanaan.

If there be any truth in history, it is certain that the Puritans were in the habit of first cheating, then of goading into war, next of driving into the wilderness or selling into bondage, and lastly, if other means failed, of exterminating the poor Indian tribes of New England! The preachers often accompanied these expeditions of extermination, marching at the head of the troops, and with the "godly Stone," pouring forth long prayers for the success of their arms.[3]

Did Mr. Prescott forget that the Puritans exterminated or drove into the wilderness all the once flourishing tribes of New England — the Pokanokets, the Naragansetts, the Pequods? Did he forgot the treacherous manner in which they requited the generous hospitality of old Massasoit — who had first sheltered them in his wigwam — by selling the only heir of his house into bondage under the burning sand of Bermudas? Did he forget the long continued and cold blooded and systematic cruelty,

1 Cf. Prescott, p. 32, *note*. 2 Ibid.

3 Cf. Bancroft *passim*. In our Review of Webster's Bunker Hill speech, (*infra*,) the subject will be discussed at length.

with which they successively swept from the face of the earth most of the original occupants of the soil? Did he forget that they did little or nothing for their religious culture? Could he, a New Englander, have wholly forgotten all these things, to say nothing of the blue laws and the burning of witches? If he did not, why hold up his forefathers as such paragons of perfection, and models for imitation? The *fairness* of the Puritans, forsooth!

2. This naturally leads us to the second question: Did the Spaniards stain their Conquest of Mexico with wanton and unnecessary cruelty?

Mr. Prescott's own authority warrants us to answer emphatically in the negative. Our limits will not allow us to dwell at any great length on this question: nor is it necessary to do so. The subject will probably recur in our next article on Mr. Prescott's work, in which we mean to speak of the religious point of view of the Conquest; and besides, the case is a very plain one, and, though complicated in its details, is yet easily made out. Never was there, perhaps, in the whole history of mankind, a conquest which was effected with less bloodshed. Never was there one which was conducted with more moderation and discretion, even in the heat of the most stirring scenes. Never was there one stained with fewer crimes, or in which more effectual means were adopted to check violence and to stay cruelty.

All this can be easily established by incontestable evidence. We have already seen, how humane was the spirit breathed by the instructions furnished to Cortes by Velasquez. Mr. Prescott is our witness that Cortes faithfully kept those instructions, at least until he had reached Cholula, on his way to the Aztec capital:

"The present expedition, up to the period of its history at which we are now arrived, had been probably stained with fewer of such acts (of violence,) than almost any similar enterprise of the Spanish discoverers in the new world. Throughout the campaign, Cortes had prohibited all wanton injuries to the natives, and had punished the perpetrators of them with exemplary severity. He had been faithful to his friends, and with perhaps a single exception, not unmerciful to his foes."[1]

What this single exception is, we are at a loss to guess, unless th historian refers to his having had the hands of the Tlascalan spies cut off, and his having sent them to their countrymen in this mutilated condition. But this severity, shocking as it may appear to our present delicacy, was really an act of mercy to the fierce Tlascalans, whose souls were thus stricken with a terror that induced them to close the war, and thereby to stop the effusion of blood: it was such even to the spies themselves, whom the international law of all nations would have consigned, and would even now consign, to the gallows. Was Washington inhumane, because he persisted in having Major André hung, though this brave man urgently entreated, as a last request, that he might be permitted to die the death of a soldier?

1. Vol. ii, p. 23.

We do not mean to say that all the deeds of the Conquerors are defensible, or that they never perpetrated acts of cruelty unwarranted by the trying circumstances in which they were placed. But we do assert, that when all the circumstances are duly and impartially weighed, there was less of wanton cruelty than in any similar expedition for conquest recorded in history. The actions of men struggling to win an empire, and placed in daily and hourly peril of their lives, with treachery often lurking in their own camp, and snares encompassing them from without, are not surely to be judged by the rules of every day life. Rightly to appreciate them, we must divest ourselves of the present, transport ourselves back to their own times, and intermingle with them in all the stirring scenes of their great drama. Judging the Conquerors by this equitable standard, we will find that they were guilty of fewer acts of violence than many refined nations of even this *enlightened* age, placed under similar circumstances. The bloody deeds of the Conquerors almost disappear, when put in comparison with the cruelties perpetrated by the *enlightened* English at the storming of Badajoz,[1] and in other passages of the Peninsular war; to say nothing of the other multiplied horrors of the wars which lately desolated Europe.

The wanton cruelties, perpetrated by some of the Spanish commanders, were severely rebuked by Cortes. Thus the cold-blooded massacre of the Mexicans, ordered by Alvarado, in the absence of Cortes from the capital, was strongly censured by him on his return, however much Alvarado sought to justify it by motives of alarm and of expediency. Speaking of this incident, Mr. Prescott says:

"When Alvarado had concluded his answers to the several interrogatories of Cortes, the brow of the latter darkened as he said to his lieutenant: 'You have done badly. You have been false to your trust. Your conduct has been that of a madman.' And, turning abruptly on his heel, he left him in undisguised displeasure."[2]

There is scarcely a deed of cruelty ascribed to the Spaniards, which had not its justifying, or at least its palliating circumstances. Thus the massacre at Cholula, ordered by Cortes, was viewed by him as a necessary measure of self-defense, under circumstances of imminent peril to the very existence of the Spaniards. They had entered the city as friends; they had been received as friends; they had conducted themselves as friends. While every external appearance indicated friendship on the part of the Cholulans, and promised security to their guests, a foul conspiracy was detected, which aimed at nothing less than the extermination of the whole Spanish army! Thus betrayed by men wearing the mask of friendship, Cortes determined to strike the first blow, as the only means his genius could suggest to avert the threatened destruction. And though, reposing in the security of our closet, we may be inclined to think that he exceeded the just measure of legitimate defense, yet the result justified his forecast.[3]

1 Mr. Prescott admits this, vol ii, p. 34. 2 Vol. ii, p. 289. 3 Cf. Ibid. pp. 33–35.

Another matter of crimination against Cortes is the seizure of Montezuma in his own capital, while the emperor was regaling him and his army with princely hospitality. But fairness requires us to remember, that the truth and honesty of the Aztec emperor were strongly suspected; and that his previous conduct had rendered these suspicions doubly strong. The Spaniards too were in a most critical situation, in the midst of hostile myriads, who awaited only the beck of Montezuma to pounce on and destroy them; or lead them to the fatal stone of sacrifice. In this emergency, their only security lay in possessing themselves of the person of Montezuma, and in using his influence to subdue the city, without shedding a drop of blood. It was a bold step, worthy the genius and daring of Cortes; and, as a matter of expediency, and even, in a certain sense, of humanity, it was a master-stroke of policy. Mr. Prescott himself, though he follows the most unfavorable accounts of the transaction, yet pronounces this equitable opinion:

"To view the matter differently, we must take the position of the Conquerors, and assume with them the original right of conquest. Regarded from this point of view, many difficulties vanish. If conquest was a duty, every thing necessary to effect it was right also. Right and expedient became convertible terms. And it can hardly be denied that the capture of the monarch was expedient, if the Spaniards would maintain their hold on the empire."[2]

It is scarcely pretended, that after his seizure, Montezuma was treated with wanton inhumanity by the Spaniards. Their treatment of the brave and patriotic Guatamozin, after the fall of Mexico, is not so easily defended. But if he was submitted to the torture, it is but justice to Cortes to say, that he opposed it with all his might, and only yielded to the clamor of his soldiers supported by the royal treasurer, Alderete.[3] The soldiers were flushed with victory, and goaded into madness by disappointment in not finding the expected booty, which, it was alleged, Guatamozin had concealed, they openly threatened insurrection: and it is difficult to say how far the influence even of Cortes could have checked or stayed their violence. Indeed, when we reflect with how motley and reckless a soldiery he had to deal, we are lost in amazement at the success of his efforts to enforce subordination, and to prevent deeds of wanton cruelty.

If Guatamozin was subsequently executed by Cortes, we should bear in mind, that the deed was done amidst the awful scenes of that dreadful march to Honduras: and we could pardon almost every thing to a man exhausted by so many hardships, and beset with so many dangers. Any one who will read attentively Mr. Prescott's account of the whole transaction, must come to the conclusion, that Cortes viewed it as a necessary measure of security to the *lives* of himself and followers. His Indian auxiliaries vastly outnumbered his own troops: amid those dreary marshes of Chiapa, the Spaniards were wholly in the power of their Aztec allies;

1 Mr. Prescott admits as much. vol. ii, p. 159. 2 Vol ii, p. 176. 3 Cf. Prescott, iii, 236, *et seq.*

these threatened to pounce upon them in their exhausted condition, and to rear again the fallen banner of Guatamozin. A conspiracy for this purpose was organized, of which the fallen emperor was believed to be the ringleader. Under these trying circumstances, Cortes thought that he had no alternative.[1]

Finally, if much blood was shed, and many horrors enacted during the final siege and capture of Mexico, it was not so much the fault of the Spaniards, as of the circumstances of the siege itself. The Spaniards would fain have taken the capital without shedding a drop of blood; but the obstinate spirit of the Aztecs resisted all their repeated overtures for a capitulation. We cannot better vindicate the conduct of the Conquerors in this emergency, than in the language of Mr. Prescott:

"Their swords were rarely stained with blood, unless it was indispensable to the success of their enterprise. Even in the last siege of the capital, the sufferings of the Aztecs, terrible as they were, do not imply any unusual cruelty in the victors: they were not greater than those inflicted on their own countrymen at home, in many a memorable instance, by the most polished nations, not merely of ancient times, but of our own. They were the inevitable consequences which follow from war, when, instead of being confined to its own legitimate field, it is brought home to the hearth-stone, to the peaceful community of the city,—its burghers untrained to arms, its women and children yet more defenseless. In the present instance, indeed, the sufferings of the besieged were in a great degree to be charged on themselves,—on their patriotic but desperate self-devotion. It was not the desire, as it was certainly not the interest, of the Spaniards to destroy the capital or its inhabitants. When any of these fell into their hands, they were kindly entertained, their wants supplied, and every means taken to infuse into them a spirit of conciliation; and this, too, it should be remembered, in spite of the dreadful doom to which they consigned their Christian captives. The gates of a fair capitulation were kept open, though unavailingly, to the last hour. The right of conquest necessarily implies that of using whatever force may be necessary for overcoming resistance to the assertion of that right. For the Spaniards to have done otherwise than they did, would have been to abandon the siege, and with it the conquest of the country. To have suffered the inhabitants, with their high-spirited monarch, to escape, would but have prolonged the miseries of war, by transferring it to another and more inaccessible quarter. They literally, as far as the success of the expedition was concerned, had no choice. If our indignation is struck with the amount of suffering in this, and in similar scenes of the Conquest, it should be borne in mind, that it is a natural result of the great masses of men engaged in the conflict."[2]

In conclusion, we would beg the impartial reader to compare for a moment the Spanish Conquest of Mexico with the English Conquest of India; and the Spanish Hernando Cortes with the English Lord Clive. How immaculate do even the darkest deeds of the Spanish Conquerors appear, when placed by the side of those done by the English of the eighteenth century in India? For drops of blood shed by the Spaniards, the English shed gallons; for tens on whom the Spaniards inflicted suf-

1 Cf. Ibid, p. 285, *et seq.*

2 Vol. iii, pp. 218, 219.

fering, the English inflicted it on thousands. The horrors of the Spanish Conquest were transient; and they were speedily forgotten in the blessings of the new civilization of which the Conquerors were the harbingers: the horrors of the English Conquest still remain, increased a hundred fold; the tens of millions of enslaved and crushed victims, yet send forth their notes of wailing under English tyranny. The dreadful horrors recently enacted in Afghanistan and Schinde are but links in the chain of a systematic cruelty and oppression which has continued, with little intermission, since the first moment of the Conquest,—or for the last ninety years! Lastly, the Spaniards abolished the horrid human sacrifices of the Aztecs, and indoctrinated them in Christianity: the English bowed down the bodies, but cared little for the souls of their victims; and the horrid car of Juggernaut still crushes its hundreds of fanatical worshipers!

And then, how does the character of Lord Clive compare, or rather contrast with that of Hernando Cortes! Bold, daring, gifted, and successful like Cortes, Clive had not a particle of his chivalry, nor of his moral principle. As a warrior, too, he was vastly inferior. He had not the same difficulties to contend with, nor the same fierce and warlike tribes to encounter. Though assisted with fire-arms, the soft and effeminate Bengalee was not to be put in comparison with the fierce Aztec, and the warlike Tlascalan. Finally, Cortes was an honorable and high-minded cavalier, whose lofty nature could not stoop to meanness; Clive was an intriguer, a hypocrite, a forger![1] The two names of Lord Clive and Hernando Cortes should not be breathed together, nor written on the same page, any more than those of Warren Hastings and the very worst of the Spanish viceroys that ever ruled in the Mexican capital.

1 We would ask those, who may be disposed to think these epithets unwarrantable or too strong, to read Macaulay's review of "Malcolm's Life of Clive." We can present only the following brief extract: "Accordingly this man, in all the other parts of his life an honorable English gentleman and soldier, was no sooner matched against an Indian intriguer than he became himself an Indian intriguer, and descended without scruple to falsehood, to hypocritical caresses, to the substitution of documents, and to counterfeiting of hands!" Macaulay's Miscellanies, 8vo. p. 327. Carey & Hart, Philadelphia, 1843. Read the entire Review, as also the article on Warren Hastings, ibid. p. 400, *et seq.*

XIV. PRESCOTT'S CONQUEST OF MEXICO.

ARTICLE II.

THE RELIGIOUS POINT OF VIEW OF THE CONQUEST.*

Religious point of view necessary — Noble sentiment of Lope de Vega — Spaniards much influenced by it — Prescott's testimony — The Spanish cavalier, a soldier of the Cross — Injustice done his character by Prescott — The age of chivalry compared with the present — Motives which actuated Catholic and Protestant navigators and pioneers — A holy Crusade — Religious character of Cortes — His standard — Stirring address to his soldiers — The Cross unfurled — And animating the army — Zeal for the conversion of the natives — Religious rites and worship — Relative adaptation of Catholic and Protestant systems for making proselytes — Prescott's theory examined — Remarkable incidents showing the piety of the Conquerors — Their zeal sometimes too fiery — Catholic missionaries — They oppose cruelty to the natives — As well as all forced conversions — Las Casas and Olmedo — Alleged intemperate zeal of Cortes — Idols cast down — Explanation and defense — Charitable zeal of Olmedo — Aquilar and other missionaries — Religious ceremonies on launching the fleet — And at the termination of the siege — Missionaries after the Conquest — Destruction of the Teocallis — Great number of converts among the Aztecs — How accounted for — Prescott's theory — "The Aztec worship and Romish ritual!" — Alleged similarity between the two — Curious coincidences — Alleged miracles — Loss and gain to the Church — Conclusion.

In our first article, we endeavored to show what was the character of the Conquest and of the Conquerors of Mexico; and we examined how far Mr. Prescott has done justice to the subject. In the present paper, which will conclude our remarks on Mr. Prescott's work, we intend briefly to unfold the Religious Point of View of the Conquest, and to vindicate from the assaults of prejudice or ignorance the eminently religious character of the Conquerors.

Without examining the religious aspect of the Conquest, it were utterly impossible rightly to understand or properly to appreciate its character. Religion was, in fact, its great end and aim; its all-pervading motive; its very life and soul. Religion nerved the arms, stimulated the courage, and ennobled the chivalry of the Conquerors. Religion accompanied the Conquest in every eventful stage of its progress, softened down its manifold horrors, bound up and healed with a heavenly balm its many bleeding wounds; and soothed and raised up, by her sweet ministrations of mercy, the bruised hearts and crushed spirits of the vanquished. All this we hope to make appear, from unquestionable evidence.

One among the greatest of the Spanish poets, Lope de Vega, has in a

* *History of the Conquest of Mexico, with a Preliminary View of the Ancient Mexican Civilization, and the Life of the Conqueror, Hernando Cortes.* By William H. Prescott, author of the History of Ferdinand and Isabella. In 3 vols. 8 vo., pp. 488, 480, 524 Harper & Brothers: New York, 1843.

single brief couplet unfolded the whole purpose of Hernando Cortes, and the great object of the Conquest which he achieved: —

"Al rey infinitas tierras,
Y a Dios infinitas almas."[1]

To extend the boundaries of the Spanish empire over the vast territories of the new world, and thereby to gain an infinite number of souls to God, was the twofold object of this and of every other Spanish Conquest. Mr. Prescott himself assures us, that this "is the light in which the Conquest was viewed by every devout Spaniard of the sixteenth century."[2] With the great French Catholic Champlain of North America, the "devout Spaniard" of that day deemed "the salvation of a soul more glorious than the conquest of an empire."[3] This heavenly motive of winning souls to God was much stronger in the mind and heart of the Spanish Catholic, than the earthly motive of mere worldly conquest. The former often prompted to the latter. The desire of planting the cross in the midst of heathen nations, and of thereby bringing them from "the region of the shadow of death," into the bright land of Christian civilization, generally preceded, it always accompanied the expedition for discovery and conquest. Upon this subject let us hear Mr. Prescott, whose testimony has additional weight, from the circumstance that it is extracted from that portion of his history in which he unfolds the strange theory of Catholic Conquest, to which we adverted in our first article:

"With the right of conquest, thus conferred, came, also, the obligation, on which it may be said to have been founded, to retrieve the nations sitting in darkness from eternal perdition. This obligation was acknowledged by the best and the bravest, the gownsman in his closet, the missionary, and the warrior in the crusade. However much it may have been debased by temporal motives and mixed up with worldly considerations of ambition and avarice, it was still active in the mind of the Christian conqueror. We have seen how far paramount it was to every calculation of personal interest in the breast of Cortes."[4]

We have no doubt that our historian *sought* to do justice to the lofty religious chivalry of the Conquerors; and if he has not succeeded to the full, we are to ascribe the failure mainly to a deep and abiding prejudice — of which, perhaps, he himself was not wholly conscious — against the religion which they professed. There is, however, this extenuating circumstance in the bigotry of Mr. Prescott, that the evil generally carries with it its own remedy. Wherever this dark stain of prejudice is seen, sullying the whiteness and marring the beauty of his pages, there, by the side of it, you perceive also, the correctives of inconsistency, absurdity, and self-contradiction. It would really appear, that the enlightened and polished Mr. Prescott claims the right of being absurd and of contradicting himself, whenever he sets foot within the hallowed inclosure of the sanctuary. We have already given some instances of this amiable foible: and to show that we are not hazarding assertions, or bandying epithets at

1 "To the King boundless territory, and to God innumerable souls."
2 Vol. iii, p. 362 — *note*.
3 See Bancroft, History U. States, vol. iii, chap. xx
4 Vol ii, p. 31-2.

random, we will now proceed to point out some others, in connection with what we may call Mr. Prescott's religious theory of the Conquest.

To soften down the charge of bigotry brought against Cortes, and to aid in estimating aright the true spirit of the Conquest, he offers the following remarks:

"But this is unjust. We should throw ourselves back (it cannot be too often repeated) into the age; the age of the Crusades. For every Spanish cavalier, however sordid and selfish might be his private motives, felt himself to be the soldier of the cross. Many of them would have died in defense of it. Whoever has read the correspondence of Cortes, or, still more, has attended to the circumstances of his career, will hardly doubt that he would have been among the first to lay down his life for the faith. He more than once periled life, and fortune, and the success of his whole enterprise, by the premature and most impolitic manner in which he would have forced conversion on the natives."[1]

To these reasonable remarks he adds the following characteristic reflections:

"To the more rational (!) spirit of the present day, enlightened by a purer (!) Christianity, it may seem difficult to reconcile gross deviations from morals with such devotion to the cause of religion. But the religion taught in that day was one of form and elaborate ceremony. In the punctilious attention to discipline, the spirit of Christianity was permitted to evaporate. The mind, occupied with forms, thinks little of substance."[2]

To us it appears wholly incomprehensible, how a religion of "mere form and elaborate ceremony," from which "the spirit of Christianity was permitted to evaporate," could have stimulated Cortes "to lay down his life for the faith!" Will Mr. Prescott say, that there was no "substance" in this "devotion to the cause of religion?" Is he of the opinion, that those of the present day, "enlightened by a purer Christianity," would be prepared to lay down their lives for its defense? Did his Puritan ancestors, basking in the rays of this "purer Christianity," covet, to any great extent, the crown of martyrdom?

In another place, our historian thus attempts to paint the character of the Spanish soldier of the cross:

"The Spanish cavalier felt he had a higher mission to accomplish, as a soldier of the cross. However unauthorized or unrighteous the war into which he had entered may seem to us, to him it was a holy war. He was in arms against the infidel. Not to care for the soul of his benighted enemy was to put his own in jeopardy. The conversion of a single soul might cover a multitude of sins. It was not for morals that he was concerned, but *for the faith.* This, though understood in its most literal and limited sense, comprehended the whole scheme of Christian morality."[3]

It were difficult to reconcile together the assertions contained in the two last sentences; and to understand clearly how the Spanish cavalier "was not concerned for morals," while the faith, which glowed so warmly in his bosom, "comprehended the whole system of Christian morality!" If the accomplished author meant to assert — as seems probable — that the

1 Vol. iii, p. 361. 2 Ibid., p 362. 3 Vol. i, pp. 269, 270.

Spanish knight was not at all imbued with a knowledge of morality, and was taught by his Church to believe that faith alone could save him without works, then we enter our solemn protest against the assertion, which is little better than an injurious calumny.

As soldiers of the cross, the Spanish Conquerors were deeply imbued with that lofty and ardent spirit of chivalry, which had ever been a prominent trait in their national character. This spirit had grown up amidst the perils and adventures of that long protracted struggle of eight hundred years with the Moorish conquerors of Spain; whom, after many a deadly contest, the noble Spanish chivalry succeeded in finally driving from their beautiful country. It was a struggle for their homes, for their altars, for their liberties, for their very existence, against those who had fastened a foreign yoke of iron, together with a foreign fanaticism, on their necks. It was a struggle of the Cross against the Crescent; of Christian light and civilization against Mohammedan darkness and despotism. The Cross triumphed; and with its triumph were intimately blended all the most glowing reminiscences, and all the most glorious aspirations of Spanish patriotism. This historical view furnishes us with a key to the Spanish character, and explains to us its lofty bearing and its noble chivalry.

When, after the Conquest of Granada, the Moors were finally driven from Spain, Spanish chivalry panted for new fields of action on which it might win additional laurels; and the discovery of a new world, at this precise period, opened to its enterprise a new theater for adventure. Of the spirit with which the Spanish cavalier entered on this new career, Mr. Prescott speaks as follows:

"The period which we are reviewing was still the age of chivalry; that stirring and adventurous age, of which we can form little conception in the present day of sober, practical reality. The Spaniard, with his nice point of honor, high romance, and proud, vain-glorious vaunt, was the true representation of that age. The Europeans, generally, had not yet learned to accommodate themselves to a life of literary toil, or to the drudgery of trade, or the patient tillage of the soil. They left these to the hooded inmate of the cloister, the humble burgher, and the miserable serf. Arms was the only profession worthy of gentle blood,— the only career which the high-mettled cavalier could tread with honor. The new world, with its strange and mysterious perils, afforded a noble theater for the exercise of his calling, and the Spaniard entered on it with all the enthusiasm of a palladin of romance."[1]

It is curious to mark the different spirit with which the various nations of Europe embarked on the new career of discovery and conquest, opened to them by the enterprising genius of Columbus and other Catholic navigators. Mr. Prescott makes the comparison in the following remarkable passage, which immediately follows that just given:

"Other nations entered on it also, but with different motives. The French sent forth their missionaries to take up their dwelling among the heathen, who, in the good work of winning souls to Paradise, were content

1 Vol. iii, p. 64.

to wear — nay, sometimes seemed to court — the crown of martyrdom. The Dutch, too, had their mission, but it was one of worldly lucre, and they found a recompense for toil and suffering in their gainful traffic with the natives. While our own Puritan fathers, with the true Anglo-Saxon spirit, left their pleasant homes across the waters, and pitched their tents in the howling wilderness, that they might enjoy the sweets of civil and religious freedom. But the Spaniard came over to the new world in the true spirit of a knight-errant, courting adventure, however perilous, wooing danger, as it would seem, for its own sake. With sword and lance, he was ever ready to do battle for the faith; and, as he raised his old war-cry of 'St. Jago,' he fancied himself fighting under the banner of the military apostle, and felt his single arm a match for more than a hundred infidels! It was the expiring age of chivalry; and Spain, romantic Spain, was the land where its light lingered longest above the horizon." [1]

The noble spirit, exalted motives, and devoted Christian zeal of the Catholic French and Spaniards, compare very advantageously, or rather contrast very strongly, with the sordid avarice and the mere carnal motives of the Protestant Dutch and Puritans, even if the latter did pant for "the sweets of civil and religious freedom;"—a fact more than questionable, when we consider their narrow-minded bigotry, their selfish and exclusive policy, and their bitter persecution of brother Protestants. Who would not greatly prefer to theirs, the noble type of the Spanish character, as exhibited in the elevated religious zeal, the heroic daring, and the generous self-devotedness of the soldier of the cross, in the new world? Who so dead to the feelings of chivalry, as not to be moved by the sight of a brave and devoted little band of cavaliers leaving home, and nobly battling for Christianity in a foreign land?

> "Feared by their breed, and famous by their birth;
> Renowned for their deeds, as far from home
> For Christian service, and true chivalry." [2]

Mr. Prescott tells us more than once, that the Conquest of Mexico was viewed by the Spaniards as a kind of holy crusade, for the extension of Christianity; and, though we think that he sometimes pushes this view of the subject too far, yet, in the main, it is correct. We cheerfully subscribe to the following declaration:

"There can be no doubt, that Cortes, with every other man in his army, felt he was engaged in a holy crusade; and that, independently of personal considerations, he could not serve heaven better, than by planting the cross on the blood-stained towers of the heathen metropolis." [3]

The whole history of the Conquest proves this eminently religious character of Cortes and his associates, and establishes the fact that religious zeal was the distinctive feature and the all-pervading motive of the whole enterprise. Making proper allowance for his strong prejudice against the religion of the Conquerors, Mr. Prescott himself does justice to this branch of the subject: and in vindicating the motives and conduct of the Conquerors, we shall accordingly have little more to do than to allege his authority. The great number of facts we shall have to produce, as links

1 Vol. iii. pp. 64–5. 2 Shakspeare. Richard II. 3 Vol. iii, p. 75.

in the chain of evidence, will allow us little room for comment; nor will much comment be necessary. We mean to show, that, throughout the eventful vicissitudes of the Conquest, the winning of souls to God was the all-absorbing consideration with the Spaniards, in comparison with which all others were undervalued; and that religion presided over the entire expedition, mitigating its evils, checking its excesses, and soothing its horrors.

Before Cortes and his army had set foot on the soil of Mexico, this noble purpose of converting the natives to Christianity, was strongly impressed on his mind, as the chief object of the expedition. In the instructions given him by Velasquez, the Governor of Cuba, he was told, as we have seen, "to bear in mind, above all things, that the object which the Spanish monarch had most at heart, was the conversion of the Indians; and to take the most *careful care*, to omit nothing that might redound to the service of God or his sovereign." [1]

Cortes determined to comply with the letter, while he entered fully into the spirit of these instructions. His banner was constructed in imitation of the famous *labarum*, which Constantine, the first Christian emperor, had made after the model of the cross he had seen in the heavens; and it was inscribed with a similar motto:

"His principal standard, was of black velvet, embroidered with gold, and emblazoned with a red cross amidst flames of blue and white, with this motto in Latin beneath: 'Friends, let us follow the cross; and under this sign, if we have faith, we shall conquer.'" [2]

Ere he embarked on the expedition, Cortes addressed his heroic little band of intrepid adventurers in a strain well worthy the soldier of the cross:

"You are few in number, but strong in resolution; and, if this does not falter, doubt not but that the Almighty, who has never deserted the Spaniard in his contest with the infidel, will shield you, though encompassed by a cloud of enemies; for your cause is a just cause, and you are to fight under the banner of the cross. Go forward, then, with alacrity and confidence, and carry to a glorious issue the work so auspiciously begun." [3]

This address was responded to with enthusiastic emotion by every man in that little army; while the blessing of God was solemnly invoked on the expedition ere it set sail:

"Cortes was well satisfied to find his own enthusiasm so largely shared by his followers. Mass was then celebrated with the solemnities usual with the Spanish navigators, when entering on their voyages of discovery. The fleet was placed under the immediate protection of St. Peter, the patron saint of Cortes: and weighing anchor, took its departure on the eighteenth day of February, 1519, for the coast of Yucatan." [4]

Cortes knew of no argument better calculated to stimulate the courage and to awaken the ardor of his followers, than an appeal to their religious feelings. On the eve of his march to Mexico from Cempoalla,

"The General spoke a few words of encouragement to his own men.

1 Ibid. vol. i. pp 248-9. 2 Ibid. p. 258. 3 Ibid. pp. 263-4. 4 Ibid. p. 264.

He told them they were now to embark, in earnest, on an enterprise which had been the great object of their desires; and that the blessed Saviour would carry them victorious through every battle with their enemies. Indeed,' he added, 'this assurance must be our stay, for every other refuge is now cut off, but that afforded by the Providence of God, and your own stout hearts.' "[1]

Did the courage of his soldiers seem likely to falter, when they beheld themselves beset with difficulties and dangers in the heart of a country teeming with enemies? Did they hesitate, when, for instance, they were about to encounter the dreadful embattled array of the fierce and warlike Tlascalans? —

"Cortes put himself at the head of his cavalry, and calling out, 'Forward, soldiers, the Holy Cross is our banner, and under that we shall conquer,' led his little army through the undefended passage; and in a few moments they trod the soil of the free republic of Tlascala."[2]

In the desperate battles which ensued on the soil of this fiery-hearted republic crowning the mountains of Anahuac, the banner of the cross, and the words of Cortes eloquently enforcing the motto inscribed thereon, led the Spanish army through apparently insuperable difficulties, and caused it to achieve prodigies of valor. In one of those sharp contests with the Tlascalans, when the chances for the Spaniards seemed desperate, as they beheld themselves overwhelmed by superior numbers:

"Amidst the din of battle, the voice of Cortes was heard, cheering on his soldiers. 'If we fail now,' he cried, 'the cross of Christ can never be planted in the land. Forward, comrades! When was it ever known that a Castilian turned his back on a foe?' Animated by the words and heroic bearing of their General, the soldiers, with desperate efforts, at length succeeded in forcing a passage through the dark columns of the enemy, and emerged from the defile on the plain beyond."[3]

When, worn down with fatigue, and despairing of ever reaching Mexico, his soldiers entreated Cortes to retrace his steps, and to lead them back to the coast; "He made answer, 'we fight under the banner of the cross; God is stronger than nature;' and continued his march."[4] When his arms were crowned with success, he attributed the victory and all the glory to God's watchful Providence: "As we fought under the standard of the cross for the true faith, and the service of your highness," writes he in a despatch to Charles V., "Heaven crowned our arms with such success, that, while multitudes of the infidels were slain, little loss was suffered by the Castilians."[5]

Throughout the whole expedition, amidst all its stirring scenes and hair-breadth escapes, Cortes and his followers never forgot that they were knights of the cross, and that the chief object of the enterprise was the conversion of the natives. At Cozumel and at Tabasco; at Cempoalla and on the heights of Tlascala; in the holy city of Cholula and in the capital of Montezuma; in conferences with country caziques, with Aztec nobles, with Montezuma himself: amidst the overpowering fatigues of his

1 Ibid. pp. 392–3. 2 Ibid. p. 405. 3 Ibid. p. 430.
4 Ibid p 456. 5 Ibid.

march, when exhausted and worn down with hunger, watchfulness and incessant fighting; — at all times, and in all places, the object first in his thoughts, and first in his affections, the darling project of his soul, upon which he insisted, "in season and out of season," was the conversion of the natives to Christianity! This we could prove by a whole volume of evidence, drawn from the work of Mr. Prescott.

The first point at which Cortes came in contact with the natives was the island of Cozumel; and our historian bears the following testimony as to his religious zeal on the occasion:

"The first object of Cortes was to reclaim the natives from their gross idolatry, and to substitute a purer form of worship. . . There was nothing which the Spanish government had more earnestly at heart, than the conversion of the Indians. It forms the constant burden of their instructions, and gave to the military expeditions in this hemisphere the air of a crusade. The cavalier who embarked in them entered fully into these chivalrous and devotional feelings."[1]

A similar zeal for the conversion of the natives was manifested at Tabasco:

"Before his departure the Spanish commander did not omit to provide for the great object of his expedition, the conversion of the natives. . . . He then caused the reverend fathers Olmedo and Diaz to enlighten their minds, as far as possible, on the great truths of revelation, urging them to receive these in place of their heathenish abominations. The Tabascans, whose perceptions were no doubt materially quickened by the discipline they had undergone, made but a faint resistance to either proposal. The next day was Palm Sunday, and the General resolved to celebrate their conversion by one of those pompous ceremonials of the Church, which should make a lasting impression on their minds. A solemn procession was formed of the whole army with the ecclesiastics at their head, each soldier bearing a palm-branch in his hand. The concourse was swelled by thousands of Indians of both sexes, who followed in curious astonishment at the spectacle. The long files bent their way through the flowering savannas that bordered the settlement, to the principal temple, where an altar was raised, and the image of the presiding deity was deposed, to make room for that of the Virgin with the infant Saviour. Mass was celebrated by father Olmedo, and the soldiers who were capable joined in the solemn chant. The natives listened in profound silence, and, if we may believe the chronicler of the event (Gomara) who witnessed it, were melted into tears; while their hearts were penetrated with reverential awe for the God of those terrible beings who seemed to wield in their own hands the thunder and the lightning."[2]

To account for the rapidity with which the natives were converted to Catholic Christianity, Mr. Prescott here speculates as follows on the relative adaptation of the Catholic and Protestant systems for making proselytes:

"The Roman Catholic communion has, it must be admitted, some decided advantages over the Protestant, for the purposes of proselytism. The dazzling pomp of its service, and its touching appeal to the sensibilities, affect the imagination of the rude child of nature much more

1 Vol. i, p. 269. 2 Ibid. pp. 290–1.

powerfully than the cold abstractions of Protestantism, which, addressed to the reason, demand a degree of refinement and mental culture in the audience to comprehend them."[1]

In another place, speaking of the conversion of the Totonacs at Cempoalla, he farther unfolds his theory on the subject, as follows:

"Mass was performed by father Olmedo, and the impressive character of the ceremony and the passionate eloquence of the good priest, touched the feelings of the motley audience, until Indians as well as Spaniards, if we may trust the chronicler, were melted into tears and audible sobs. The Protestant missionary seeks to enlighten the understanding of his convert by the pale light of reason. But the bolder Catholic, kindling the spirit by the splendor of the spectacle, sweeps along his hearers in a tempest of passion, that drowns every thing like reflection (!) He has secured his convert by the hold on his affections, — an easier and more powerful hold with the untutored savage, than reason."[2]

Honorable as is this testimony to the Catholic Church, coming from a prejudiced Protestant, yet we had, in our simplicity, entertained the belief that Protestantism, with "its cold abstractions," and "pale light of reason," had not monopolized all the intellect of the world; and that Catholic missionaries were also blessed with a small portion of reason wherewith "to enlighten the understanding of their converts." We may have been wrong; but unless we are greatly mistaken, Mr. Prescott himself shows, in many passages of his work — some of which we will hereafter furnish — that the Catholic missionaries, who accompanied the army of the Conquest, labored patiently to enlighten the understanding, no less than to move the hearts of their proselytes.

We will barely remark here, that our historian's theory, however much founded in truth it may appear to be in the main, does not adequately explain the notorious and undeniable fact, that *every* nation which has ever been converted to Christianity from paganism, and thereby reclaimed to civilization, has been converted by Catholic missionaries; and that, on the contrary, *no* nation has ever been thus converted by missionaries attached to the Protestant sects! For this remarkable result there must be some explanation, other than the mere diversity of means employed by the missionaries of the respective communions. There are such things as the special blessing of God on missionary toil, and a legitimate mission to undertake the work of conversion. Without these, all human philosophy were unavailing; for, "how can they preach unless they be sent?"[3] And there can be no doubt, that the almost total failure of Protestant missionary effort is ascribable at least as much to the want of these essential conditions, as to the employment of any inadequate or injudicious means for the conversion of heathens.

We might produce many other instances of the zeal which was everywhere manifested by the Conquerors for the conversion of the natives. But we must be satisfied with one more extract, merely referring our readers in the margin to many others[4] which we had marked for quotation,

1 Vol. i, pp. 296–1. 2 Ibid. p. 361. 3 Romans, ch. x.

4 Cf. vol. i, pp 325, 334, 396, 357, and vol ii. pp. 55. 82. 87. 88. 150, 155, &c.

but which our narrow limits compel us to exclude. The author is speaking of the conference held by Cortes with the Aztec envoys of Montezuma in the Spanish encampment near Vera Cruz, previous to the commencement of the march to Mexico. The passage proves both the piety of the Conquerors and their zeal for converting the natives :

"While they were conversing, the bell struck for Vespers(?).[1] At the sound, the soldiers, throwing themselves on their knees, offered up their orisons before the large wooden cross planted in the sands. As the Aztec chiefs gazed with curious surprise, Cortes thought it a favorable occasion to impress them with what he conceived to be a principal object of his visit to the country. Father Olmedo accordingly expounded, as briefly and clearly as he could, the great doctrines of Christianity, touching on the atonement, the passion, and the resurrection, and concluding with assuring his astonished audience, that it was their intention to extirpate the idolatrous practices of the nation, and to substitute the pure worship of the true God. He then put into their hands a little image of the Virgin with the infant Redeemer, requesting them to place it in their temples instead of their sanguinary deities."[2]

From the facts hitherto alleged, the impartial reader will have gathered what was the spirit, and what the zeal of the Conquerors for the diffusion of Christianity and the conversion of the Aztecs. If this zeal was at times too fiery and impetuous ; if it occasionally impelled the soldiers of the cross to think of appealing to their good swords, on the failure of milder means, for the suppression of an abominable and inhuman idolatry ; if they were sometimes betrayed into excesses which themselves would have condemned in their cooler moments ; we are not at all surprised at these occasional outbursts of intemperate zeal or passion. They are nothing more than might have been expected from the heat of a contest, fraught with so many difficulties and perils, pregnant with results so momentous, and so very stirring and exciting in its whole character. One thing is certain, from the testimony of Mr. Prescott himself, that the Catholic missionaries who accompanied the expedition used every effort to mitigate its horrors, and to suppress every species of violence. They were invariably the friends of the natives, whom they sought to protect from cruelty and oppression ; and they were likewise opposed to all forced conversions. We will establish both these facts by undeniable evidence.

In regard to the first — the prevention of cruelty to the natives — the following testimonies of our historian will speak for themselves :

"The cruel system of *ripartimientos*, or distribution of the Indians as slaves among the Conquerors, had been suppressed by Isabella. Although subsequently countenanced by the government, it was under the most careful limitations. But it is impossible to license crime by halves — to authorize injustice at all, and hope to regulate the measure of it. The eloquent remonstrances of the Dominicans,— who devoted themselves to the good work of conversion in the new world with as much zeal as they showed for persecution (!) in the old,— but above all, those of Las Casas, induced the regent, Ximenes, to send out a commission with full powers

1 More probably for the Angelus, or some other devotion. This gross ignorance of our religious practices is not unusual with Protestant writers.

2 Vol. i, pp. 325-6.

to inquire into the alleged grievances, and to redress them. It had authority, moreover, to investigate the conduct of the civil officers, and to reform any abuses in their administration. This extraordinary commission consisted of three Hieronymite friars and an eminent jurist, all men of learning and unblemished piety. They conducted the inquiry in a very dispassionate manner; but, after long deliberation, came to a conclusion most unfavorable to the demands of Las Casas, who insisted on the entire freedom of the natives. This conclusion they justified on the grounds, that the Indians would not labor without compulsion, and that, unless they labored, they could not be brought into communication with the whites, nor be converted to Christianity. Whatever we may think of this argument, it was doubtless urged with sincerity by its advocates, whose conduct through their whole administration places their motives above suspicion. They accompanied it with many careful provisions for the protection of the natives."[1]

The excellent commissioners no doubt ascertained on the spot, that the statements of the good Las Casas in regard to cruelties practiced by the Spaniards towards the Indians, were greatly exaggerated. We can understand their decision on no other principle. Of father Olmedo, a man as great and as benevolent as Las Casas, and much more judicious, Mr. Prescott speaks as follows:

"The latter of these godly men (father Bartolomé de Olmedo) afforded a rare example — rare in any age — of the union of fervent zeal with charity; while he beautifully illustrated in his own conduct the precepts which he taught. He remained with the army through the whole expedition, and by his wise and benevolent counsels was often enabled to mitigate the cruelties of the Conquerors, and to turn aside the edge of the sword from the unfortunate natives."[2]

It is a standing charge against the Conquerors, that they forced conversion on the Mexicans. This assertion is not founded on fact. True it is, that Cortes and his soldiers, in the ardor of their zeal for the conversion of the natives, sometimes overstepped the bounds of discretion; but it is equally true, that this excessive ardor was checked and restrained by the missionaries accompanying the expedition, who were entirely opposed to all forced conversions. The indiscretion of Cortes, besides being only occasional, consisted rather in too hastily removing the abominable idol-worship of the Aztecs, than in compelling them to embrace Christianity. At any rate there is not *one* solitary instance on record of a forced conversion sanctioned by the Catholic missionaries. These were ever in favor of mildness, and patient instruction of the Indians. All this can be easily established on the authority of Mr. Prescott himself.

The first example of the alleged intemperate zeal of Cortes, is exhibited in his having caused the hideous idols of Cozumel to be hurled headlong from the summit of the *Teocalli*. It was a bold and daring stroke, in justification of which there were, however, many palliating circumstances. The good people of Cozumel, on being appealed to by the missionaries to cast away their idols, "exclaimed that these were the gods who sent

1 Vol. i, pp. 218, 219.

2 Ibid. p. 271. See also vol. iii, p. 346.

them the sunshine and the storm, and, should any violence be offered, they would be sure to avenge it, by sending their lightnings on the heads of the perpetrators."[1] The sequel is thus finely related by Mr. Prescott:

"Cortes was probably not much of a polemic. At all events he preferred on the present occasion action to argument; and thought that the best way to convince the Indians of their error was to prove the falsehood of the prediction. He accordingly, without further ceremony, caused the venerated images to be rolled down the stairs of the great temple, amidst the groans and lamentations of the natives. An altar was hastily constructed, an image of the Virgin and Child placed over it, and Mass was performed by Father Olmedo and his reverend companion for the first time within the walls of a temple in New Spain. The patient ministers tried once more to pour the light of the gospel into the benighted minds of the islanders, and to expound the mysteries of the Catholic faith. . . . They at length found favor with their auditors, who, whether overawed by the bold bearing of the invaders, or convinced of the impotence of deities that could not shield their own shrines from violation, now consented to embrace Christianity."[2]

Something similar occurred at Cempoalla, the capital of the Totonacs: and in both cases the forecast of the great Cortes was justified by the event, — the conversion of the natives. The old Cempoallan cazique, on being urged by the Spaniards to cast down his blood-stained idols, had shuddered at the thought, and had

"Covered his face with his hands, exclaiming, 'that the gods would avenge their own wrongs.' The Christians were not slow in availing themselves of his tacit acquiescence. Fifty soldiers, at a signal from their General, sprang up the great stairway of the temple, entered the building on the summit, the walls of which were *black with human gore*, tore the large wooden idols from their foundations, and dragged them to the edge of the terrace. . . . With great alacrity they rolled the colossal monsters down the steps of the pyramid, amidst the triumphant shouts of their own companions, and the groans and lamentations of the natives. They then consummated the whole by burning them in the presence of the assembled multitude. The same effect followed as at Cozumel. The Totonacs, finding their deities incapable of preventing or even punishing this profanation of their shrines, conceived a mean opinion of their power compared with that of the mysterious and formidable strangers," &c.[3]

We have furnished these two examples of the alleged attempt by the Spaniards to force conversion on the natives, because they are the principal, certainly the strongest instances of the kind on record. But will not the candid reader admit, that the hideous rites and loathsome human sacrifices so common among the Aztecs, greatly palliated, if they did not wholly excuse, these strong measures? Did not the event prove, that this was the most effectual means for bringing about the permanent conversion of the natives? Who, for example, would blame the English government, should it, even by forcible means, prevent the hideous car of Juggernaut from annually crushing its stated number of victims? Or rather, who that has a soul and loves Christianity does not execrate the selfish policy of England, which still permits that bloody and hideous

1 Vol. i, p. 271. 2 Ibid, pp. 271-2 3 Ibid. p. 360.

worship? Had the English, instead of the Spaniards, conquered Mexico, the horrid human sacrifices would, in all probability, still continue to be offered up in hundreds of thousands every year throughout the whole land of Anahuac!

We said that the Catholic missionaries, who accompanied the expedition of the Conquest, uniformly opposed every species of violence towards either the bodies or the souls of the natives. There is no exception to this remark, the truth of which we will now briefly establish on the authority of Mr. Prescott himself. That such was the course of the benevolent Las Casas and of his brother Dominicans, needs no proof, other than what has been already given. Mr. Prescott furnishes us with copious extracts from the writings of Las Casas, developing his opinion as to the proper manner of proceeding in the conversion of the Indians: [1]

"The only way of doing this," he says, "is by long, assiduous, and faithful preaching, until the heathen shall gather some ideas of the true nature of the Deity, and of the doctrines they are to embrace. Above all, the lives of the Christians should be such as to exemplify the truth of these doctrines, that seeing this, the poor Indian may glorify the Father, and acknowledge Him who has such worshipers for the true and only God."

But the missionary, who exercised the greatest influence in softening the horrors of the Conquest, and in checking the headlong zeal of Cortes and his associates, was the great and good father Bartolomé de Olmedo. His course was uniform. His voice was always for mercy and mildness. Mr. Prescott fully sustains us in this assertion. He says:

"It was fortunate for Cortes that Olmedo was not one of those frantic (!) friars, who would have fanned his fiery temper on such occasions into a blaze. It might have had a most disastrous influence on his fortunes; for he held all temporal consequences light in comparison with the great work of conversion. . . But Olmedo belonged to that class of benevolent missionaries — of whom the Roman Catholic Church, to its credit, has furnished many examples — who rely on spiritual weapons for the great work, inculcating those doctrines of love and mercy which can best touch the sensibilities and win the affections of their rude audience. These, indeed, are the true weapons of the Church, the weapons employed in the primitive ages, by which it has spread its peaceful banners over the farthest regions of the globe."[2]

In another place, he draws the following beautiful sketch of the character of Olmedo:

"In the course of our narrative, we have had occasion to witness more than once the good effects of the interposition of Father Olmedo. Indeed, it is scarcely too much to say, that his discretion in spiritual matters contributed as essentially to the success of the expedition, as did the sagacity and courage of Cortes in temporal. He was a true disciple of the school of Las Casas. His heart was unscathed by that fiery fanaticism which sears and hardens whatever it touches. It melted with the warm glow of Christian charity. He had come out to the new world as a missionary among the heathen, and he shrank from no sacrifice, but that

1 Vol. iii, Appendix No 6, and vol. i, p. 272— *note*.

2 Vol. i, pp. 403-4.

of the welfare of the poor benighted flock to whom he had consecrated his days. If he had followed the banners of the warrior, it was to mitigate the ferocity of war, and to turn the triumphs of the cross to a good account for the natives themselves, by the spiritual labors of conversion. He afforded the uncommon example, not to have been looked for certainly in a Spanish monk of the sixteenth century (!)—of enthusiasm controlled by reason, a quickening zeal tempered by the mild spirit of toleration."

Jeronimo de Aquilar was another of those benevolent missionaries, who accompanied the expedition of the Conquest, who contributed greatly to its success, and who by his mildness and virtues exercised a most humanizing influence on its destinies. He had been for eight years a captive among the natives of Yucatan, and, after having been rescued by the Spaniards, he rendered them invaluable services in the capacity of interpreter. Mr. Prescott gives the following account of the virtues he manifested during his long captivity:

"Aquilar . . . fell into the hands of a powerful cazique who, though he spared his life, treated him at first with great rigor. The patience of the captive, however, and his singular humility, touched the better feelings of the chieftain, who would have persuaded Aquilar to take a wife among his people, but the ecclesiastic steadily refused, in obedience to his vows. This admirable constancy excited the distrust of the cazique, who put his virtue to a severe test by various temptations, and much of the same sort as those with which the devil is said to have assailed St. Anthony. From all these fiery trials, however, like his ghostly predecessor, he came out unscorched. Continence is too rare and difficult a virtue with barbarians, not to challenge their veneration, and the practice of it has made more than one saint[2] in the old as well as the new world. Aquilar was now entrusted with the care of his master's household and his numerous wives. He was a man of discretion as well as virtue, and his counsels were found so salutary, that he was consulted on all important matters. In short, Aquilar became a great man among the Indians."[3]

Besides the two missionaries just named, there accompanied the Conquest two others of a kindred spirit: Father Juan Diaz, the intimate friend of Olmedo; and Father Gomara, the chaplain of Cortes, and subsequently one of the most famous chroniclers of the expedition. These good men both labored with unremitting zeal, not only for the conversion of the natives, but also for the spiritual welfare of the Spanish army. And though they could not repress every moral disorder, yet were they cheered, on witnessing the eminently religious spirit and the piety of the soldiers under their spiritual charge. Never was there, perhaps, an army animated with a more lively faith in an all-directing Providence, or more regular in prayer and other religious duties. They were in the habit of assisting at the holy sacrifice of the Mass every morning, no matter what or how critical the condition in which they found themselves. "This punctual performance of Mass by the army," says Mr. Prescott, "in storm and in sunshine, by day and by night, among friends and enemies, draws forth a warm eulogium from the arch-episcopal editor of Cortes."[4]

1 Vol. i, pp. 480–1, 2 None of them Protestants. 3 Ibid. pp. 274–5.

4 Vol. iii, p. 137—*note*. The historian in intimating that Mass was sometimes celebrated "by night," does not give the true sense of the passage which he quotes from Archbishop Lorenzana, who

Did difficulties and dangers encompass the little Spartan band of Conquerors; were the soldiers, exhausted with fatigue and bleeding with wounds, on the point of falling into the hands of myriads of enemies panting to pour out their blood on the fatal stone of sacrifice; did all human succor seem to be cut off; —they raised their imploring hands to heaven in fervent supplication ; nor was heaven ever deaf to their prayers! Did victory perch on their banners ;— they sent forth the solemn Te Deum in thanksgiving to God ! No one who has read attentively the history of the Conquest in the original authors, can fail to remark this peculiarly religious character of the Conquerors. The dispatches of Cortes breathe this spirit from beginning to end: honest Bernal Diaz's History, and Gomara's Chronicle of the Conquest, as well as the works of almost all the other historians of the expedition, are full of this same spirit. Even the cold and polished Mr. Prescott, much as he hates the religion of the Conquerors, sometimes enters into and does justice to their religious feelings, and even shares somewhat in their enthusiasm as soldiers of the cross. We must confine ourselves to two or three extracts on this subject, which will also be pretty good specimens of the style and manner of the historian.

In no part of Anahuac, as we have seen, did the Spaniards have to encounter more desperate difficulties and perils than in their many fierce contests with the brave and warlike Tlascalans. In vain did they triumph, time and again, over these indomitable enemies: after each dearly bought victory, the fierce Tlascalans came back with fresh troops and renewed courage to the conflict, stunning the ears of the exhausted and crippled Spaniards with their terrible war-cry, and threatening them with the awful menace, "that their flesh should be hewn from their bodies for sacrifice to the gods." In the midst of these awful difficulties, the Spaniards had need of all their faith and chivalrous heroism, as soldiers of the cross :

"This bold defiance fell heavily on the ears of the Spaniards, not prepared for so pertinacious a spirit in their enemy. They had had ample proof of his courage and formidable prowess. They were now, in their crippled condition, to encounter him with a still more terrible array of numbers. The war, too, from the horrible fate with which it menaced the vanquished, wore a peculiarly gloomy aspect, that pressed heavily on their spirits. 'We feared death,' says the lion-hearted Diaz, with his usual simplicity, 'for we were men.' There was scarcely one in the army, that did not confess himself that night to the Reverend Father Olmedo, who was occupied nearly the whole of it, with administering absolution, or the other blessed offices of the Church. Armed with the holy sacraments, the Catholic soldier lay tranquilly down to rest, prepared for any fate that might betide him under the banner of the cross."[1]

The creation of a fleet on the lakes surrounding the great capital of the Aztecs, was, perhaps, the master-stroke of policy of the entire expedition

only says, that though the Spaniards "labored day and night, yet Mass was never omitted, in order that the whole work might be atrributed to God."—"En el campo, en una calzada, entre enemigos, trabajando dia y noche, nunca se omitia la Missa, paraque toda la obra se atribuyesse a Dios."

1 Vol. i, pp. 436–7.

Mr. Prescott gives the following fine description of the religious ceremonies accompanying the launching of the brigantines composing this gallant little squadron,— the first fitted out in the new world:

"Cortes was resolved that so auspicious an event should be celebrated with due solemnity. On the 28th of April, the troops were drawn up under arms, and the whole population of Tezcuco assembled to witness the ceremony. Mass was performed, and every man in the army, together with the General, confessed and received the sacrament. Prayers were offered up by Father Olmedo, and a benediction invoked on the little navy, the first — worthy of the name — ever launched on American waters. The signal was given by the firing of a cannon, when the vessels dropping down the canal, one after another, reached the lake in good order; and, as they emerged on its ample bosom, with music sounding, and the royal ensign of Castile proudly floating from their masts, a shout of admiration arose from the countless multitudes of spectators, which mingled with the roar of artillery and musketry from the vessels and the shore! It was a novel spectacle to the simple natives; and they gazed with wonder on the gallant ships, which, fluttering like sea-birds on their snowy pinions, bounded lightly over the waters, as if rejoicing in their element. It touched the stern hearts of the Conquerors with a glow of rapture, and, as they felt that heaven had blessed their undertaking, they broke forth by general accord into the noble anthem of the Te Deum."[1]

We close our extracts on this subject with the passage, in which our historian finely describes the thanksgiving after the glorious termination of the siege by the fall of Tenochtitlan. Intoxicated with their splendid victory, the Spanish soldiers were at first inclined to give way to inordinate rejoicing; but soon, at the voice of Father Olmedo, their enthusiastic jubilee was made to assume a religious character:

"Loud and long was their revelry, which was carried to such an excess, as provoked the animadversion of Father Olmedo, who intimated that this was not the fitting way to testify their sense of the favors shown them by the Almighty. Cortes admitted the justice of the rebuke, but craved some indulgence for a soldier's license in the hour of victory. The following day was appointed for the commemoration of their successes in a more suitable manner. A procession of the whole army was then formed, with Father Olmedo at its head. The soiled and tattered banners of Castile, which had waved over many a field of battle, now threw their shadows on the peaceful array of the soldiery, as they slowly moved along rehearsing the litany, and displaying the image of the Virgin and the blessed symbol of man's redemption. The Reverend Father pronounced a discourse, in which he briefly reminded the troops of their cause of thankfulness to Providence for conducting them safe through their long and perilous pilgrimage; and, dwelling on the responsibility incurred by their present position, he besought them not to abuse the rights of conquest, *but to treat the unfortunate Indians with humanity.* The sacrament was then administered to the commander-in-chief and the principal cavaliers, and the services concluded with a solemn thanksgiving to the God of battles, who had enabled them to carry the banner of the cross triumphant over this barbaric empire."[2]

1 Vol. iii, pp. 87, 88.

2 Vol. iii, pp. 213, 214. Those who may wish to see more on this branch of the subject are referred to the following among many other passages of our author: vol. i, pp. 284, 287, 470, 473; vol. ii pp 163, 256, 257; and vol. iii, pp. 143. 104, 151, &c

We have already seen what was the character of the missionary pioneers who accompanied the expedition of the Conquest; taming its ferocity, or turning away its mitigated horrors from the poor, stricken, and vanquished natives. We have seen how the banner of the cross, preceding or planted by the side of that of earthly conquest, elevated the character, and subdued the violence of the latter. We must now briefly treat of the Catholic missionaries who labored among the Indians, during the years immediately following the Conquest. For the spirit which animated them, for their unquenchable zeal to promote the salvation of the natives, and for the eminent success which crowned their labors, we would ask no better witness than the deeply prejudiced, though highly accomplished Mr. Prescott. Having space for but little commentary, we shall confine ourselves almost entirely to his unexceptionable testimony; from which it will appear that Father Olmedo was not alone in the inculcation and practice of every Christian and priestly virtue. Speaking of the interposition of Cortes to obtain additional missionaries from Spain, our author says:

"Whatever disregard he may have shown to the political rights of the natives, Cortes manifested a commendable solicitude for their spiritual welfare. He requested the emperor to send out holy men to the country; not bishops and pampered prelates, who too often squandered the substance of the Church in riotous living, but godly persons, members of religious fraternities, whose lives might be a fitting commentary on their teaching. Thus only, he adds,—and the remark is worthy of note,—can they exercise any influence over the natives, who have been accustomed to see the least departure from morals in their own priesthood punished with the utmost rigor of the law. In obedience to these suggestions, twelve Franciscan friars embarked for New Spain, which they reached early in 1524."[1]

Of their character and reception in Mexico, he speaks as follows:

"They were men of unblemished piety of life, nourished with the learning of the cloister, and, like many others whom the Romish (!) Church has sent forth on such apostolic missions, counted all personal sacrifices as little in the sacred cause to which they were devoted. The presence of the reverend fathers in the country was greeted with general rejoicing. The inhabitants of the towns through which they passed came out in a body to welcome them; processions were formed of the natives bearing wax tapers in their hands, and the bells of the churches rung out a joyous peal in honor of their arrival. Houses of refreshment were provided along their route to the capital; and when they entered it, they were met by a brilliant cavalcade of the principal cavaliers and citizens, with Cortes at their head. The General dismounting, and bending one knee to the ground, kissed the robes of Father Martin of Valencia, the principal of the fraternity. The natives, filled with amazement at the viceroy's humiliation before men whose naked feet and tattered garments gave them the aspect of mendicants, henceforth regarded them as beings of a superior nature. The Indian chronicler of Tlascala does not conceal his admiration of this edifying condescension of Cortes, which he pronounces 'one of the most heroical acts of his life.'"[2]

1 Vol. iii, pp. 364-5.

2 Ibid. pp. 260-6.

Of the labors and success of these excellent missionaries our historian says:

"The missionaries lost no time in the good work of conversion. They began their preaching through interpreters, until they had acquired a competent knowledge of the language themselves. They *opened schools* and *founded colleges*, in which the native youth were instructed in *profane* as well as Christian learning. The ardor of the Indian neophyte emulated that of his teacher. In a few years every vestige of the primitive *Teocallis* was effaced from the land. The uncouth idols of the country, and unhappily the hieroglyphical manuscripts, shared the same fate. Yet the missionary and the convert did much to repair these losses by their copious accounts of the Aztec institutions, collected from the most authentic sources."[1]

We may here remark, that, but for the indefatigable labors of Father Sahagun, and of other Catholic missionary antiquaries, we would, in all probability, now have no account whatever of the Aztec institutions. Had they not, with the aid of the Indian converts, deciphered the pictorial writings of the Mexicans, what modern antiquary would now be able to unfold their meaning? Has one even attempted it with any thing like success? That all the Aztec manuscripts have not perished, is manifest from the large collections to which Lord Kingsborough had access, and from those still preserved in the museum of the Propaganda at Rome, and in other places. But has the world grown much wiser, on the subject of the Aztec antiquities, from perusing the *insignes nugæ* which cover the splendid pages of Lord Kingsborough's work? Of Father Sahagun, the greatest of all the Mexican antiquaries, Mr. Prescott speaks as follows:

"Father Sahagun, who has done better service in this way than others of his order, describes with simple brevity the rapid work of demolition (of the Aztec *Teocallis, stained with the blood of human victims*). 'We took the children of the caziques,' he says, 'into our schools, where we taught them to read, write, and to chant. The children of the poorer natives were brought together in the court-yard, and there instructed in the Christian faith. After our teaching, one or two brethren took the pupils to some neighboring *Teocalli*, and, by working at it for a few days, they levelled it to the ground. In this way they demolished, in a short time, all the Aztec temples, great and small, so that not a vestige of them remained.'"[2]

What modern *Christian* antiquary will drop a tear of regret over those demolished temples, dedicated to an inhuman worship? Was not their destruction absolutely necessary, to eradicate from the minds of the converts all temptations to revert to their antiquated superstitions? Totally unfitted for the purposes of the Christian worship, they did but burden the soil with their cumbrous and misshapen bulk; and their fall was a necessary preliminary to the introduction of Christianity. And yet there are found many kind and sympathetic souls, even among *Christians*, who bitterly lament the fall of the Aztec *Teocallis!* Would these men: would the polished Mr. Prescott, weep, if the hideous and blood-stained car of Juggernaut were dashed into fragments? Would their antiquarian, in

1 Vol. iii, pp. 266–7.

2 Ibid—*note*.

this case, get the better of their Christian zeal? We are really curious to know what these enlightened gentlemen would have said, had the English government possessed Christianity enough to abolish the bloody and inhuman worship prevalent in India.

Of the astonishing success which crowned the labors of the missionaries among the Mexicans, our author speaks as follows:

"The business of conversion went on prosperously among the several tribes of the great Nahuatlac family. In about twenty years from the first advent of the missionaries, one of their body (Father Toribio) could make the pious vaunt, that nine millions of converts—a number probably exceeding the population of the country — had been admitted within the Christian fold!"[1]

The intelligent reader is left to decide between the "probable" conjecture of our modern historian, and the positive testimony of a grave cotemporary writer, of undoubted veracity, who relates what he himself saw, and in what he was a prominent actor. Even allowing that the fervid zeal of the good missionary led him into some exaggeration, it will still remain certain, that the number of converts was prodigious and almost staggering belief.

How are we to explain this remarkable fact? Can it be accounted for on merely human principles; or must we have recourse to a divine interposition? Were the natives induced to embrace Christianity in such vast numbers, by natural or by supernatural causes? If the former, how then are we to explain the remarkable phenomenon? If the latter, then is it not apparent, that the Roman Catholic religion, thus wonderfully blessed by God, and impressed with the seal of His approbation, is that true religion, which Christ died to establish, and whose ministry He divinely commissioned "to teach all nations?"

We will devote the remainder of this paper — already long enough — to a brief investigation of this important matter; and we regret that our limits will necessarily compel us to pass over many other things, connected with the Religious Point of View of the Conquest, upon which we had originally intended to animadvert. Such is among many other things, the peculiarly religious character of Cortes, which stood forth strong even in death.[2]

Mr. Prescott's theory for explaining the conversion of the natives to Catholic Christianity is surely simple enough. It strongly reminds us of the theory of another very polished gentleman, Gibbon, for explaining the early progress of Christianity among the Greeks and Romans. Both of these philosophers wholly discard miracles and every thing supernatural; and both draw pretty strongly on their fancies for the natural causes, which they think, sufficiently explain the phenomenon. The following passage, to a portion of which we directed attention in our first paper, appears to contain the gist of Mr. Prescott's theory for explaining the conversion of the Aztecs:

1 Vol. iii, p 267.

2 See an account of his death, and of his last will and testament, in Prescott, vol. iii.

"The Aztec worship was remarkable for its burdensome ceremonial, and prepared its votaries for the pomp and splendors of the Romish (!) ritual. It was not difficult to pass from the fasts and festivals of the one religion, to the fasts and festivals of the other; to transfer their homage from the fantastic idols of their own creation to the beautiful forms in sculpture and in painting which decorated the Christian cathedral." [1]

We protest with all our energy against this false and odious parallel, between two systems of religion as different from each other as light is from darkness. What! Compare the venerable religion of three-fourths of the Christian world, embracing too the most polished and enlightened nations of the earth; — compare the religion, which was the only Christian one on the face of the earth for the first fifteen hundred years of Christianity; — compare the religion which preserved the Bible, which taught *all* the nations Christianity, which was ever the fruitful mother of Christians and the parent of Christian civilization; — compare the religion which has been the teeming mother of republics and of heroes; — compare the religion of such men as Fenelon, Xavier, De Sales, Borromeo, Cheverus, Olmedo, and thousands of other bright ornaments of human nature and of Christian society: — compare this venerable religion, with the impure, the abominable, the inhuman, the blood-stained, the hideous superstition of the degraded Aztecs! O Mr. Prescott! smooth, polished, refined Mr. Prescott! How sadly has thy prejudice against the religion of *thy* fathers betrayed thee! Cast off that dark cloud, which envelopes an otherwise beautiful, clear, and noble intellect. It is wholly unworthy of thee, and will add nothing to the brightness of thy posthumous fame.

Was it then so easy a thing for the Aztecs to renounce their time-honored worship, intimately connected as it was with their early history, and associated with the most brilliant deeds of their heroes, and the glory of their empire? Was it so easy for them to trample upon rites, so closely intertwined with their national manners and customs; with their warlike displays, and with their peaceful pageants and festivals; with their patriotic feelings, and with their very existence as a people? Was it so very easy for them to resign a religion which flattered the passions, in favor of one which imposed so many severe restraints on them, to renounce a religion pandering to impurity and every abomination, in favor of what Mr. Prescott, *in this very passage*, called the UNSULLIED rites of Catholic Christianity?

That the Aztecs clung with great tenacity to their abominable superstitions; that they could not be induced to renounce them without the greatest difficulty, Mr. Prescott himself is our witness. He tells us of the fierce resistance the Spaniards every where met with, whenever they proposed a change of religion to the natives; he tells us of the stern opposition of the weak Montezuma; he tells us of the awful death-struggle of the Aztecs for their religion and their independence, when they exhibited their willingness to be buried under the ruins of their besieged

1 Vol. iii, pp. 267-8.

capital, rather than yield to the Conquerors; and he tells us how, in this last desperate conflict, their enthusiasm was kindled by the appeals of their priests, how it received additional warmth from the fires which burned on the summits of their *Teocallis*, and how it was increased to wild fanaticism and absolute madness, by the sounds which were sent forth by the signal drum of the great temple of their war-god. And yet, it was easy for them to renounce all this superstition, and to embrace in its stead the painful religion of their Conquerors!

Or, is it to be made a matter of crimination against the Catholic Church, that the "pomp and splendor" of her ritual won the admiration and captivated the senses of the natives? Is it her fault, that the religion she teaches possesses more charms and more winning graces than the "cold abstractions" of Protestantism; that it appeals not only to the mind, but also to the heart? Was it her fault, that even the barbarous Aztecs were compelled to admire her divine beauty, and to be forcibly struck with her "heavenly hue?" Was it a fault in her to have wisely tolerated, at least for a time, such of the Aztec national usages as warred with no principle of her faith, and to have proceeded gradually with the civilization of the natives? Had not such been the wise mode of procedure adopted, according to the testimony of the Protestant church historian Mosheim,[1] by Christian missionaries from the earliest ages of the Church? Had not the enlightened Pontiff, St. Gregory the Great, recommended this same prudent course of conduct to St. Augustine, the apostle of England?[2] And had it no been adopted in both cases, with the most beneficial results, and without the sacrifice of any principle of faith? Was it any harm to consecrate to the service of the true God, in the "unsullied" worship of Catholicity, rites which, harmless in themselves, had been hitherto employed in an impure and abominable superstition? And is it probable, as Mr. Prescott insinuates, that the Catholic missionaries, whom himself represents as men "of unblemished purity of life," only sought, in the conversion of the natives, to substitute one form of idolatry for another?

True it is — and it makes nothing against our argument — that the missionaries discovered among the Aztecs many religious tenets and observances, which forcibly reminded them of some peculiar institutions of Catholicity, and almost compelled the belief that their ancestors had been originally indoctrinated in Christianity. If they were right in this inference, the coincidences alluded to afford a strong corroborative evidence of the antiquity and divine origin of those Catholic doctrines. Besides the cross, as a symbol of worship, the Aztecs had religious rites which very nearly resembled the Catholic sacraments of the holy eucharist and baptism. Let us hear Mr. Prescott:

"Their surprise was heightened, when they witnessed a religious

1 Historia Ecclesiast Sæcul. II, p. 2, c. iv, *nota*.

2 Cf. Lingard. Antiquities Anglo-Saxon Church, p. 24, American edition. M. Fithian, Philadelphia, 1841.

rite which reminded them of the Christian communion. On these occasions, an image of the tutelary deity of the Aztecs was made of the flour of maize, mixed with blood, and, after consecration by the priests, was distributed among the people, who, as they ate it, 'showed signs of humiliation and sorrow, declaring it was the flesh of the deity.'[1] How could the Roman Catholic fail to recognize the awful ceremony of the eucharist?"[2] . . . . With the same feelings, they witnessed another ceremony, that of the Aztec baptism; in which, after a solemn invocation, the head and lips of the infant were touched with water, and a name was given to it; while the goddess Cioacoatl, who presided over childbirth, was implored, 'that the sin, *which was given to us before the beginning of the world*, might not visit the child, but that, *cleansed by these waters*, it might live and *be born anew*.'"[3]

These coincidences were striking enough; and they surely went far towards warranting the conclusion of the missionaries. But, mixed up as those *quasi*-Christian rites were, with the most abominable superstitions of a worship stained with human gore, they could not greatly facilitate the adoption by the natives of the "unsullied rites" of Catholic Christianity. Something more than a mere partial coincidence; something more than mere human power or mere human means, was necessary to bring about, with such astonishing rapidity, the complete and general conversion of the Aztecs. The finger of God was there, as clearly as it was in the conversion of any heathen nation that ever entered the Christian fold. We can explain the phenomenon on no other principle. The mere zeal, and unblemished purity, and devotedness of the Catholic missionaries, however they may have aided, could not, of themselves, without the divine favor and blessing, have accomplished the work. Unless God build the house, in vain do they labor who build it."

Mr. Prescott, like Gibbon and most others of the modern fashionable historical school, has a pious horror of all miracles. He proceeds on the *assumption*, that "the age of miracles has ceased;" for which position there seems to be no other ground, than the acknowledged fact, that such wonders have wholly ceased among Protestants! But is "the right hand of God shortened?" Or did Christ set any limitation as to time, to the numerous promises he made to his disciples in regard to the power conferred on them for working miracles? If there be any truth in history, it is certain that miracles have been wrought in every age, and in every great emergency of the Church. One of these emergencies, strongly demanding such an exhibition of divine power, is the conversion of a heathen nation to Christianity. Surely then, if ever, miracles should be performed; and, notwithstanding our historian's skepticism, we incline to the belief that they were performed in the conversion of Mexico. We will give two instances, to which Mr. Prescott alludes with a lurking sneer, or with open unbelief.

The first is the resurrection of the sister of Tanzapan, lord of Michuacan,

1 The author here quotes Veytia, Hist. Antigua, L. I. c. 18; and Acosta, Lib, 5. c 24.

2 Vol. iii, pp. 384–5.

3 Ibid p 385 For this remarkable doctrine of the Aztecs, Mr. Prescott cites the great antiquary, Sahagun. Hist. de Nueva Espagna, l. vi, c. 33.

after she had been dead four days. The fact was believed by her brother, as yet a heathen, who, at her instance, disbanded a powerful army which he had collected to march against the Spaniards. It also commemorated in the Michuacan Picture-Records; and is related by Ixtlilxochitl, the Indian lord and historian of Tezcuco, who derived it from a grandson of Tanzapan.[1] Is such evidence as this to be invalidated by the mere skeptical doubt of Mr. Prescott?

The other miraculous occurrence alluded to took place at Tlascala. We will give it in the words of Mr. Prescott, who says in a note: — "the miracle is reported by Herrera, and *believed* by Solis: "—

"A large cross was erected in one of the great courts or squares. Mass was celebrated every day in the presence of the army and of crowds of natives, who, if they did not comprehend its full import, were so far edified, that they learned to reverence the religion of their Conquerors. The direct interposition of heaven, however, wrought more for their conversion than the best homily of priest or soldier. Scarcely had the Spaniards left the city — the tale (!) is told on very respectable authority — when a thin, transparent cloud descended and settled like a column on the cross, and, wrapping it round in its luminous folds, continued to emit a soft, celestial radiance through the night; thus proclaiming the sacred character of the symbol, on which was shed the halo of divinity." [2]

But we must bring our remarks to a close. Few can have failed to notice the striking coincidence, in point of time, of the remarkable defection from the ranks of Catholicity in the old, and of the more remarkable additions to her numbers in the new world. At the very time that the reformation was making the most rapid progress in Europe, tearing whole nations from the bosom of the Church, and threatening her with total destruction; this Church, far from being appalled by the danger which menaced her very existence at home, arose in her heavenly strength, and, indued with the vigor of youth, stretched forth her gigantic arms to the east and to the west, grasped at spiritual empire in new worlds which her children had discovered, and reared in triumph her glorious banner of the cross — which had been despised at home — in the heart of new nations and of new peoples, who "rose up and called her blessed!" She thus became more Catholic *after*, than she had been *before*, the reformation, so called! Her Xaviers, her Olmedos, her Martins of Valencia, and her other indefatigable missionaries, more than retrieved her losses in the old world, by additional conquests to her communion in the new.

So it had been in every great emergency of her history. At the very periods in which she had been threatened with the greatest dangers, she had not only come out victorious from the struggle which menaced her very existence, but she had acquired new vigor, and had marched on to new conquests! Who will say that the finger of God is not in all this? Who can explain it in any other way, than by admitting that a mysterious Providence watches over her; and that the God who said: "THE GATES OF HELL SHALL NOT PREVAIL AGAINST HER," has fully redeemed His promise?

1 Prescott admits a.. this, vol. iii, p. 19, note.

2 Vol. i, pp. 481, 482.

XV EARLY CATHOLIC MISSIONS IN THE NORTH-WEST

FIRST PAPER.—BANCROFT'S ACCOUNT.*

Bancroft as an historian — An old *Relation* — Catholic missionary zeal — Spirit of Catholic and Protestant colonists compared — Who established the first missions in North America? — The Franciscans and Jesuits — The first Jesuit missionaries — The first college — And the first hospital — The Ursulines in Canada — The mission to the Hurons — Fathers De Brebeuf and Daniel — Their manner of life — The chief Ahasistari — Mission to the Algonquins — And to the Chippewas — "The New England Elliott" — Father Jogues — And Father Bressani — Mission among the Abanakis — Mohawks — Onondagas — And Cayugas — Extent of the missions — Penetrating westward — Father Marquette — His death — Subsequent history of the Jesuit missions — Policy of England.

THE history of the early Catholic missions in Canada and in the north-western portion of the United States, inimately connected as it is with that of our country itself, cannot fail to awaken the attention and excite the interest of every American, who is curious to investigate the rise and progress of our early Colonies. The civil history of the country cannot, in fact, be written without drawing copiously on the facts comprised in its early religious annals.

Bancroft, in his History of the United States, has devoted an entire chapter to this very interesting subject, so far as it came within his general scope. Considering that he is a Protestant, he has certainly been as impartial as could have been expected, in recounting the labors of the early Catholic missionaries among the Indians; and, though he has done them nothing more than justice, Catholics, who are usually grateful for small favors in this way, owe him a debt of gratitude.

He has availed himself of the excellent history of Charlevoix, as well as of the detailed accounts, or *Relations*, of the Jesuit missionaries themselves. As far as he goes, he is generally accurate; but we regret that he has confined himself to the first fifty years of these missions, embracing the period from 1632 to 1680. His style is brilliant and sparkling, but wanting in that natural simplicity which best suits historical narratives, especially those which treat of religious subjects. The accounts of the Jesuit fathers, from which he borrows copiously, possess this charming quality in an eminent degree. We have also detected, here and there, a lurking sneer, intended, we apprehend, as a douceur to Protestant prejudice. Yet withal, there is an apparent impartiality, and a certain air of candor and liberality pervading this portion of his History.

* Bancroft's History of the United States, Vol. iii, Chapter xx.

Chance lately threw into our way one of the oldest and most interesting of those *Relations*, to which the American historian so often refers. It is a duodecimo volume of 103 pages, was printed at Paris in 1650, and it is entitled: "A Relation of what passed in the Mission of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus among the Hurons, a territory of New France, in the years 1648 and 1649."[1] This narrative is written in that simple manner and unctious spirit, which at once delights and edifies the reader. It enters into the most minute and interesting details, furnishes many thrilling anecdotes, and, by its copiousness, will enable the reader of Bancroft to supply the deficiency of his comparatively meagre account. We shall draw copiously on this little work; but before we introduce our readers to its interesting contents, we must rapidly review, and summarily condense, the account of the early Jesuit missions as given by the American historian, whose authority in this matter is surely unexceptionable.

It is the glory of the Catholic Church, to have been in all ages signalized by successful missionary zeal. From the day that her first ministers heard the divine command, "Go, teach all nations,"—down to the present time, she has ever burned with an ardent zeal for the instruction and salvation of mankind. She alone has, in every age, fulfilled this divine commission; she alone has converted the nations; she alone has ever been the true and fruitful mother of civilization. After the lapse of more than eighteen hundred years, the same fire still glows in the bosom of her missionaries, as warmed the breasts of the first apostles of the Lamb.

At every period of her history, her clergy have been among the chief pioneers of civilization. The Cross always accompanied, sometimes it even preceded, the banner of earthly conquest. Zeal for the salvation of souls was the very life and soul of every maritime enterprise, and of all expeditions for conquest. The sword subjected the bodies, the Cross won the hearts, of all those who successively entered the ever widening pale of the Christian civilization.

So it had been in South, so it was also in North America. In both, Catholics had the honor of first pioneering the way. In both, the Catholic clergy established the first missions, and made the first proselytes to Christianity among the aboriginal inhabitants. The Catholic French in the North were animated by a spirit of religious zeal, similar to that which had actuated the Catholic Spaniards in the more Southern portion of the continent. Let us hear what Bancroft testifies on the subject:

"Religious zeal, not less than commercial ambition, had influenced France to recover Canada; and Champlain, its governor, whose imperishable name will rival with posterity the fame of Smith and of Hudson, ever disinterested and compassionate, full of honor and probity, of ardent devotion and burning zeal, esteemed 'the salvation of a soul worth more than the conquest of an empire.'"[2]

1 "Relation de ce qui est passé en la Mission des Peres de la Compagnie de Jesus aux Hurons, pays de la Nouvelle France, aux années 1648 et 1649. Par. P. Paul Raguenau, de la mesme Compagnie." A Paris, 1650.

2 Vol. iii, p. 119.

Again he says:

"Thus it was neither commercial enterprise, nor royal ambition, which carried the power of France into the heart of our continent: the motive was religion. Religious enthusiasm colonized New-England; and religious enthusiasm founded Montreal, made a conquest of the wilderness on the upper lakes, and explored the Mississippi. Puritanism gave New England its worship and its schools; the Roman (Catholic) Church created for Canada its altars, its hospitals, and its seminaries."[1]

The religious enthusiasm, which colonized New-England, was of a different kind altogether from that which founded and peopled Canada. Nowhere do we read, that the French Catholic pilgrims of Canada either enacted blue laws, persecuted each other for conscience sake, drove fellow Christians into the wilderness, or hanged people for witchcraft! Neither do we hear of their having overreached the Indians, driven them from post to post, and made war on and exterminated them, after having goaded them into desperation by insufferable exactions! Nor do we read of the Catholic clergy acting as chaplains to the armies which were marching to exterminate the poor aborigines, nor making long prayers at the head of the invading troops, on the eve of battle, as did the "godly Stone," when the colonists of New-England were marching against the Pequods of Connecticut! In all these things, and in many more, the glory is all on the side of the Puritans!

Again, the policy pursued by the two sets of colonists, for extending the boundaries of their respective territories, was widely different. The Puritans seem to have thought very little about converting and civilizing the aborigines. Missionary enterprise among them seldom, if ever, preceded shrewd contracts for additional territory, or expeditions for conquest; they rarely ever followed either. The Puritans seem to have thought little about the bodies, and still less about the souls of the poor Indians. Their conversion to Christianity was an after consideration; the acquisition of their lands was the primary object of Puritan missionary zeal.

We read indeed of a feeble, and, in a great measure, unsuccessful effort of the Puritan minister John Elliott, to convert the miserable remnants of the Indian tribes, which the *humanity* of the pious pilgrims had suffered still to drag out a miserable existence in the immediate vicinity of Boston. We read also of a most disgraceful attempt made by ministers sent from Boston to break up the flourishing Catholic missions established among the Abenakis of Maine, by the sainted Catholic missionary, Sebastian Rasles. Mr. Bancroft himself, a great advocate for the Puritans, is our witness for all these facts; to which we shall have occasion to refer more fully hereafter.[2]

On the contrary, the same historian assures us, that "the genius of Champlain . . . . . could devise no method of building up the dominion of France in Canada, but by an alliance with the Hurons, or of confirming that alliance but by the establishment of missions." And he adds: "Such a policy was congenial to a Church which cherishes every member of

1 Vol. iii, p 121.

2 In the Review of Webster's Bunker Hill Speech.

the human race, without regard to lineage or skin."[1] The genius of the pilgrims devised other means altogether, for establishing Puritan dominion in New England. The policy of their church, or churches, seems also to have been very widely different. They were far too enlightened to cherish the tawny-skinned Indians: their delicate nerves were even greatly shocked at the bare sight of an ugly old woman, who happened to have a mole on her skin,—a certain indication that she was a witch! The sublime sentiment of Champlain, "who esteemed the salvation of a soul worth more than the conquest of an empire," seems never to have entered their narrow minds!

The glory of having discovered America, and of having established the first colonies, the first missions, the first college, and the first charitable institutions in North America, belongs entirely to the Catholic religion. Mr. Bancroft's authority bears us out in all these assertions. The Franciscans were the first Catholic missionaries, and the first of any kind, who labored among the Indian tribes of North America.[2] As early as the year 1615, we find Franciscan missionaries among the Indians of Maine. Our historian says:

"The first permanent efforts of French enterprise, in colonizing America, preceded any permanent English settlement north of the Potomac. Years before the pilgrims anchored within Cape Cod, the Roman (Catholic) Church had been planted, by missionaries from France, in the eastern moiety of Maine; and Le Caron, an unambitious Franciscan, had penetrated the land of the Mohawks, had passed to the north in the hunting-grounds of the Wyandots, and, bound by his vows to the life of a beggar, had, on foot, or paddling a bark canoe, gone onward and still onward, taking alms of the savages, till he reached the rivers of Lake Huron. While Quebec contained scarce fifty inhabitants, priests of the Franciscan order — Le Caron, Viel, Sagard — had labored for years as missionaries in Upper Canada, or made their way to the neutral Huron tribe that dwelt on the waters of the Niagara."[3]

In 1632, the "Franciscans having, as a mendicant order, been excluded from the rocks and deserts of the new world, the office of converting the heathen of Canada, and thus enlarging the borders of French dominion, was entrusted solely to the Jesuits."[3] For this change the historian can assign no better motive, than that the Franciscans were a mendicant order — as if the Jesuits who succeeded them had not also taken the vow of poverty,— and the interposition of "devotees" at the French Court, which felt that the "aspiring honor of the Gallican church was interested."[4]

In the first place, it does not appear, even from Mr. Bancroft's own showing, that the Franciscans were wholly excluded from the missions of North America. For as late as 1680, we find that the Franciscan, Hennepin, and his associates of the same order, accompanied the expedition of La Salle for exploring the Mississippi. It was he who first penetrated to the Falls of St. Anthony, — so called by him after the patron of his expedition, St. Anthony of Padua. "On a tree near the cataract,

1 Vol. iii, p. 121.
2 Except those who labored in Mexico.
3 Ibid. pp 118-19.
4 Ibid. p. 120.
5 Ibid.

the Franciscan engraved the Cross and the arms of France; and, after a summer's rambles, diversified by a short captivity among the Sioux, he and his companions returned, by way of the Wisconsin and Fox rivers, to the French mission at Green Bay "[1]

Perhaps the intrinsic merits of the Jesuits, their more complete organization, and their greater adaptation to the Indian missions, had at least as much to do with their having been selected for this work by the French authorities, as the aspiring honor of the Gallican church, or the interference of court devotees. Mr. Bancroft himself does justice to the character of the Jesuits, and bears us out in our mode of explaining the action of the French court on the subject. After having well spoken of the first establishment of the Jesuit order,[2] he bears this testimony to the worth of the first missionaries of the society in Canada:

"Within three years after the second occupation of Canada, (1633–36,) the number of Jesuit priests in the province reached fifteen; and every tradition bears testimony to their worth. They had the faults of ascetic superstition (!); but the horrors of a Canadian life in the wilderness were resisted by an invincible passive courage, and a deep internal tranquillity. Away from the amenities of life, away from the opportunities of vain-glory, they became dead to the world, and possessed their souls in unalterable peace. The few who lived to grow old, though bowed down by the toils of a long mission, still kindled with the fervor of apostolic zeal. The history of their labors is connected with the origin of every celebrated town in the annals of French America; not a cape was turned, nor a river entered, but a Jesuit led the way."[3]

The first college in North America, as we have said, was founded by Catholics. Here we have also the authority of Bancroft, who moreover assigns the true cause which led to its establishment, — religious zeal:

"To confirm the missions, the first measure was the establishment of a college in New France; and the parents of the Marquis de Gamache, pleased with his pious importunity, assented to his entering the order of the Jesuits, and added from their ample fortunes the means of endowing a seminary for education at Quebec. Its foundation was laid, under happy auspices, in 1635, just before Champlain passed from among the living, and two years before the emigration of John Harvard, and one year before the general Court of Massachusetts had made provision for a college."[4]

The first charitable institutions on our portion of the American continent were also of Catholic origin:

"The fires of charity were at the same time enkindled. The dutchess D' Aiguillon, aided by her uncle, the Cardinal Richelieu, endowed a public hospital dedicated to the Son of God, whose blood was shed in mercy for all mankind. Its doors were opened, not only to the sufferers among the emigrants, but to the maimed, the sick, and the blind, of any of the numerous tribes between the Kennebec and Lake Superior; it relieved misfortune without asking its lineage. From the hospital nuns of Dieppe, three were selected, the youngest but twenty-two, to brave the famine and the rigors of Canada in their patient missions of benevolence."[5]

This noble example of self devoting zeal found admirers and imitators

1 Vol. iii, p. 127. 2 Pp. 166–7. 3 P. 120.
4 Ibid. p. 122. 5 P. 126.

among the religious ladies of Catholic France; and another charitable institution was the result:

"The same religious enthusiasm, inspiring Madame de la Peltier, a young and opulent widow of Alenson, with the aid of a nun of Dieppe and two others from Tours, established the Ursuline convent for the education of girls. As the youthful heroines stepped on the shore at Quebec, (Aug. 1, 1639) they stooped to kiss the earth, which they adopted as their mother, and were ready, in case of need, to tinge with their blood. The governor, with the little garrison, received them at the water's edge; Hurons and Algonquins, joining in the shouts, filled the air with yells of joy; and the motley group escorted the new comers to the Church where, amidst a general thanksgiving, the *Te Deum* was chanted. Is it wonderful that the natives were touched by a benevolence, which their poverty and squalid misery could not appall? Their education was also attempted; and the venerable ash tree still lives, beneath which Mary of the Incarnation, so famed for chastened piety, genius, and good judgment, toiled, though in vain, for the culture of Huron children."[1]

The hearts of the natives were much more capable of being touched by deeds of heroic benevolence, than were those of the Puritans at no remote period. Every body knows how these were *touched*, when a branch of this same benevolent order of Ursuline ladies was established in the immediate vicinity of enlightened Boston. The mouldering ruins of Mount Benedict still stand, a proud monument of their benevolence and *burning* zeal! Shame on them, for their unmanly and cowardly treatment of harmless and benevolent females! The very savages, whom their forefathers so inhumanly butchered, would, if possible, arise from their tombs and blush for them, who have not yet learned to blush!

Two years before the establishment of the Ursulines in Quebec, the benevolent Silleri had already created another charitable institution for the civilization of the savages, (A. D. 1637):

"Meantime, a colony of the Hurons had been established in the vicinity of Quebec; and the name of Silleri is the monument to the philanthropy of its projector. Here savages were to be trained to the faith and the manners of civilization."[2]

The Hurons were the first tribe of Indians to whom the Jesuits carried the light of the gospel. In 1634, Fathers John de Brebeuf and Anthony Daniel joined a party of barefoot Hurons who were returning from Quebec to their own country, situated to the North West of Lake Toronto, and near the shores of Lake Huron. The journey was long and painful; the distance was three hundred leagues, or nine hundred miles; the way lay through dense and unexplored forests, almost impassable marshes, along the Ottowa river and its waters, and over rugged hills and precipices. Over this difficult country, they had to carry their canoes on their shoulders whenever the Ottowa river and its tributary streams proved unnavigable:

"And thus swimming, wading, paddling, or bearing the canoe across the portages, with garments torn, with feet mangled, yet with the breviary safely hung around the neck, and vows, as they advanced, to meet death

1 Vol. iii, p. 127. 2 Ibid.

twenty times over, if it were possible, the consecrated envoys made their way, by rivers, lakes, and forests, from Quebec to the heart of the Huron wilderness. There they raised the first humble house of the society of Jesus among the Hurons,—the cradle, it was said, of His Church, who dwelt at Bethlehem (*Nazareth?*) in a cottage. This little chapel, built by aid of the axe, and consecrated to St. Joseph, where, in the gaze of thronging crowds, vespers and matins began to be chanted, and the sacred bread was consecrated by solemn Mass, amazed the hereditary guardians of the council fires of the Huron tribes. Two new Christian villages, St. Louis and St. Ignatius, bloomed among the Huron forests."[1]

In another place, the historian thus describes the missionary life among the Hurons:

"The life of a missionary on Lake Huron was simple and uniform. The earliest hours, from four to eight, were absorbed in private prayer;[2] the day was given to schools, visits, instructions in the catechism, and a service for proselytes. Sometimes, after the manner of St. Francis Xavier, Brebeuf would walk through the village and its environs, ringing a little bell and inviting the Huron braves and counselors to a conference. There, under the shady forest, the most solemn mysteries of the Catholic faith were subjected to discussion."[3]

He gives the following very interesting account of the famous Huron Chief, Ahasistari:

"Nature had planted in his mind the seeds of religious faith. 'Before you came to this country,' he would say, 'when I have incurred the greatest perils, and have alone escaped, I have said to myself: some powerful spirit has the guardianship of my days;' and he professed his belief in Jesus, as the good genius and protector, whom he had before unconsciously adored. After trials of his sincerity, he was baptized; and, enlisting a troop of converts, savages like himself, 'let us strive,' he exclaimed, 'to make the whole world embrace the faith in Jesus.'"[4]

This last incident reminds us of the well known anecdote of the more martial king Clovis, the founder of the French monarchy, who, hearing the history of our Saviour's passion read to him while confined to a sick bed, leaped up, and exclaimed: "Why was I not there with my Franks?"

The Huron missions continued to flourish for the space of fifteen years: immense numbers of the Indians entered into the Christian fold, and many flourishing Christian villages were organized. The central mission, called *the Conception*, of which the chief house was St. Mary's, was situated on the Matchedash, a stream which unites Lakes Toronto and Huron. In one single year, three thousand red men from the different tribes shared the hospitality of the good fathers at this missionary station. At one time, the missionaries had no communication with Quebec or Montreal for the space of three whole years, (1641–1644) during which their clothing fell to pieces, and they suffered grievously for the necessaries of life. Still they persevered with the ardor of apostles, and their number went on constantly increasing. Let us again hear our historian:

"Yet the efforts of the Jesuits were not limited even to the Huron race.

1 Vol. iii, p. 122-3

2 And Mass, which was celebrated every morning about sunrise, in presence of the neophytes.

3 P. 125.

4 Ibid.

Within thirteen years, this remote wilderness was visited by forty-two missionaries, members of the society of Jesus, besides eighteen others, who, if not initiated, were yet chosen men, ready to shed their blood for their faith. Twice or thrice a year, they all assembled at St. Mary's; for the rest of the time, they were scattered through the infidel tribes."[1]

We shall hereafter see how this flourishing mission was broken up by an incursion of the fierce Iroquois, the most deadly enemies of the Hurons. We will also have occasion to trace more in detail, from the old *Relation* alluded to, the wonderful fruits gathered in this first field of Jesuit missionary labors among the Indians. As this was the first mission, it was also a kind of model for all the others; and as we design, in our second and third papers, to dwell at some length on its history, we will be dispensed from here giving a detailed account of the missions among the other tribes. We will accordingly close this paper with a rapid glance at them, in taking which we will follow Mr. Bancroft's statements, which we have found to be, in the main, impartial, and, we suppose, accurate.

From the map published by the Jesuits in Paris, in the year 1660, it appears that their missionaries before this date, "had traced the highway of waters from Lake Erie to Lake Superior, and had gained a glimpse at least of Lake Michigan."[2] As early as 1638, the plan was formed by them to establish missions among the Algonquins both north and south of Lake Huron, in Michigan, and at Green Bay. But their scanty number and incessant labors prevented them from carrying this purpose immediately into execution. Burning with zeal for the salvation of souls for whom Jesus had died, they ardently prayed the Lord that he would send additional laborers into His vineyard. Their prayer was heard; and two years later, (1640) the superiors of the mission were enabled to send Fathers Charles Raymbault and Claude Pijart among the Algonquins of the North and West.[3]

A year later, FF. Raymbault and Jogues were sent to preach among the Chippewas dwelling at Saulte Sainte Marie, in Michigan, the chief of which tribe had humbly sued for missionaries. This mission was painful, but it promised success:

"The chieftains of the Chippewas invited the Jesuits to dwell among them, and hopes were inspired of a permanent mission. A council was held: 'We will embrace you,' said they, 'as brothers; we will derive profit from your words.'"[4] "Thus," the historian says, "did the religious zeal of the French bear the Cross to the banks of the St. Mary and the confines of Lake Superior, and look wistfully towards the homes of the Sioux in the valley of the Mississipi, five years before the New England Elliot had addressed the tribe of Indians that dwelt within six miles of Boston harbor."[5]

The "New England Elliot," should not be mentioned on the same page with the very humblest of the Jesuit missionaries. Did he, or did any other Protestant minister, ever make any *great* sacrifices for the spiritual

1 Vol. iii, P. 128. 2 Ibid. 3 P. 129. 4 P. 132 5 P. 131.

benefit of the Indians? Did he "leave father and mother, and home and wife," to devote himself, body and soul, for their salvation, amid "Perils of rivers, in perils of robbers, in perils in the wilderness, in labors and painfulness, in watching often, in hunger and thirst, in many fastings, in cold and in nakedness?"[1] Was ever a Protestant minister known to endure all this, or even any considerable portion of it, for the love of Christ, and the conversion of the heathen? All these privations, however, the Jesuits cheerfully endured, and many of them much more besides; for many of them gladly laid down their lives in this cause. The first missionaries among the Hurons,—Fathers Daniel, De Brebeuf, and Lallemant,—all fell glorious martyrs to their devoted zeal. The "New England Elliot" is not known to have penetrated much farther into the Indian wilderness than six miles from Boston harbor; and he did very little, and succeeded very poorly, even when he had reached this amazing distance from home!

Father Raymbault soon after fell a victim to the climate, and died of consumption at Quebec. (Oct. 1642) His associate, Father Jogues, who with him had first planted the Cross in Michigan, was reserved for a still more disastrous, though glorious fate. Taken prisoner by the fierce Mohawks, he was carried by them to the vicinity of Albany in New York. His brave companion, the Huron chief Ahasistari, could easily have effected his escape, at the time that the Jesuit was captured: but he came out from his hiding place, and addressing Father Jogues, said: "My brother, I made oath to thee that I would share thy fortune, whether death or life; here I am to keep my vow."[2] He was condemned to the flames; and "having received absolution, he met his end with the enthusiasm of a convert, and the pride of the most gallant war chief of his tribe."[3]

Father Jogues was made to run the gauntlet at three different Mohawk villages: "For days and nights, he was abandoned to hunger and every torment which petulant youth could devise. But yet there was consolation: an ear of Indian corn on the stalk was thrown to the good father, and see! to the broad blade there clung little drops of dew, or of water, enough to baptize two captive neophytes!"[4] He had expected death: but the Mohawks, satisfied perhaps with his sufferings, or awed at his sanctity, spared his life, and his liberty was enlarged:

"On a hill apart, he carved a long Cross on a tree, and there, in the solitude, meditated the imitation of Christ and soothed his griefs by reflecting that he alone, in that vast region, adored the true God of earth and heaven. Roaming through the stately forests of the Mohawk valley, he wrote the name of Jesus on the bark of trees, engraved the Cross, and entered into possession of these countries, in the name of God,—often lifting up his voice in a solitary chant. Thus did France bring its banner and its faith to the confines of Albany. The missionary himself was humanely ransomed from captivity by the Dutch, and sailing for France, soon returned to Canada."[5]

1 2 Corinth. xi, 26, 27. 2 P. 133 3 P. 134. 4 P. 133. P. 134.

"Similar was the fate of Father Bressani. Taking prisoner while on his way to the Hurons; beaten, mangled, mutilated; driven barefoot over rough paths, through briars and thickets; scourged by a whole village; burned, tortured, wounded, and scarred,—he was eye-witness to the fate of one of his companions, who was boiled and eaten. Yet some mysterious awe protected his life, and he too was at last humanely rescued by the Dutch."[1]

These examples are worthy of the brightest days of the Church, when the Pagans shouted: "The Christians to the lions!"

The charity of Christ urged the missionaries forward, as it had impelled St. Paul of old. Like him, too, "Forgetting the things that were behind, and stretching forth themselves to those which were before, they pursued towards the mark, for the prize of the supernal vocation of God in Christ Jesus."[2] Wherever there was an opportunity to gain a soul to Christ, there the Jesuit apostle was to be found, in spite of snows and frosts, and rugged roads, and apprehensions of savage barbarity. Onward and still onward rolled the sacred tide of missionary enterprise, purifying and regenerating the savage tribes in its course. The missionary never paused in his career: he sought no rest, other than the eternal rest of the saints in heaven.

The Abenakis of Maine had already received the light of the gospel from the Franciscan missionaries, early in the seventeenth century. One of these, Father Viel, had been drowned, (A. D. 1623) by having his frail canoe dashed to pieces, while "shooting a rapid on his way from the Hurons."[3] The Abenakis, touched with the benevolence of Silleri, applied for Jesuit missionaries in the year 1646:

"In August, Father Gabriel Dreuillettes, first of Europeans, made the long and painful journey from the St. Lawrence to the sources of the Kennebec, and, descending that stream to its mouth in a bark canoe, continued his roamings on an open sea along the coast. A few miles above the mouth of the Kennebec, the Indians in large numbers gathered about him, building a rude chapel. In the winter, he was their companion in their long excursions in quest of game. Who can tell all the hazards that were encountered? The sharp rocks in the channel of the river were full of perils for the frail canoe; winter turned the solitudes into a wilderness of snow; the rover, Christian or Pagan, must carry about with him his house, his furniture, and his food. But the Jesuit succeeded in winning the affections of the savages; and, after a pilgrimage of ten months, an escort of thirty conducted him to Quebec, full of health and joy."[4]

Thus the Jesuits had penetrated the present territory of the United States at three different points: at Sault St. Marie in Michigan, among the Abenakis of Maine, and among the Mohawks around Albany in New York. This last tribe was the fiercest and most indomitable of all. We have already seen how cruelly they treated Father Isaac Jogues, and how wonderfully he escaped from their hands. This good man, having speedily returned to the missions in Canada, soon had an opportunity of requiting evil with good. In May, 1646, he was sent on an embassy

1 Vol. iii, p. 134 2 Philippians iii, 13-14. 3 P. 137. 4 Ibid. p. 136.

to the Mohawks, whose language he had learned while in captivity. He was hospitably received, and he had an interview also with the Onondagas, a neighboring tribe. Elated with joy at his success, on his return to Quebec, he made a report, which inspired the hope and induced the resolution of founding a permanent mission in New York. He was selected as superior of the new mission.

On leaving his brethren, he said: *Ibo et non redibo*,— "I will go and will not return." The treacherous Mohawks made him prisoner; "And, against the voice of the other nations, he was condemned by the grand council as an enchanter, who had blighted their harvest. Timid by nature, yet tranquil from zeal, he approached the cabin where the death festival was kept, and, as he entered, received the death blow. His head was hung upon the palisades of the village, his body thrown into the Mohawk river."[1]

The Onondagas and other tribes of New York were more sincere. The death of Father Jogues, far from terrifying his brother missionaries, had contributed rather to influence them with a desire to labor in the same field, and if possible, to share his crown of martyrdom. In 1655, Fathers Chaumonot and Dablon, were sent on this mission:

"They were hospitably welcomed at Onondaga, the principal village of the tribe. A general convention was held at their desire; and, before the multitudinous assembly of the chiefs and the whole people, gathered under the open sky, among the primeval forests, the presents were delivered; and the Italian Jesuit, with much gesture, after the Italian manner, discoursed so eloquently to the crowd, that it seemed to Dablon as if the word of God had been preached to all the nations of that land. On the next day, the chiefs and others crowded round the Jesuits with their songs of welcome. 'Happy land!' they sang, 'happy land! in which the French are to dwell;' and the chief led the chorus; 'Glad tidings! glad tidings! It is well, that we have spoken together; it is well, that we have a heavenly message.' At once a chapel sprang into existence, and by the zeal of the nation was finished in a day. 'For marbles and precious stones,' writes Dablon, 'we employed only bark; but the path to heaven is as open through a roof of bark, as through arched ceilings of silver and gold.' The savages showed themselves susceptible of the excitements of religious ecstacy; and there, in the heart of New York, the solemn services of the Roman (Catholic) Church, were chanted as securely as in any part of Christendom."[2]

The other tribes of New York also received missionaries, about the same time. Even the fierce Mohawks began to relent, and the Jesuit Le Moyne, "selecting the banks of their river for his abode, resolved to persevere, in the vain hope of infusing into their savage nature the gentler spirit of civilization."[3] The other tribes of the five nations, including the Onondagas just mentioned, proved more tractable:

"The Cayugas also desired a missionary, and they received the fearless René Mesnard. In their village, a chapel was erected, with mats for the tapestry; and there the pictures of the Saviour, and of the Virgin Mother, were unfolded to the admiring children of the wilderness. The

1 Vol iii, P. 137-8. 2 Ibid. p, 143. 3 Ibid.

Oneidas also listened to the missionary; and, early in 1657, Chaumonot, reached the more fertile and more densely peopled land of the Senecas. * * The Jesuit priests published their faith from the Mohawk to the Genessee, Onondaga remaining the central station."[1]

The missions stretched westward, along Lake Superior, to the waters of the Mississippi. Two young fur traders, having traveled to the west for five hundred leagues, returned in 1656, attended by a number of savages from the Mississippi valley, who eagerly demanded missionaries for their country lying beyond Lake Superior:

"Their request was eagerly granted; and Gabriel Dreuillettes, the same who carried the Cross through the forests of Maine, and Leonard Gareau, of old a missionary among the Hurons, were selected as the first religious envoys to a land of sacrifices, shadows, and deaths. The canoes are launched; the tawny mariners embark; the oars flash and words of joy and triumph mingle with the last adieus. But just below Montreal, a band of Mohawks, enemies to the Ottowas, awaited the convoy; in the affray, Gareau was mortally wounded and the fleet dispersed."[2]

Undeterred by the sad fate of these first envoys, the Jesuits were still fired with zeal to carry the Cross westward:

"If the five nations," they said, "can penetrate these regions, to satiate their passion for blood; if mercantile enterprise can bring furs from the plains of the Sioux;— why cannot the Cross be borne to their cabins? * * The zeal of Francis de Laval, the bishop of Quebec, kindled with a desire himself to enter on the mission; but the lot fell to René Mesnard. He was charged to visit Green Bay and Lake Superior, and on a convenient inlet, to establish a residence as a common place of assembly for the surrounding nations. His departure was immediate, (A. D. 1660) and with few preparations; for he trusted — such are his words — 'in the Providence which feeds the little birds of the desert, and clothes the wild flowers of the forests.' Every personal motive seemed to retain him at Quebec; but powerful instincts impelled him to the enterprise. Obedient to his vows, the aged man entered on the path that was red with the blood of his predecessors, and made haste to scatter the seeds of truth through the wilderness, even though the sower cast his seed in weeping. 'In three or four months,' he wrote to a friend, 'you may add me to the *memento* of deaths.'"[3]

His presentiment was verified by the event. After having remained with his neophytes about eight months, the venerable man, "while his attendant was employed in the labor of transporting the canoe, was lost in the forest, and was never more seen. Long afterwards, his cassock and his breviary were kept as amulets among the Sioux."[4]

Similar was the death of the great Father Marquette, the discoverer of the Mississippi;—for want of space compels us reluctantly to pass over the labors of his two illustrious companions, Fathers Allouez and Dablon,[5] as well as our author's graphic account of the brilliant missions among the Chippewas, the Sioux, the Illinois, the Potowatamies, the Sacs and the Foxes.[6] The omission, however, may be, in a great measure, supplied by the reader himself; for what has been said of the other missions, may be repeated, with some modifications, of those just mentioned

1 Vol. iii, P. 144. 2 P. 146. 3 P. 147.
4 Ibid. 5 See Bancroft, pp. 149, seq. and 152. seq. 6 P. 150 seq.

We will now give Mr. Bancroft's account of the death of Marquette. In company with the French envoy Joliet, he had discovered and descended the Mississippi to a point beyond the mouth of the Arkansas River. On the 17th of July, 1673, he prepared for his return up the mighty stream. Both in his descent and in his ascent, he had often paused to preach the gospel to the numerous tribes of Indians with whom he happened to meet. On his return, he ascended and explored the Illinois river; and soon arrived at Green Bay, by way of Chicago and Lake Michigan:

"Joliet returned to Quebec to announce the discovery; * * the unaspiring Marquette remained to preach the gospel to the Miamis, who dwelt in the north of Illinois, round Chicago. Two years afterwards, (A. D. 1675) sailing from Chicago to Mackinaw, he entered a little river in Michigan. Erecting an altar, he said Mass after the rites of the Catholic Church: then, begging the men who conducted his canoe to leave him alone for a half hour,

'In the darkling wood,
Amid the cool and silence, he knelt down,
And offered to the Mightiest solemn thanks
And supplication'

At the end of the half hour, they went to seek him, and he was no more. The good missionary, discoverer of a new world, had fallen asleep on the margin of the stream that bears his name. Near its mouth, the canoemen dug his grave in the sand. Ever after, the forest rangers, if in danger on Lake Michigan, would invoke his name. The people of the west will build his monument."[1]

Such are some of the leading facts and incidents of the earliest Catholic missions among the Indian tribes of the North West. The reader cannot fail to have admired the self-devotion, the disinterestedness, and the unquenchable zeal of the Jesuits. Their missionary labors on our continent forcibly remind us of the heroic disregard of self manifested by Christian missionaries in the first ages of the Church. Their stupendous success is a conclusive proof, that God was with them, and smiled on their exertions; and also that they preached the true faith. We may triumphantly ask our dissenting brethren, to produce, from the annals of their missionary enterprise, any thing to compare with the picture drawn of the early Jesuit missions by the Protestant historian, Bancroft.

The Jesuit missions of the North West, begun under auspices so favorable, were continued with various vicissitudes, from 1634, to the suppression of the order in 1773,—a period of 139 years. Even after this event, some of the Jesuits still remained with their dear Indians, in the character of secular priests.[2] After the English government had gained possession of Canada, in 1763, the Jesuits were viewed with suspicion, and they would speedily no doubt have been excluded from the Indian missions under British influence, even if Clement XIV. had not thought proper to suppress the order, ten years later. What cared England for the souls of the poor savages? Or what nation or tribe did her influence ever convert or civilize?

1 P 161-2

2 As, for instance, the one stationed at Kaskaskias.

XVI. EARLY CATHOLIC MISSIONS IN THE NORTH WEST.

SECOND PAPER.— THE HURON MISSION.*

A beautiful spectacle — Reclaiming the savage — Details of the Mission among the Hurons — The nation of Christians — An Indian council — A touching incident — A picture of primitive fervor — Edifying anecdotes — Triumphs of grace — Attack of the Huron villages — Father Daniel — His glorious martyrdom — His virtues — Another attack by the Iroquois — Heroic conduct of Fathers de Brebeuf and Lallemant — They are made prisoners — Devotedness of their neophytes — The glories of the Huron Mission scattered.

In our first Paper, we glanced rapidly at the history of the early Jesuit missions among the Indians of the North West, as given by the American historian Bancroft. In the present, we design to furnish some additional details concerning the mission among the Hurons, the first of all in point of time; having been established, as we have already seen, as early as the year 1634.

The facts which we will give are taken from the old account, or *Relation*, drawn up by Father Paul Ragueneau, the Superior of the mission, and published at Paris in 1650. This document furnishes an interesting account of the state of the mission in the years 1648 and 1649; and it gives a thrilling sketch of the horrors attending the destruction of the Christian villages of St. Joseph and of St. Ignatius, by incursions of the Iroquois,[1] the most deadly enemies of the Hurons and of the Christian name.

It is indeed a beautiful spectacle, to behold Christian civilization blooming amid the frosty wilderness of Canada, and taking deep root and flourishing in the hearts of the wild children of the forest. It does the Christian heart good, to see the fierce and hitherto indomitable savage entirely tamed, and meekly bowing his neck to the sweet yoke of Christ; to behold the devouring wolf converted into the gentle lamb of the fold. The annals of Catholic missions alone can present scenes so sublime and so touching. Philosophy may speculate on its inflated theories of high-sounding benevolence; Protestantism may boast its missionary zeal: but it is only Catholicity which can reclaim the savage, tame his ferocity, and effectually teach him the arts of civilization.

* "Relation de ce qui est passé en la Mission des Peres de la Compagnie de Jesus aux Hurons, pais de la Nouvelle France, aux années 1648 et 1649. Par P. Paul Ragueneau, de la mesme Compagnie. A Paris, 1650."

1 Bancroft calls those who destroyed the mission of St. Joseph Mohawks; (vol. iii, p. 138) but the *Relation* styles them Iroquois. P. 8.

The missions of Paraguay in South America, and those among the Hurons and other tribes of the North West, contrasted with those which Protestant missionary zeal has *attempted* among the Indians of North America, clearly prove the truth of these remarks. While the latter have proved, in every instance, a complete failure, the former were eminently successful, and plainly bespoke the divine sanction and assistance. It is only the Catholic Church, the faithful spouse of Jesus Christ, "without spot or wrinkle," which can bring forth children for the kingdom of God; the sects, ever since their divorce, have been doomed to barrenness. What savage tribe, in fact, have Protestant missionaries ever succeeded in converting or civilizing? On the contrary, we have already seen, on the authority of the Protestant historian Bancroft, what was effected in this way by the Jesuit missionaries in North America. And his statement, honorable as it is to the zeal and labors of the Jesuits, is still very meagre indeed, when compared with the detailed accounts furnished by those who were actors in the scenes which he so summarily describes. This will sufficiently appear from the facts embodied in the present paper.

Fathers Anthony Daniel and John de Brebeuf were the first missionaries sent among the Hurons, in the year 1634. We have already seen how much they suffered on the long journey of nine hundred miles, from Quebec[1] to the Huron wilderness. After having labored with untiring zeal, and amidst sufferings and privations of the most appalling character, for the space of about fifteen years, they both sealed their mission with their blood. The first missionaries to the Hurons, they were also the first martyrs. Their blood, however, far from quenching missionary zeal, was, on the contrary, a fertile seed, scattered on the face of the wilderness, from which new champions sprang forth, panting for the crown of martyrdom. The same heroic spirit which had led Christians to smile on death in the days of Tertullian, at the close of the second century, was manifested by the faithful children of the Catholic Church laboring amid the snows of the Huron wilderness, in the middle of the seventeenth. The power of God was not abridged, nor was his right arm shortened.

These two venerable pioneers of the Indian missions soon beheld themselves surrounded by a large body of zealous companions, equally devoted, in life and in death, to the good cause. Four new missionaries having arrived in September 1648, the total number laboring in the Huron mission then amounted to eighteen. These were dispersed through eleven different stations, eight of which were for the tribes who spoke the Huron tongue, and the three others were among the Algonquins.[2] The four newly arrived apostles were given as assistants to those whose districts were the most extensive; the greater portion of the missionaries had no companions, save "the tutelary angels of the tribes"

1 Called KEBEC in the oldest writings, and in the *Relation* of 1648--1649.

2 Relation, p. 18.

among which they labored.[1] The condition of the mission is thus described by Father Ragueneau:

"Everywhere the progress of the faith has far surpassed our hopes; the greater portion of the savages, even those who had been before the most ferocious, having become so docile and so pliable to the preaching of the Gospel, as to make it manifest that the angels labored more among them than ourselves. The number of those who received baptism during the past year (1648) is about eighteen hundred; without reckoning a vast multitude baptized by Father Anthony Daniel, on the day of the capture of St. Joseph's, of whom we have not been able to take any exact account; and not comprising those baptized by Fathers John de Brebeuf and Gabriel Lallemant at the capture of the villages forming the mission of St. Ignatius. . . . It is enough for us that heaven hath kept a good account of these, for, in sooth, these baptisms have served but to enrich the Church triumphant." [2]

The *Relation* then proceeds to state, that no intelligence had yet been received from a mission established eight months before among a tribe of the Algonquins, dwelling on an island sixty leagues to the west. The missionary who was stationed at this distant post, far away from his brethren, had much to endure, and had already no doubt gained many souls to Jesus Christ. This island, situated amidst the waters of Lake Huron, was called by the Indians *Ekaentoton;* but the Jesuits named it *St. Mary's.*[3]

Wherever a mission was organized, there a flourishing Christian village, and sometimes a cluster of them, sprang up amidst the frowning wilderness. The Jesuit missionary was the father of each little Christian community. He lived with his spiritual children, adopted their mode of life, shared their privations, rejoiced with them when they rejoiced, and wept with them when they wept. He became "all to all, to gain all to Christ." The affections of the Indians were thus won, their hearts were enchained; they became as docile as little children in the hands of the missionaries, and they renewed in their lives the brilliant examples of virtue set by the primitive Christians.

The mission of the Conception, of which the principal station was at St. Mary's, was the oldest of those established among the Hurons. It was the one, too, which set the brightest example of every virtue, and shone as a brilliant luminary in the midst of the wilderness, presenting a model for the imitation of the neighboring tribes. Says the *Relation:*

"Men, women, and children, made so open a profession of what they all wished to be even unto death, that the surrounding tribes were wont to call them by no other name, than *the Nation of Christians.* In effect, their chiefs are so ardent in maintaining the faith, and all the families have submitted to its teachings so generally, that, but very few infidels remaining among them, the Christians are no longer willing to tolerate any of their ancient customs, which were the remains of infidelity, or which were injurious to morals. In the beginning of the winter (1648–9) these good neophytes convened a general council, to confer together on the best means for strengthening the faith among them. They came to the conclusion to

1 Relation, p. 8. 2 Ibid. p. 18–19. 3 Ibid. p. 20.

seek out the Father who has charge of the mission, and to beg him to retrench from their customs whatever was contrary to the faith, and to correct, in those uses which were indifferent, whatever might prove in any wise dangerous; and they pledged themselves to obey him in every thing, to view him as the bearer of the word of God, and as their first Chief. The best of it is, that they keep their word, and that, on the least doubt which subsequently arose on this subject, their chiefs came themselves to the Father to receive and execute his orders."[1]

Towards the close of the winter, this good resolution was put to the test. Some obstinate infidels among the Hurons, wishing to revive their ancient sorceries and impure remedies for healing the sick, called in some chiefs from the neighboring infidel tribes to aid them with their influence; but these found the faith of the neophytes proof against all their efforts to shake it, and they were compelled to desist from this attempt.[2] The following incident, which we abridge from the *Relation*,[3] will serve to show how unshaken was the constancy of those Huron Christians.

In one of the public games practised among the Hurons, it was customary for the war-chief to enter the cabins of the village in a kind of fury, and with uplifted tomahawk to destroy the doors and rude furniture, as if attacking an enemy's camp. In one of these fits of assumed rage, an infidel chief of great credit in the tribe declared that he had been admonished in a dream to break open the door of the church, and to cut down the tree from the branches of which was hung the bell which called the Christians to morning and evening service. On any other occasion, it would have been deemed an offense against the national usages to thwart the infuriate chief in his purpose; but the menace against the church aroused the zeal of a venerable octogenarian who had embraced the Christian faith. He fell on his knees, and having made a short prayer, he rushed to the church door, just as the savage chief was raising his tomahawk to demolish its portals; placed his bald head before the upraised weapon, and exclaimed: "The stroke of the tomahawk would fall much better upon my head, than upon a house consecrated to God!" The infidel was lost in amazement: "Strike," said the Christian, "I promise publicly that no vengeance shall be taken for my death; neither the public nor he who will have dealt me the death-stroke, shall inflict or suffer any penalty for it: but I cannot see with my eyes, that either the sanctity of the house dedicated to the service of God should be profaned, or that the voice which summons us to prayer should be hushed!" The infidel chief was abashed, and he desisted from his purpose.

Examples so heroic could not but exercise a powerful influence on the neighboring tribes. The good Father Ragueneau expresses the delight with which his soul overflowed in the following passage:

"Without doubt the angels of heaven have been rejoiced at seeing, that in all the villages of this country the faith is respected, and that Christians now glory in that name which was in reproach but a few years ago. For my part, I could never have hoped to see, even after fifty years of labor,

1 Relation, p. 20-21. 2 Ibid p. 22. 3 Ibid p. 22-24.

one tenth part of the piety, of the virtue and sanctity, of which I have been an eye-witness in the visits made to those churches, which have but lately grown up in the bosom of infidelity. It has given me a sensible delight to witness the diligence of Christians, who anticipated the light of the sun to come to the public prayers; and who, though harassed with toil, came again in immense throngs before night to render anew their homages to God: to see the little children emulating the piety of their parents, and accustoming themselves, from the most tender age, to offer up to God their little sufferings, griefs, and labors. Often little girls, while engaged in gathering wood for the fire in the adjoining forests, can find no employment more agreeable than to recite the Rosary, seeking to outstrip one another in this exercise of piety. But what has charmed me most, is to see that the sentiments of faith have penetrated so deeply into the hearts of those whom we but lately called barbarians, — and I can say it with entire truth — that divine grace has destroyed, in most of them, the fears, the desires, and the joys inspired heretofore by the feelings of nature."[1]

The following touching anecdotes will serve still further to illustrate this triumph of divine grace. We condense them from the *Relation:*[2]

"A small child six years old fell dangerously sick in the mission of St. Michael. His mother, seeing the excess of his sufferings, and the approaches of death to her dearly beloved and only child, could not restrain her tears. 'My mother,' exclaimed the child, 'why do you weep? Your tears will not restore me to health; rather let us pray God together, that He would make me happy in heaven.' After some prayers, the mother said: 'My son, I must carry you to St. Mary's, that the French Fathers may restore you to health.' 'Alas! my mother,' rejoined the little innocent, 'I have a fire which burns in my head,—can they extinguish it? I dream no longer of life; have no more solicitude for me; but I will admonish you of my approaching end, and I will then beg you to carry me to St. Mary's, for I wish to die there, and to be buried among the good Christians.'"

Some days afterwards, the child admonished the mother that it was time to carry him to St. Mary's, as his end was approaching. It was a custom of the tribe, that when one was on the eve of death, a multitude assembled to perform the superstitious ceremonies of the country. When the child beheld the gathering throng, he exclaimed: "Alas! my mother; would you have me sin on the very eve of death? No, I renounce all these superstitions; I wish to die like a good Christian." The *Relation* closes the account with these words:

"This little angel was brought to us, and died in our arms, praying until death, and assuring us that he was going straight to heaven, where he would pray to God for us; and he even asked his mother to inform him, for which of his relations he should pray most, when he would be with God, and when his prayers would without doubt be heard. He *was* heard; for shortly after his death, one of his uncles who had been among those who had been the most rebellious to the faith in this whole country, as well as one of his aunts, demanded instruction at our hands, and became Christians."

Similar to this is another incident of a little girl of five years, who having

1 Relation, p, 24, 25. 2 Ibid p. 26, seq.

attended morning and evening prayers with great assiduity, and having persevered in this even against the prohibition of her parents, was permitted to receive baptism. Some time afterwards she was taken dangerously ill. Her infidel parents summoned a medicine man, or juggler, to her bedside, and he began his incantations. The little girl, though very low, had yet strength enough to protest against the superstitious rites. She said: "I am a Christian; the devils have no longer power over me; I do not consent to the sin which you are commiting in consulting the evil one; I wish no such remedies; God alone will heal me." The parents, awed by this appeal, compelled the juggler to retire. The child on the same day begged to be carried to the church, assuring the bystanders that she would be healed, which in fact took place. Her parents were converted and demanded baptism.

The *Relation* gives also a touching account of a girl of fifteen, who had been taken prisoner late in the previous winter (1647–8) by a hostile tribe. Though imbued with the faith, she had not yet received baptism. While weeping in her captivity, she fervently prayed that God would preserve her purity, which was greatly endangered, and that he would grant her the grace to return to the station of St. Mary's, in order that she might receive baptism. Her prayer was heard; she felt a full assurance that her deliverance was at hand; she threw herself into the first path with which she met, and, without guide other than her guardian angel, without provisions, without protection, she traveled on foot a rugged journey of 240 miles, and arrived in safety at St. Mary's, where she received the long sighed for grace of baptism, and became a model of virtue to the neophytes. The *Relation* concludes this branch of the subject as follows:

"This chapter would be endless, were I to recount all the triumphs of grace among these poor savages, which excite our admiration more and more every day, and for which we will bless God forever in heaven, without lassitude or disgust. I cannot, however, omit to mention a sentiment almost universal among a multitude of good Christians, who having lost all their property, their children, and whatever they held dear in this world, and being on the point of abandoning their country to escape the cruelty of the Iroquois, their enemies, yet thank God and say: 'My God! be thou blessed forever! I cannot regret these losses, since faith has taught me that the love which Thou bearest towards Christians is not for the goods of this earth, but for those of eternity; I bless Thee in the midst of my losses as cheerfully as I ever did before; Thou art my Father, and it is enough for me to know that Thou lovest me, to make me content with all the evils which may happen.' But what astonishes me most in all this, is to behold that these sentiments do not come in tardily, after nature and passion have swayed the first motions of the heart; but that grace often anticipates and controls even those first sallies, directing them to heaven more promptly than to earth. May God be blessed forever for all this!"[1]

Such was the happy condition of the Huron missions, which thus rivaled those of Paraguay in South America, though on a more reduced

1 Relation, p. 32, 33.

scale. The snow-clad wilderness of the North produced as lovely fruits for heaven, as did the sunny climes of the South; and the same skillful hands cultivated both portions of the vineyard. Nor does the parallel stop here. Both missions were broken up by violence, when at the very height of their prosperity: that of Paraguay by the heartless policy of the Portuguese court under the administration of the ever infamous Pombal; and that of the Hurons, by instruments scarcely more fierce—the implacable Iroquois. God permitted both catastrophes, in the mysterious and unsearchable ways of His providence; and both peopled heaven with martyrs from among the Indian tribes.

The Iroquois fell upon the Huron wigwams at two different times: first, on the 4th of July, 1648, when they destroyed the two flourishing frontier Christian villages composing the mission of St. Joseph; and secondly, on the 16th of March, 1649, when a thousand hostile savages massacred the inhabitants, and scattered the glories of the mission of St. Ignatius. In the former invasion, Father Anthony Daniel fell, the proto-martyr of the Jesuits in North America, as he had been one of the first pioneers of the Huron mission; in the latter, Father John de Brebeuf and Gabriel Lallemant, laid down their lives for the faith, amidst the most excruciating tortures. We will glance rapidly at the history of both these melancholy occurrences, condensing the very detailed account of them given in the *Relation* already quoted.

The principal village of the two which composed the mission of St. Joseph, numbered about four hundred families. Almost all the men were absent on the chase, or on a warlike expedition. Father Daniel, who had charge of the mission, was just finishing Mass, and the Christians according to custom had filled the church about sunrise, when the alarm was given, and the cry "To arms" resounded through the village. The Iroquois had stolen upon the town unperceived during the night, and they now burst with their fierce war-whoops upon the inhabitants, thus taken by surprise and unprepared for defense. "Some flew to the combat, others fled panic-stricken; Father Daniel throwing himself hastily among the thickest of the combatants, where the peril was greatest, encouraged his neophytes to make a noble defense; and . . he spoke in a tone so animated, as to make a deep impression on those hearts which had hitherto proved most rebellious, and to impart to them a Christian spirit." The crowd of applicants for baptism proved so great, that the Father was constrained by the emergency to steep his handkerchief in water, and to baptize the multitude by aspersion. The combat waxed warmer and warmer; a multitude of Christians just baptized exchanged an earthly robe of innocence for a heavenly garment of glory: the Hurons were overpowered by superior numbers, and the Iroquois became masters of the place. Father Daniel was entreated to fly, and he could easily have effected his escape. But he recollected that many infirm and old persons had been previously prepared for baptism; he hastily flew around the cabins of the village, baptizing these, and a multitude of infants; and,

finding the houses already in flames, he betook himself to the church, wishing to die there near the altar of God. He found it already full of Christians, or of catechumens who eagerly demanded baptism. He baptized some, gave absolution to others, and exclaimed to the assembled multitude: "My brethren, we shall to-day be together in heaven!"[1]

The Iroquois surround the church with a horrible outcry. Father Daniel cries out, at the top of his voice: "Fly, my brethren, fly! and bear with you your faith even to the last breath! For my part, I must die here, and here abide, so long as I shall see a soul to gain for heaven; and dying to save you, my life is to me as nothing:—we shall meet again in heaven!" Meantime, while his neophytes are flying in all directions; this good shepherd goes forth to meet the enemy: the fierce war shout is hushed: rage is succeeded by a moment of awful silence; the appearance of the man, his earnest manner, his face all radiant with the light of heaven, had stricken awe into every savage bosom. Rallying, however, after a moment's hesitancy, they rush upon him with savage cries; a hundred arrows pierce him, and a musket ball enters his body passing near the heart. Father Daniel falls dead: the shepherd has given his life for his flock, with the divine assurance of finding it anew in heaven.

Finding that he had fallen, the savages rushed upon him, tore off his clothing and mangled his body, treating it with every indignity. At length, the church being already in flames, his body was cast into the fire, and the good Father's sacrifice became a holocaust. He and his beloved church were consumed in the same flames. He had, by striking awe into the savages and riveting their attention on himself, contributed to save the lives of many of his flock, who were thus enabled to escape.

Thus died Anthony Daniel, the proto-martyr of North America. A native of Dieppe in France, born of wealthy and respectable parents, he had entered at an early age into the society of the Jesuits. Chosen for the Huron mission, he had labored among these people for fourteen years, indefatigable in his zeal, and panting daily for the crown of martyrdom. He was remarkable "for heroic courage, untiring patience, unalterable meekness, and a charity which could excuse all things, bear with all things, and love every body. His humility was sincere, his obedience entire, and he was always ready to do everything and to suffer everything. His zeal animated him even unto death, which though sudden, was not unexpected. For he always carried his life in his hands; and during the nine years that he had been employed in the frontier Christian villages, on a mission which was most exposed to the enemy, he had sighed, with hope and with love, for that death which finally fell to his lot."[2]

But two days before his glorious death, he had finished a spiritual retreat at the house of St. Mary's, and had made a general confession with a view to prepare himself for eternity. Inflamed with renewed zeal,

1 Relation, p. 10-11.

2 Relation, p. 13.

he would not consent to remain even for a day with his brethren to enjoy a brief repose, but hastened back to his mission, having a sort of instinctive feeling that he was needed there. On the 3rd of July, he preached his last sermon to his dear neophytes, bidding them, with tears in his eyes, to prepare for death; on the 4th, he fell a martyr, as we have seen. In the words of the *Relation:* "He left after him an example of every virtue; the savages, even those who were infidels, cherished so strong an attachment for his memory, as to allow us to say with truth, that he had charmed the hearts of all who had ever known him." [1]

We must now turn to another scene of horror and carnage, more dreadful far than the one we have just attempted feebly to describe. Encouraged by their former success, the Iroquois returned early in the spring of the following year — 1649; and on the 16th of March, a thousand warriors attacked the Christian village of St. Ignatius at break of day, while the inhabitants were all buried in sleep. They carried the place by assault, put men, women and children to death, and set fire to the cabins. Out of four hundred inhabitants, but three escaped over the snow to carry the alarm to the village of St. Louis, but a league distant! The Iroquois followed up their success, and before sunrise surrounded this village, which was fortified with a strong pine palisade. At their approach, many of the women and children fled to the neighboring towns. About eighty valiant Hurons resolved to defend the place to the last extremity. A desperate conflict ensued; but after thirty of the invaders had been killed, and a great number wounded, the palisades were forced, and the enemy rushed in, overpowering their feeble adversaries, and carrying everything before them. Being well provided with fire arms, which they had obtained from their neighbors, the Dutch in New York, they were an overmatch for the Hurons, whom they now butchered almost without resistance. They set fire to the town, and cast into the flames the old, the infirm, the wounded, and such small children as had not been able to effect their escape. From the central missionary station of St. Mary's, but a league distant, the flames were discovered at nine o'clock in the morning; and the sad forebodings of the good Fathers who dwelt there were soon confirmed by a messenger who had escaped from the massacre. [2]

In the village of St. Louis there resided at the time of the assault two Jesuit Fathers, John de Brebeuf and Gabriel Lallemant, who had charge of this, and of four other neighboring villages, which formed but one of the eleven Huron and Algonquin missions before spoken of:

"Some of the Christians had entreated the Fathers to preserve their lives for the glory of God, which could have been very easily effected, since at the first alarm more than five hundred had escaped with ease to a place of security; but their zeal would not allow them to do this, and the salvation of their flock was dearer to them than the love of life. They employed every moment of their time, as the most precious of their whole

1 Relation, p. 14 2 Ibid. p. 85–6.

lives; and during the hottest of the combat, their heart was all on fire for the salvation of souls. One of them was at the breach baptizing the catechumens; the other was giving absolution to the neophytes; and both were busy in animating the Christians to die in sentiments of piety, which consoled them in the midst of their misfortunes. . . An unconverted Huron seeing things desperate, spoke of flight: but a Christian, named Stephen Annaotaha, the most distinguished of the whole village for his courage and for his exploits against the enemy, would not hear of it. 'What?' he exclaimed, 'shall we abandon these good Fathers, who for our sakes have exposed their own lives? The love they have for our salvation will be the cause of their death; there is no longer time for them to fly across the snows. Let us then die with them, and in their company we will go to heaven.' This chief had made a general confession but a few days before, having had a presentiment of the threatened danger, and having said that he wished death to find him ripe for heaven. And in effect, both he and many other Christians displayed so much fervor, that we can never sufficiently bless the ways of God towards His elect, whom His providence watches over with love at every moment, in life and in death. This whole multitude of Christians fell, for the most part, alive into the hands of the enemy, and with them our two Fathers, the pastors of that church. They were not killed immediately; God reserved for them more glorious crowns."[1]

Having taken the two villages of St. Ignatius and St. Louis in one day, the Iroquois dispatched couriers on the same evening to reconnoiter that of St. Mary's. The council of warriors resolved to attack it the next morning, the 17th of March; but on their march, an advanced detachment of two hundred Iroquois were met by a body of Hurons who had sallied from the village of St. Mary's; and, after a severe struggle, the former were forced to retreat, and were pursued till they took shelter within the paliside of the destroyed village of St. Louis. Here the Hurons succeeded in killing many and in making thirty prisoners. Meantime the main body of the Iroquois, having heard of the discomfiture of their brethren, came upon the Hurons in the midst of their victory. Long and fiercely raged the battle within and near the palisade of St. Louis; but at length, after the conflict had been protracted till late in the night, the Iroquois were again victorious, all the Hurons having been either killed or wounded. But the victory was dearly bought: a hundred Iroquois were among the slain, and their head chief was dangerously wounded.[2]

During the whole night of the 17th, the French at St. Mary's were under arms, hourly expecting an assault. The Jesuit Fathers were engaged in fervent prayer prostrate before the altar. "We considered ourselves," they say in the *Relation*, "as so many victims consecrated to our Lord, who ought to await patiently the hour when we shall be immolated for His glory, without seeking either to retard or to hasten it."[3] A profound silence prevailed during the whole day of the 18th, which was spent by the Christians in prayer, and by the Iroquois in consultation. On the morning of the 19th, the feast of the great St. Joseph, chief patron of the mission, a sudden panic seized upon the enemy, who fled precipi-

1 Relation, p. 37. 2 Ibid. p. 40, 41. 3 Ibid. p. 42.

tately, carrying with them such of their prisoners as were able to travel, and as they had not doomed to immediate death. The dreadful fate of the wounded and of other prisoners, is thus graphically described in the *Relation:*

"As for the other prisoners whom they had doomed to immediate death, they bound them to pine stakes driven into the earth in the different cabins, to which, in leaving the village, they set fire on all sides: taking delight on their departure at the piteous cries of these poor victims perishing in the midst of the flames,—of infants roasted by the side of their mothers, and of husbands who saw their wifes roasted near them."[1]

Thus were scattered the earthly glories of the Huron missions! Thus did many of the Huron Christians pass from an earthly to a heavenly habitation. Happy exchange! Heaven peopled from among the wild red men of the wilderness! Here truly were exhibited scenes worthy of the primitive Church!

The consequences of the two hostile invasions described above, and the apprehension of similar attacks in future, caused the abandonment of fifteen of the Huron villages;[2] the Christians of which were scattered among the neighboring tribes, bearing with them only their faith and their virtues. The Iroquois had robbed them of all else. To increase the calamity, a dreadful famine came on, and the condition of the Hurons who had survived the massacre became deplorable in the extreme.[3] The Jesuits wept and suffered with them, cheering their drooping spirits with bright visions of paradise. In the midst of all their sufferings, the good Fathers rejoiced at the visible triumphs of grace in the lives of their dear neophytes, to whom they clung in life and in death.

At first the missionaries had intended to emigrate westward with the remnant of the Hurons, to the distant Island of Ekaentoton or St. Mary's; but the Huron chiefs being averse to removing so far from the bones of their deceased relatives, and having in an eloquent speech of three hours implored the Fathers to make the neighboring Island of St. Joseph's their central mission, their request was granted, and the purpose of moving farther west was postponed for a time.[4]

In our next paper we will conclude this interesting subject of the Huron missions; and will present a rapid sketch of the edifying life and glorious death of the great Apostle of the Hurons—the Xavier of North America—JOHN DE BREBEUF.

1 Relation, p. 43. 2 Ibid. p. 86-7. 3 Ibid. 4 Ibid, p. 92, seq.

XVII. EARLY CATHOLIC MISSIONS IN THE NORTH WEST.

THIRD PAPER. — FATHERS DE BREBEUF AND LALLEMANT.*

Martyrdom of Fathers de Brebeuf and Lallemant — Their remains solemnly interred — Their heroism — Details of their martyrdom — Horrible cruelties — Life of Father Lallemant — His reasons for devoting himself to the Indian missions — The Aloysius of the Huron missions — And the Xavier — Father John de Brebeuf — Sketch of his life — His first attempt to found the Huron Mission — His ardent zeal — And spirit of prayer — His love of the cross — He pants for martyrdom — His difficulties and sufferings among the Hurons — He is exposed to imminent danger of his life — His humility — His unceasing labors — His calmness — And noble courage — The results of his zeal — The Apostle of the Hurons.

In our second Paper we endeavored to draw a rapid sketch of the rise, progress, and disasters of the Huron missions. In the present, we will attempt a biographical notice of the two Fathers, John de Brebeuf and Gabriel Lallemant, whom we left captives in the hands of the implacable Iroquois. And in order to resume the thread of the narrative, we will first speak of their glorious death, or rather martyrdom, — for they voluntarily gave their lives for the love of Christ and the salvation of the neighbor; — and then, we will furnish a summary account of the life and labors of each.[1]

On the morning after the flight of the Iroquois, the Jesuit Fathers at St. Mary's having, through some Huron captives who had escaped, received intelligence of the death of Fathers de Brebeuf and Lallemant, sent one of their number, with seven Frenchmen as an escort, to find and bring back their mortal remains. The messengers, on reaching the spot where the martyrdom of these illustrious missionaries had been consummated, witnessed a scene which froze their very souls with horror. Every thing betokened the fiendish barbarity of the merciless Iroquois. Having reverently gathered up the mangled remains of the two Fathers, they brought them back to the mission of St. Mary's, where they were solemnly interred on the 21st of March, which fell on a Sunday. At the funeral, all were "filled with so much consolation and with sentiments of a devotion so tender, that every one ardently desired, rather than feared, a similar death; and that all would have deemed themselves thrice happy, to have obtained from God the grace of shedding their blood and laying down their lives under similar circumstances. No one could bring himself

* "Relation de ce qui est passé en la Mission des Peres de la compagnie de Jesus aux Hurons, pais de la Nouvelle France, aux années 1648 et 1649. Par P. Paul Ragueneau, de la mesme Compagnie. A Paris, 1650."

1 The *Relation* devotes two whole Chapters to this part of the subject; from p. 44 to p. 86.

to pray to God for their repose, as if they stood in need of prayer; but all raised their hearts to heaven, where they had no doubt the souls of the departed already were."[1]

From the narrative of some fugitive Huron captives, who had been eye-witnesses of all the circumstances attending their death, the following details are gathered. Immediately after their capture, they were both stripped of their clothing, had their finger nails torn out by the roots, and were borne in savage triumph to the village of St. Ignatius, which had been taken on the same morning. On entering its gates, they both received a shower of blows on their shoulders, loins and stomach,—no part of their exposed bodies escaping contumely. Father de Brebeuf, though almost sinking under these cruel blows, and fainting from agony and loss of blood, still lost not courage; but, his eye kindling with fire, he addressed the Christian Hurons who were his fellow captives, in the following language:

"My children! Let us lift our eyes to heaven in the midst of our sufferings; let us remember that God is a witness of our torments, and that He will soon be our reward exceedingly great. Let us die in this faith, and trust in His goodness for the fulfillment of His promises. I feel more for you than for myself: but bear with courage the few torments which yet remain; they will all terminate with our lives: the glory which will follow them will have no end! Echon,"[2] they replied, "our hope shall be in heaven, while our bodies are suffering on earth. Pray to God for us, that He would grant us mercy: we will invoke Him even unto death."[3]

Some infidel Hurons, who had proved obstinate under the preaching of the missionaries, and who, having been long before taken captive by the Iroquois, had become naturalized among them, were filled with fiendish rage at the noble freedom with which the captive Father spoke. They rushed upon him and Father Lallemant, they cut off the hands of one, transpierced the body of the other with pointed reeds and iron arrow-points; they applied red-hot tomahawks under their armpits and over their loins; they put a collar around their necks from which were suspended red-hot tomahawks, so that, whether they stood erect, or bent on either side, their bodies were deeply burnt with the heated iron: in fine they bound round their bodies girdles of bark covered with pitch and rosin, to which they set fire. Thus were the good Jesuits roasted with more cruelty, than had been even St. Lawrence on his gridiron! Let us now hear the *Relation:*

"In the midst of his torments, Father Gabriel Lallemant raised his eyes to heaven, joining his hands from time to time, and sending forth sighs to God whom he invoked to his succor. Father John de Brebeuf, with the apparent insensibility of a rock, heedless alike of fire and flame, continued in profound silence, without once venting a sigh or a murmur, which astonished even his executioners: without doubt his heart was then sweetly reposing in the bosom of God! After a brief space, as if returning to himself he preached to those infidels, and more especially to a number of good Christian captives, who showed compassion for his

1 Relation, p. 52-3. 2 The Huron name of Father de Brebeuf. 3 Relation pp. 46-7.

sufferings. His cruel executioners, indignant at his zeal, in order to prevent his speaking any more of God, struck him on the mouth, cut off his nose, and tore away his lips; but his blood spoke more eloquently than his lips, and his heart not having yet been torn out, his tongue did not fail to aid him in recounting the mercies of God in the midst of his torments, and in animating more than ever his Christian fellow captives. In derision of baptism, which these good Fathers had so charitably administered at the breach and in the hottest of the contest, those barbarious enemies of the faith bethought themselves of baptizing them with boiling water. More than twice or thrice their whole body was inundated with the scalding element, the infidels accompanying the ablution with heartless jeers: — 'We baptize you, that you may be happy in heaven; for without baptism no one can be saved?' Others said, mocking: 'We treat you as friends, for we will be the cause of your greater happiness in heaven: thank us for our good offices, for the more you suffer, the more God will reward you.'[1]

"The more their torments were redoubled, the more did the Fathers pray, that their sins might not be the cause of the reprobation of these blinded infidels, whom they forgave with all their hearts. . . . When they were attached to the stakes where they endured all these tortures, and where they were to die, they fell on their knees, embraced the wood with joy, and kissed it fervently as the cherished object of their sighs and prayers, and as a certain and last pledge of their eternal salvation. They continued in prayer much longer than pleased their barbarous tormentors. These plucked out the eyes of Father Gabriel Lallemant, and applied red-hot coals to the orifices from which they had been torn. Their sufferings did not take place at the same time. Father John de Brebeuf suffered for about three hours, and expired at 4 o'clock in the evening of the 16th of March, the same day on which the village of St. Ignatius had been captured. Father Gabriel Lallemant suffered much longer: from six o'clock of that evening, until about nine o'clock of the following day, the 17th of March. Before their death the hearts of both were torn out, an incision having been made for this purpose under the breast; and those barbarians drank their blood while it was still warm . . . While they were yet living, pieces of flesh were cut off from their thighs, arms, and legs, which were roasted and eaten before their eyes! Their bodies had been gashed all over, and, to increase their torments, red-hot tomahawks were run along the deep incisions. Father John de Brebeuf had been already scalped; his feet had been cut off, and his thighs denuded to the very bone, and one of his cheeks had been divided by a stroke of the tomahawk. Father Gabriel Lallemant had also received a stroke of the murderous weapon on his left ear, and the instrument had sunk deep into his skull, laying bare the brain: we could find no part of his body, from the head to the foot, which had not been roasted, even while he was living. Their very tongues were roasted, burning fire-brands and bunches of bark having been repeatedly thrust into their mouths, to prevent them from invoking, while dying, the name and succor of Him, for whose love they were enduring all these torments."[2]

But we sicken at these accumulated horrors: we will drop the veil over them, and with it, a tear over the horrible blindness and perverseness of human nature when left to its own impulses, without the light of grace, and the softening influence of Christian civilization. We will now

1 Relation, p. 48

2 Ibid, p. 50-51.

endeavor to draw a rapid sketch of the lives of the two remarkable men, whose glorious martyrdom we have described.

Father Lallemant was in his 39th year, and he had been but six months engaged in the Indian missions; yet was he destined to bear off one of the first crowns. For several years he had begged with tears in his eyes to be sent on this mission, notwithstanding that his constitution was very weak and his health extremely delicate. He could hope to have little other bodily strength, than that which the grace of God might impart. In a writing[1] which he drew at the desire of his superiors, assigning the reasons why he petitioned to be sent on the Indian mission, are found the following edifying passages:

"I wish to labor on those missions: 1st, to discharge the obligations which I owe to Thee, O my God! For if Thou hast abandoned pleasure, honors, health, joy, and life itself, to save me a miserable sinner, is it more than reasonable that I should abandon all things after Thy example, for the salvation of those whom Thou esteemest Thine, who have cost Thee Thy blood, whom Thou hast loved even unto death, and of whom Thou hast said: "Whatever you have done to one of these least ones, you have done it to me?' . . . 2. Since I have been so miserable as to have offended Thy goodness, O my Jesus! Is it not just that I should atone for my sins by extraordinary sufferings; and thus should walk before Thy face, all the rest of my life, with a contrite and humble heart in the midst of sufferings, which thou didst first endure for me. 3d. I am indebted to my relations, to my mother and to my brothers, and I ought to draw down upon them the effects of Thy mercy. My God, permit not that any one of this family, for which Thou hast shown so much love, should ever be lost in Thy sight, or should ever belong to the number of those who will blaspheme Thee eternally. Let me be a victim for them; 'for I am prepared for stripes, — here burn, here cut, that thou mayst spare eternally.' 4. Yes, my Jesus! and my love! Thy blood, which was shed also for the barbarians, should be efficaciously applied to their salvation, and it is for this reason, that I wish to co-operate with Thy grace, and to be immolated for them."[2]

Having left the world at a tender age, and abandoned the prospects of worldly promotion which were open to his wealthy and respectable family, he seems to have preserved unsullied his baptismal innocence. Having become a Jesuit, he walked so uprightly before God, as everywhere to diffuse around him the sweet odor of Christ. Diffident by nature, and timid in conscience, he carefully fled from even the shadow of sin; yet he was ever calm, and he did not indulge in scruples. In France he had gone through a regular course of studies with great success, and he was a proficient in the languages and the sciences. During the few months that he labored among the Hurons, he became a little child with them, selecting the lowliest of them for his teachers in the difficult Huron language, in which he had already made great proficiency. Born to honor and distinction, he loved only the Cross, and he clung to the Cross even unto death. Revered as the angel of the Huron mission, he was wholly unconscious of his own merits, and looked on himself as the last of his brethren. Mr. Bancroft appropriately styles him: "the gentle Lallemant." He was

1 Found after his death, among his papers.

2 Relation, p. 54-5

born at Paris, on the 31st of October, 1610; and he died a martyr at the stake, on the 17th of March, 1649, in the 39th year of his age. Truly his prayer was heard: he "was immolated for the poor Indians!" Only Catholicity can point to examples so bright and so heroic!

If Father Lallemant was the Aloysius of the Huron mission, Father John de Brebeuf was its Xavier. The former was a lamb; the latter a lion: yet each had many qualities distinctive of the other; and the lion and the lamb were immolated together, for the love of God and of the neighbor. Yet did the lamb die much more slowly than the lion!

Father John de Brebeuf was sent from France on the Canadian mission in the year 1625 by Father Peter Caton, whose discrimination had marked him out as a suitable instrument for converting the savage tribes of New France. As a kind of apprenticeship to his future labors, he spent the winter of 1625–6, wandering in the woods and mountains among the savages in the neighborhood of Quebec. During this time, it is impossible to tell how much he suffered: hunger, thirst, and cold, were the constant attendants of the wild savage life. In the spring of 1626, he penetrated into the Huron wilderness, alone and on foot; the first white man perhaps, certainly the first missionary, who ever entered its unexplored recesses. He soon mastered the difficult Huron dialect, adapted himself in all things to the manners and habits of the Huron tribe, and succeeded so well in making himself "all to all, in order to gain all to Jesus Christ," that he became the idol of the savages.[1]

In 1629, the English gained a temporary possession of Canada; and, with the anti-religious policy which has almost invariably marked that rapacious government, the Jesuits were forbidden any longer to prosecute their missions among the Indians. The Huron mission, commenced under auspices so favorable, was thus suddenly broken up, and Father de Brebeuf was compelled to return to Europe. France having however soon regained possession of Canada, Father de Brebeuf returned to it in 1633; and in the spring of the following year, he revisited his beloved Hurons in company with Father Daniel — as we have already seen. The Hurons received their old Father *Echon* — so they called him — with open arms. He now recommenced among them those herculean labors, which were to close only with his death, fifteen years later. He seemed to be in every respect adapted, both by nature and by grace, to the arduous undertaking upon which he had embarked. Possessed of every virtue in a heroic degree, burning with zeal for the salvation of souls, active and indefatigable, moulding his ardent temperament to every emergency, he was withal emphatically a man of prayer, and he walked always with God. Others marked his manifold virtues; he seemed wholly unconscious of them, and esteemed himself the last of men.

Communion with God by constant prayer was his chief delight, as well as the main source of his strength. The longer he lived, the more he

1 *Relation*, p. 59. Mr. Bancroft says nothing of this first visit of Father de Brebeuf, nor of his subsequent expulsion by the English Government.

became addicted to prayer. Often absorbed in God for hours together, he was detached from the senses, and seemed already to be in advance a citizen of heaven. In prayer, he was frequently favored by God with extraordinary consolations and graces. "He superabounded with joy in all his tribulations," like the great apostle of the Gentiles. By order of his superiors, he committed to writing an account of many of the wonderful things which God was pleased to manifest to him in prayer. And though the cold skeptic may smile while reading the simple recital of these wonders, yet to the man of faith their perusal cannot but afford matter of consolation and edification.[1]

Yet his devotions, however much he cherished them, did not interfere with the active and laborious duties of the mission. Throughout the whole day, he might be seen moving about among the Hurons, consoling the sick, baptizing the infants and the dying, breathing consolation into the hearts of the afflicted, refuting gainsayers with unalterable patience and meekness, and everywhere diffusing around him the sweet odor of Christ. In the midst of all these multiplied labors, the unchangeable serenity of his countenance bespoke the undisturbed tranquillity of his mind and its entire recollection in God. Always and everywhere he appeared the envoy of Him, "who went about doing good and healing all." His example captivated every heart, and his words breathed an unction which softened the most obdurate.

When the labors of the day were over, when all was hushed into tranquillity in the village, he delighted to spend whole hours in prayer, and often protracted his watchings until late in the night. When his strength was at length exhausted, and sleep overcame his wearied frame, he laid himself down on the bare earth, without divesting himself of his clothing, and took a brief repose, with no other pillow than a piece of wood. Long before the dawn, and while all were yet buried in sleep, he was again at his devotions, which continued for hours. From private prayer, he ascended the holy altar, and with a countenance all radiant with light, and with tears often trickling down his cheeks, he offered up the holy Victim of expiation. After this, he recited morning prayers with his neophytes who thronged the church; and then went through the same round of teaching, preaching, visitation of the villagers, and of incessant duties, as on the previous day.[2]

For fifteen years, he continued this manner of life. Instead of relaxing in fervor, he increased in it from day to day. Each day he became more inflamed with zeal, and more animated with an ardent longing after suffering. The Cross was the great source of his consolation and of his strength. To become like Christ; with Him "to be nailed to the Cross;" to bear on his body the marks of His passion, was the great aspiration of his soul. Sufferings were his daily bread: he banqueted only at the foot of the Cross: he gloried in nothing else. This, in fact,

1 The *Relation* details many of these wonderful visitations, p. 60 *seq.* Bancroft refers to them with a lurking sneer. (III. 124)

2 Relation, p. 69.

was his ruling sentiment, strong, as we have seen, even in death. Nothing is more frequently repeated in his Memoirs, written by himself, than the desire to be immolated for Christ. For eight or ten days together, he would feel a "vehement impulse to die for Christ."[1] Under the influence of this strong feeling, he made a solemn vow, in the presence of the blessed Trinity and of the whole court of heaven, not to decline the crown of martyrdom, if God in His mercy, as he humbly prayed, would grant him this great and priceless favor.[2] Having thus made himself a living victim of divine love, he looked upon himself ever after as the soldier of the Cross, and he vowed never to desert this glorious standard. He felt a presentiment that he should seal his faith with his blood; he incessantly prayed and panted for this glorious crown: and heaven heard his vows and granted his prayers:

"This good Father felt himself so strongly moved to advance the glory of God, and to have only this in view, that eleven years before his death, he bound himself by vow, to do and to suffer everything during the remainder of his life, which he should think would conduce to the greater glory of God: a vow which he daily renewed at the altar at the moment of receiving the holy Sacrament."[3]

This and the vow recorded above he faithfully kept to the day of his death. His sufferings and labors are almost incredible. Only the strength of God, which he received in prayer, could have enabled him to endure them all. Yet he never faltered for a moment: his sacrifice was as cheerful, as it was entire and abiding:

"In the ardor of his zeal he frequently offered himself up to God, to endure all the martyrdoms of the world for the conversion of this people. Sometime before his death, he wrote as follows: 'O my God! why art Thou not known! Why is not this barbarous country converted to Thee! Why is not sin abolished! Why art Thou not loved! Yes, O my God! If all the torments which captives can endure in this country, amidst all the cruelty of suffering, should fall to my lot, I offer up myself to endure them all alone with my whole heart?' A little later he said: 'For two successive days I have felt a great desire of martyrdom, and a wish to endure all the torments which the martyrs have ever endured.'"[4]

The conversion of the Hurons was not effected without long and painful labors, and many sufferings on the part of the missionaries. The seed was sown in weeping, which was to bring forth fruit in rejoicing. Many of the savages clung with obstinacy to the superstition of their forefathers. Irritated by the Father's signal success, these often conspired his death, and endeavored to stir up the whole tribe against him. If any misfortune befell the Hurons — if they were unsuccessful in the chase, or suffered from famine or sickness — the missionaries, and especially *Echon*, had brought it all about.[5] In 1637, a contagious malady prevailing in the Huron encampments, the maddening shout rang through the cabins: "Death to the Jesuits! death to the Jesuits!"[6] Amidst this outcry and tumult, Father de Brebeuf moved about amongst the throng as calmly as if

1 "Sentio me vehementer impelli ad moriendum pro Christo."
2 Relation, p. 63--4. 3 Ibid. 4 Ibid., p. 81. 5 Ibid. p. 66. 6 Ibid. p 67.

nothing had happened. Providence threw a shield of protection around his person: his hour had not yet come.

On one occasion, a popular tumult, stimulated by the chiefs, stirred up the whole village of St. Joseph against the missionaries. Father de Brebeuf and some of his brethren were severely beaten, and the infidels threatened to burn them at the stake. Overawed however by their unalterable meekness and calmness in the midst of insult, the persecutors desisted from their fiendish purpose. In the evening, when all was still, the good Father poured forth his soul in prayer, thanked God for the privilege of having suffered contumely for His sake, and was refreshed with one of those extraordinary communications of heaven, the light of which often broke with dazzling lustre, through the opening cloud of faith, on his troubled spirit.[1]

While he was laboring among the savages of the Neutre tribe, in 1640, a Huron chief, sent by his infidel enemies among the Hurons, arrived among the Neutres, the bearer of an embassy from his tribe. The war council was convened, and the envoy offered a present of nine tomahawks, on condition that they would murder *Echon*, in such a manner that the responsibility of the deed should not rest with the Hurons. The wicked proposition was discussed during the whole night; but at length the offer was declined, and the disappointed emissary returned to his tribe.[2]

Amidst all these perils, the spirit of the good Father remained untroubled, because it reposed quietly in the bosom of God. The more he suffered, the more warmly did the love of God glow in his heart. "Often was he, while in prayer, detached from his senses, wrapped in God, and ravished with the charms of the divine beauty: sometimes his heart was transported to God with extatic raptures of love. But above all, he cherished a tender love for the sacred person of Jesus Christ, and especially for Jesus suffering on the Cross. Often he felt this love, like a burning fire, which having inflamed his heart, went on increasing in intensity each day, gradually consuming in him the impurities of nature, in order to cause the spirit of grace and the adorable spirit of Jesus Christ to reign alone in his soul. At the feast of Pentecost, in the year 1640, being engaged in prayer at night, in presence of the most holy Sacrament, he beheld himself in a moment invested, as it were, with a great fire, which burned every thing around him without consuming any thing; and as long as those flames continued, he felt himself interiorly burning with a love of God more ardent than he had yet experienced."[3]

Like all the saints, he cherished a most tender love and devotion for the immaculate Mother of God; and he ascribed many of the extraordinary graces he received to her potent intercession. The vision of her heavenly beauty cheered him in the midst of tribulation, and shed a light on his path amid difficulties and trials; as the star safely guides the mariner at night among the stormy billows. His ardent love for Jesus suffering was naturally blended with a love for His mother, who stood at

1 Relation, p. 78. 2 Ibid. p. 68. 3 Ibid.

the foot of the Cross, and, with her Son, drank the bitter chalice. He likewise held daily and sweet converse with the saints and martyrs of the heavenly court; and, while he was charmed with their virtues, he was strongly stimulated to emulate their example, and was powerfully aided by their prayers; which "like odors from golden vials,"[1] ascend constantly before the throne of the Lamb. He felt, in all its length and breadth, and surpassing beauty and sublimity, the sentiment embodied in the article of the Apostle's Creed — the Communion of Saints.[2]

Though thus highly favored by heaven, he was as humble as a child, and as docile as a lamb. To his brethren he exhibited a rare example of perfect obedience to the rules of the society, and to the will of his superiors. He had no will of his own; he distrusted his own lights; he cheerfully followed the direction of others. In 1631, he wrote as follows:

"I feel that I have no talent for anything, recognizing in myself only an inclination to obey others. I believe that I am only fit to be a porter, to clean out the rooms of my brethren, and to serve in the kitchen. I mean to conduct myself in the Society as if I were a beggar, admitted into the Society by sufferance, and I will receive every thing that is granted me, as a particular favor."[3]

This was written, it will be remembered, after he had returned to France the first time, and before his second mission to the Hurons. So great was his humility, that on entering the Society, he petitioned to be admitted as a mere lay brother:

"And again before he made his vows, he renewed the request, thinking himself unworthy of the priesthood, and fit only for the most menial offices . . . Yet was he capable of the greatest things. And when he was made superior of the Huron mission, and had many others under his charge, every one admired his skill in the management of affairs, his sweetness which gained all hearts, his heroic courage in every undertaking, his long suffering in awaiting the moments of God's good pleasure, his patience in enduring every thing, and his zeal in undertaking whatsoever might promote God's glory. His humility inclined him to embrace with love, with joy, and even with natural relish, whatever was most lowly and painful: if on a journey, he carried the heaviest burdens; if traveling in canoes, he rowed from morning till night; it was he who threw himself first into the water, and was the last to leave it, notwithstanding the rigor of the cold and the ice; his naked limbs were all red with the cold, and his whole body was transpierced with it. He was the first up in the morning to make a fire and prepare breakfast, and he was the last to retire, finishing his prayers and devotions after the others had gone to repose."

"However harassed he might be, what fatigue soever he might have endured, over roads that would fill the stoutest hearts with horror, and cause them to lose courage; after all the labors of the day, and sometimes of thirty days in succession, without repose, without refreshment, without relaxation of any kind, often even not having been able during the whole time to make one meal at his leisure; he yet found time to acquit himself of all the duties demanded by the rules, . . . however protracted had been his ordinary devotions, or however harassing his ceaseless occupations. He sometimes said, 'that God had given us the day to toil for the neighbor, and the night to converse with Himself.' And what is most

1 Apocalypse v. 8. 2 Relation, p. 70-1. 3 Ibid. p. 73.

remarkable is, that in all the labors he thus took upon himself, he did every thing so quietly and so dexterously, that one would have believed that he but acted in accordance with his natural inclination. 'I am but an ox,' he was wont to say, alluding to the meaning of his name in French, 'I am fit for nothing but carrying burdens.'"[1]

"To the continual sufferings which were inseparable from his employment in the missions, and in his frequent journeying through the snow: and to those labors which charity caused him to embrace, often above his strength, but never above his courage; he added a number of voluntary mortifications — of inflictions of the discipline every day, and often twice in the day, of frequent fasts, of hair shirts, of girdles around his body armed with iron points, of watchings which were protracted far into the night. And after all, his heart was not yet satiated with sufferings, and he believed that what he had hitherto endured was as nothing.[2]

"His meekness was the virtue which seemed to transcend all the others: it was proof against every trial. For twelve years that I have known him," writes Father Raguenau, "that I have seen him alternately superior, inferior, and on an equality with others; sometimes engaged in temporal affairs, sometimes in missionary toils and labors; dealing with the savages, whether Christians, infidels, or enemies; in the midst of sufferings, of persecution, and of calumny: I never once saw him either in anger, or even manifesting the slightest indication of displeasure. Occasionally even, some persons tried to pique him on purpose, and to surprise him in those things to which they thought his sensibility would be the most alive; but always his eye would be benign, his words full of sweetness, and his heart in an unalterable calm.[3]

"His generous courage was inspired by his distrust of his own strength on the one hand, and his unshaken confidence in God, on the other. He sought in all things to be entirely in conformity with the holy will of God. Having been one day asked, 'whether, if taken by the Iroquois, he would not feel a great repugnance to be stripped naked?' 'No,' he replied, 'for this would be the will of God, and I would not think of myself, but only of Him.' On being asked, 'whether he would not have a lively horror of being burnt alive?' 'I would dread it,' he replied, 'were I to look only to my own weakness; for the sting of a fly would, in this case, cause me to be impatient; but I trust that God will assist me at all times, and aided by His grace, I fear not the most frightful torments of the fire, more than I would the sting of a fly.'[4]

"His death crowned his life, and his perseverance was the seal of his sanctity. He died at the age of 56 years. He was born on the 25th of March, the feast of the Annunciation of Our Lady, of respectable parents, in the Diocese of Bayeux. He entered into our Society in the year 1617, on the 5th day of October. . . . . His martyrdom was accomplished on the 16th day of March, 1649."[5]

Such is an imperfect outline of the life, virtues, and glorious death of that most extraordinary man,—John de Brebeuf. He died just one hundred and thirty-two years after the commencement of the reformation, *so called*. It is more than doubtful, whether, during all this time, the Protestant churches had produced, or whether they have ever since produced, one such man as he was. And yet great and extraordinary as he certainly was, he was still but one of a mighty band of Catholic heroes, imbued with a similar spirit, and willing, all of them, to die for Christ!

1 Relation, p. 74, 75. 2 Ibid. p. 76. 3 Ibid. p. 77-8. 4 Ibid. p. 81-2. 5 Ibid. p. 85-6.

When he first visited the Huron tribes, in 1626, there was not found, in all that unexplored and snow-clad wilderness, one savage who invoked the name of the true God. At his death, he beheld gathered around him, as an encircling crown, no less than SEVEN THOUSAND children of the forest, whom he and his brethren had baptized.[1] He thus beheld the Cross of Jesus, which he so dearly loved, unfurled as a banner of triumph, in a place where, since the creation of the world, no true worshiper of God had been found! The impure superstitions of paganism had melted away before the light of his preaching, as the mists before the rising sun. The Christian villages of the Hurons were made to vie with those established by Catholic missionaries on the sunny plains of Paraguay.

He was, in the hands of God, the main instrument for effecting all this incalculable good. His prayers were heard, his watchings and sufferings were blessed; the Hurons were converted and reclaimed from barbarism. His glorious death crowned all his previous labors. He died at his post, like a faithful soldier, and in the manner for which he had so long sighed and so ardently prayed, day and night, for years! He richly merits the title which his brethren and cotemporaries gave him : THE APOSTLE OF THE HURONS.

1 Ibid. p. 58.

XVIII. WEBSTER'S BUNKER HILL SPEECH.*

RELATIVE TREATMENT OF THE AMERICAN ABORIGINES BY THE ENGLISH AND SPANISH COLONISTS.

Mr. Webster as an orator—Compared with Preston, Calhoun, and Clay—Mr. Webster's omissions—His drift—A sound principle—But inconclusive reasoning—Different policy adopted by English and Spanish colonists—"The Anglo Saxon blood"—A parallel case—Cause of aversion to Spain—The reformation of Luther—Its influence on liberty—"The middle class"—Luther and the peasants—Protestant opinions—Religious element in Spanish colonization—Irving's testimony—Portuguese colonists—Catholic and Protestant navigators—Who introduced slavery?—Alleged cruelties of the Spaniards—Las Casas—Cruelties practised by the Puritans—Their treatment of the Aborigines—The Pokanokets—Shrewd bargaining—King Philip—The Narragansetts—Their extermination—The Pequods—"The godly Stone"—A horrible conflagration—Settling accounts—"A dark shade on the soil of Massachusetts."

Mr. Webster's Bunker Hill speech is emphatically a great oration. It bears the impress of his mighty mind, even in what we must consider the meagre and imperfect report of it in the newspapers. It contains passages worthy of the palmiest days of the great American orator. What, for instance, could excel, in simplicity, beauty, and strength, his character of Washington? Or what could surpass, in stirring interest, his appeal to the moral feelings of his countrymen, in the peroration?

Yet, notwithstanding our admiration of Mr. Webster's talents, we do not precisely place him at the head of the list of American orators. He wants the pathos of Preston, the electric rapidity of Calhoun, and the versatile graces and manifold excellencies of Clay. But in massive volume of thought, in depth and closeness of reasoning, and in the eloquence of the *head*, he is scarcely equaled, certainly not surpassed, by any. This is his *forte*, and it manifests itself on all occasions, whether he is called on to defend the Union and the constitution, or to vindicate his own state of Massachusetts. With him the flowers of rhetoric and appeals to feeling are but secondary things; he uses them with considerable effect, when they come in his way, but he would not move one step from his path, to cull all the flowers of a whole *parterre*.

These remarks are intended to apply at least as much to the manner, as to the matter of his Bunker Hill speech. This contains much that we admire, but much also to which a love of truth compels us to object. On the occasion of inaugurating a monument commemorative of a struggle which led to a nation's freedom, we could have wished to see greater

*Mr. Webster's Bunker Hill Speech, delivered at the Bunker Hill Monument, June 17, 1843, and published in the Boston Courier.

enlargement of views, in the orator selected to give expression to the feelings of the day. We would have looked for a loftier tone of moral feeling, as well for less sweeping and more accurate statements of facts. Why give so undue a prominence to the "Pilgrim Fathers," and their immediate Puritan descendants, who, if there be any truth in history, were any thing but the friends of, at least, religious liberty? Why hold up this narrow minded and exclusive people, of blue-law and witch-hanging memory, as very paragons of perfection for a nation of enlightened freemen? Why not at least temper their eulogy with some qualifying remarks? Why, in speaking of the origin and characteristics of our free institutions, pass over in utter silence William Penn and Lord Baltimore, who, in Pennsylvania and Maryland, did at least as much for civil liberty as the pilgrims, and much more than they for religious liberty. The only reason we can assign for this partial view of the subject, is the fact, that the orator was himself a son of the pilgrims, and that both he and his audience partook a little,—just a little,—of the selfish narrow-mindedness of their ancestors. His object was to please his hearers, and he knew well that the high road to their affections was the beaten track which led to Plymouth rock,—"the Blarney Stone of New England!"

We do not purpose to examine all the statements of Mr. Webster's speech. This would lead us too far, besides causing us, perhaps, to trench upon what is not our special province. Hence we shall confine our remarks to one view of the subject, to which Mr. Webster attaches great, and, we believe, undue importance; we mean his elaborate comparison between the causes, characters, and results of English and Spanish colonization in America. This hack had been already ridden, almost to death, by school boy declaimers and Fourth of July orators; but the orator of New England mounts it anew; and, as if conscious of the distinguished honor conferred on it by its new rider, the jaded beast awakens to new life, and performs such gambols, that an unpractised observer would almost mistake it for a full blooded Arabian.

The great principle upon which the orator bases his comparison, is, we think, entirely correct. Though *true*, we do not however believe that it is *new*. Count De Maistre, and others, had made the same remark before, though in different words. After having spoken at some length on the history of the monument, and of the particular event it was designed to commemorate, the orator asks: "What then is the true and peculiar principle of the American revolution, and of the system of government which it has confirmed and established?" He answers: "Now the truth is, that the American revolution was not caused by the instantaneous discovery of principles of government before unheard of, or the practical adoption of political ideas, such as had never before entered into the minds of men. It was but the full development of principles of government, forms of society, and political sentiments, the origin of all which lay back two centuries in English and American history." And farther on, he accounts for the absence of liberty in the early Spanish colonies of America on the same

principle: "As there was no liberty in Spain, how could liberty be transmitted to the Spanish colonies?"

However we might differ from him in its application, we admit the truth of the principle itself, in all its extent. It is consonant both with right reason, and with the general experience of mankind. The principle embodied in the old Latin adage — *nemo repente fit summus* — no one reaches an extreme suddenly — is specially applicable to political institutions. All changes calculated beneficially to affect whole masses of population, must be the work of time, as well as fully adapted to the condition and wants of the people thus affected. All government is essentially relative to the character and exigencies of the people to be governed. And that government may be pronounced the best, which, in reference to those exigencies, secures life, property, and character, with the least possible sacrifice of individual liberty. And our warm admiration of republican government, as the best in theory, and in practice, when the people can bear it, should not lead us into the vulgar absurdity of supposing and asserting that it is the best for all, and under all circumstances. The character and temperament of some people cannot pass through the ordeal of self-government. The French tried it, and failed. And in general, it may be asserted, that, with some exceptions which history affords, a radical democracy is little suited to the warm temperament of the South, and that it requires for its maintainance somewhat of the coolness of northern heads.

With these general remarks, to explain the practical operation of the great principle above laid down, we may easily understand why it is, that our sister republics in the South have not yet fully succeeded in the attempt at self-government. We cannot yet pronounce with safety that they have failed; much less that they cannot succeed. As the ex-secretary expresses it; "they are yet on their trial, and I hope for a favorable result." But if they do fail, it will be solely because their transition from a kingly to a republican government was too sudden and too violent, — and that the change was not perhaps adapted to their character and previous habits. In the North American colonies almost all the elements of democracy, "home governments, equality of rights, representative systems," were in full and almost unchecked operation for many years before the declaration of independence; whereas, in Spanish America, but few of these elements were in existence at all, or developed to any extent, before her colonies threw off the yoke of the mother country.

But there is another most important consideration, bearing directly on this subject, of which the Bunker Hill orator seems to have lost sight altogether; and without which it is impossible to understand fully the reason of the great political difference between English and Spanish America. He makes it a matter of boast that in all the vast region of Spanish America, there are but between one and two millions of European color and European blood; while in the United States there are, he says, fourteen millions, who rejoice in their descent from the people of the more

northern part of Europe.[1] We scarcely know from what source he derived his information in regard to the number of descendants from Europeans in the Republics of the South. Unless our statistics greatly mislead us, there is about the number he mentions in Mexico alone. But let this pass. There are about twenty millions of people in Spanish America.[2] Deducting from this number, say two millions of whites, there remain eighteen millions of other races, some of them mixed, but by far the greater number pure descendants of the aborigines. Could it have been reasonably expected, that such vast masses of population, so lately reclaimed from barbarism, — some of them from cannibalism, — should have become so soon capable of the delicate business of self-government? And this, too, when nations the most refined had tried the experiment and failed?

Let us put a parallel case. Suppose, — it can be unhappily but a supposition, — suppose the good Puritans and the other American colonists, instead of exterminating the poor Indians, had humanely settled down amongst them as the *blood thirsty* Spaniards did; had patiently toiled to convert them to Christianity, and thus to reclaim them to civilization; had intermarried with them and become one people with them, like the Spaniards; and that, instead of being able to vaunt with Mr. Webster "their English civilization, their English law, and *what is more than all, their Anglo-Saxon blood,*" the people of our colonies had been, nine-tenths of them, the mere descendants of these same aborigines; would they, think you, under these circumstances, have ever declared their independence, or had they declared it, would they have been able to make it good? And to make the case entirely parallel; suppose, that the Spaniards, after having exterminated the Indians of South America, should have declared and made good their own independence; and that, while striving to imitate their noble example, we were prevented from meeting with full success by the drawback upon our energies arising from our vast semi-civilized Indian population, and that, in the midst of our difficulties, our Spanish neighbors should taunt us with our want of success, and boast their superior numbers of "pure Castilian blood," — would we not think their jeers a refinement on cruelty? Would we not retort, by asking them, what had become of the millions of God's creatures, whom their heartless policy or cruelty had immolated? If we taunt them with their cruelty to the Indians now, what would we do then? Would we not boast of our superior humanity, and put this in, as a mitigating plea, for our want of success in self-government?

Alas! even as the case stands now, with the spectres of hundreds and thousands of poor exterminated Indians rising up from their graves, and, like the ghost which appeared to Macbeth, staring Mr. Webster full in the face, he could, without a blush, boast of the superior refinement and

1 These and the following statistics refer to the year 1843; there are at least twenty millions at present.

2 This estimate does not include Brazil, which is Portuguese, and which contains about seven millions of people.

greater purity of blood of himself and hearers, and taunt the Spaniards with their inhumanity! "Do unto others as you would wish them to do unto you,"— is an old maxim, as sound in political economy, as it is in morals; and if the orator of Bunker Hill had given over his boasting, and attended a little more closely to this divine injunction, he would have acted more wisely as well as more justly. Was it fair in him, while instituting a comparison between North and South America, wholly to conceal a notorious fact, so honorable to the Spaniards, and so essential to enable his hearers to understand the true cause of their present political condition?

But there is a *secret* cause of deep aversion to Spain, and to everything Spanish. The Spaniards are Catholics, and their colonies are entirely Catholic. And none shared this feeling of hostility to Catholics more deeply, than those who were assembled around Bunker Hill monument on occasion of Mr. Webster's great speech. The orator was well aware of this state of feeling, and he knew that nothing would cater to it better, than praise of the pilgrims at the expense of Spanish colonists. We will, however, do him the justice to say, that he does not openly pander to this prejudice, he does not give in to the silly and hackneyed school-boy declamation, about the Mexicans and South Americans being unfitted for liberty, because of their being priest-ridden; but covertly, he more than intimates this, unless we have greatly misapprehended the tenor of his remarks. True, he asserts, "that making all allowance for situation and climate, it cannot be doubted by intelligent minds, that the difference now existing between North and South America is justly attributable, in a great degree, to political institutions." Had he said *wholly*, or at least adverted to the other great reason of difference just stated, he would have been nearer the truth. He ascribes the superiority of the race which peopled North America mainly to "the reformation of Luther, which broke out, kindling up the minds of men afresh, leading to new liberty of thought, and awaking in individuals energies before unknown, even to themselves." And he adds, that, "the controversies of this period changed society as well as religion." The poor Spaniards, who had not been blessed with this new *northern* light, were unfit for self-government; they continued "in the sleep of a thousand years, in the bosom of the dark ages." while their more fortunate English brethren had shaken off their slumbers, and had already awakened to visions of liberty! Well, this is all common-place enough, even for the veriest driveler. One of our fine college bred youths could have said as much, with as much truth, and with infinitely more propriety, than one of our greatest orators and most enlightened statesmen.

If the reformation of Luther prepared men for freedom, how happened it, that, in all those countries where that reformation obtained the ascendency, an absolute despotism was established on the ruins of whatever institutions of human liberty had sprung up in the "dark ages?" Whoever will read Hallam's History of the Middle Ages cannot but become aware

of the fact, that, during that greatly misunderstood period, Germany enjoyed much more liberty than since the boasted reformation. What has become of the Free Cities of Germany, of the representative system, and of the exemption from taxation without the consent of the governed, all leading features in German mediæval jurisprudence? Alas! they have all been swept away by the "reformation of Luther," or buried under the rubbish of the ruins, which that "enkindling" event left behind! And what new institutions have replaced those once cherished principles of liberty? Absolute despotism, with union of church and state and immense standing armies, now constitute the last appeal of law in Protestant Germany. Prussia, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, and little Hanover, have all drunk to the dregs of this better cup of tyranny, put to their lips by those to whom the rhetorical flourishes of modern orators would fain point, as the apostles of liberty! Facts are stronger evidence than declamation, no matter how exalted the declaimer.

But was not at least England made free by the reformation? It is a *fact*, which Mr. Webster cannot deny, that for nearly one hundred and fifty years after the reformation, the regal prerogative in England swallowed up almost every other element of the government. There was scarcely a provision of *Magna Charta*, which the sovereigns of England, from Henry VIII. down to the revolution in 1688,—the brief period of the Commonwealth and of the Protectorate perhaps excepted,—did not trample under foot with impunity. The statute-book of England fully warrants this assertion. And the great *Magna Charta* of British freedom, —whence did it spring? Was it of Protestant origin? *No.* It was fully established at least three hundred years before the reformation was thought of. It was wholly and exclusively Catholic. The colonists of North America were certainly infinitely more indebted for their liberties to Cardinal Langton and the Catholic barons and yeomanry of Runnymede, than to the reformation of Luther. The restoration of British liberties after the revolution in 1688, was but a return to the great principles embodied in the Catholic *Magna Charta*;—an instrument, which, as the parliamentary records of England will show, had been revived and extended at least thirty times before the reformation. All these facts might not have been palatable to Mr. Webster's audience; yet truth required that they should not have been entirely suppressed. At least truth forbade assertions and statements contrary to, and clearly contradicted by them.

The New England orator speaks of a great "middle class which were neither barons nor mere agricultural laborers;" and to this middle class he ascribes great influence in preparing the popular mind for self-government. We acknowledge the truth and appropriateness of this remark. But did the reformation of Luther do any thing towards raising up this class? We think not. Instead of raising up the lower classes, it contributed greatly to depress them. Luther took part with the sovereigns of Germany, when the peasants rose up in rebellion to assert what they believed to be their rights. He said that "peasants should be treated like

asses, — if they shake their heads, give them the stick, — *if they kick, shoot them.*" Such was the characteristic language of this boasted apostle of liberty! The truth is, that the Catholic Church of the *dark* ages did infinitely more to raise up the lower orders, and thereby to build up the middle class, than any other agency. By abolishing the serf-system, and protecting the people against the tyrants, who oppressed them during that period of anarchy, she rendered a lasting service to humanity, and laid the foundation of civil liberty. Such Protestant writers as Guizot, Hallam, Bancroft, Voigt, and Hurter[1] have freely acknowledged that fact. Pope Alexander III. A. D. 1167, "true to the spirit of his office, which during the supremacy of brute force in the middle age, made of the chief minister of religion the tribune of the people, and the guardian of the oppressed, had written, 'THAT NATURE HAVING MADE NO SLAVES, ALL MEN HAVE AN EQUAL RIGHT TO LIBERTY.' "[2]

After having duly eulogized the purity of purpose, the disinterested benevolence, and the love of liberty displayed by the pilgrim fathers, the orator of Bunker Hill proceeds to point out the chief differences between them and the colonists of Spanish America. The Puritans, forsooth, did not seek after gold — not they; but "the mines of gold and silver were the excitements to Spanish efforts:" "the colonists of English America were of the people, and a people already free;" "the conquerors and European settlers of Spanish America were mainly military commanders and common soldiers:" the former were "industrious individuals, making their own way in the wilderness, defending themselves against the savages, recognizing their right to the soil, and with a generally honest purpose of introducing knowledge as well as Christianity among them;" "Spain," with her colonists, "swooped on South America, like a falcon on its prey. Everything was gone. Territories were acquired by fire and sword. Cities were destroyed by fire and sword. Hundreds and thousands of human beings fell by fire and sword. Even conversion of Christianity was attempted by fire and sword." Finally, the pilgrims brought with them liberty and free trade; with the Spanish colonists, "the government, as well as the commerce, was a strict home monopoly."

Such are the principal points of difference between the two systems of colonization, as assigned by our orator. There is some truth, with not a little exaggeration, inaccuracy, unfairness, in his parallel. He is not accurate, when he says, that the North American colonists "recognized the right of the Indians to the soil:" at least the pious pilgrims seized on the whole territory of the Pequods, embracing the present State of Connecticut, without any equivalent.[3] It is not correct, that the Spanish

1 Since become a convert to Catholicity.

2 Bancroft, vol. 1. p. 163. He gives a free translation of the Pontiff's language, taken from his letter to Lupus, king of Valentia. This Pope of the *dark* ages employs almost the identical words of our declaration of Independence: "But since nature has created all men free, no one was, by the condition of nature, subject to servitude;" Cum autem omnes liberos natura creasset, nullus conditione naturæ fuit subditus servituti." Hist. Anglic. Script. vol 1, p. 580,—quoted by Bancroft.

3 Bancroft, vol. ii. p. 98. See also vol. iii, p. 408, where he says, that in Massachusetts "the first planters assumed to themselves a right to treat the Indians on the foot of Canaanites and Amalecites."

Government sanctioned the bad treatment of the Indians by some of its unworthy agents, or that "conversion to Christianity was attempted by fire and sword." We will have occasion to show more fully the inaccuracy of this statement a little later;[1] but we will here insert, for the edification of the ex-secretary, the testimony of Washington Irving, who has investigated Spanish History as thoroughly, perhaps, as any other man in our country:

"The laws and regulations (of Spain) for the government of the newly discovered countries, and the decision of the Council of the Indians on all contested points, though tinctured in some degree with the bigotry of the age, were distinguished for wisdom, justice and humanity, and do honor to the Spanish nation. It was only in the abuse of them by individuals, to whom the execution of the laws was entrusted, that these atrocities were committed. It should be remembered, also, that the same nation which gave birth to the sanguinary and rapacious adventurers, who perpetrated these cruelties, gave birth likewise to the early missionaries, like Las Casas, who followed the sanguinary course of discovery, binding up the wounds inflicted by their countrymen; men who, in a truly evangelical spirit, braved all kinds of perils and hardships, and even death itself, not through a prospect of temporal gain or glory, but through a desire to meliorate the condition, and save the souls of barbarous and suffering nations. The dauntless enterprises and fearful peregrinations of many of these virtuous men, if properly appreciated, would be found to vie in romantic daring with the heroic achievements of chivalry, with motives of a purer and far more exalted nature."[2]

But the chief fault of Mr. Webster's picture is its evident partiality. He sins more by omission than by commission. Keeping all the faults of the pilgrim fathers carefully concealed, he presents us only their good qualities over highly colored: while, on the other hand, he hides all the good deeds of the Spaniards, and exhibits only their faults, and these greatly exaggerated. We will endeavor to supply this two fold deficiency, by briefly stating some of the good deeds of the Spaniards, and some of the bad deeds of the Puritans of New England. And we will assert nothing in which we will not be fully borne out by the authority of Irving and Bancroft; by the former for Spanish, and by the latter chiefly for North American transactions. We presume that our orator will not object to the testimony of these two men, both of them Protestants, both countrymen of his own, and the latter a brother New Englander of the same old Puritan stock, and a great admirer too of the pilgrims. To consult brevity, we will confine our remarks to the Relative Treatment of the Aborigines by the Spanish and English American Colonists.

To begin with the zeal manifested by the two sets of colonists for the religious improvement of the native American races, how advantageously do the Spanish settlers compare with the English colonists of America, in this respect? Irving says:

"It is difficult to speak too highly of the extraordinary enterprises and splendid actions of the Spaniards, in those days of discovery. Religious zeal was the very life and soul of all Spanish maritime enterprise. It was

1 This subject has been already treated in some detail, so far as Mexico is concerned, in our articles on Prescott's Conquest of Mexico.

2 Irving, Columbus, vol. ii, p. 326, Appendix. Edit. N. York, 1831.

the great motive which stimulated Columbus to undertake his voyage of discovery; it was the darling scheme of the great patroness of Columbus — Queen Isabella. One of the great objects held out by Columbus in his undertaking was the propagation of the Christian faith. He expected to arrive at the extremity of Asia, at the vast and magnificent empire of the Grand Khan, and to visit the dependent islands, of which he had read such glowing accounts in the writings of Marco Polo. In describing these opulent and semi-barbarous regions, he reminded their majesties of the inclination manifested in former times by the Grand Khan to embrace the Christian faith; and of the missions that had been sent by various Pontiffs and pious sovereigns, to instruct him and his subjects in Catholic doctrines. He now considered himself about to effect this great work.[1] . . . Isabella had nobler inducements. She was filled with pious zeal at the idea of effecting such a great work of salvation."[2]

This feeling of religious zeal continued to predominate in the mind of Columbus, throughout his long and eventful career:

"In all his voyages, he will be found continually seeking after the territories of the Grand Khan, and even after his last expedition, and when nearly worn out by age, hardships, and infirmities, he offered, in a letter to the Spanish monarchs, written from a bed of sickness, to conduct any missionary to the territories of the Tartar emperor, who would undertake his conversion."[3]

This was his ruling passion strong in death. In his last will and testament, he recommended this darling object of his soul to his executors and to his son Diego:

"Item: when a suitable time shall come, he shall order a church to be built in the island of Hispaniola, and in the most convenient spot, to be called *Santa Maria de la Concepcion;* to which is to be annexed an hospital on the best plan, like those of Italy and Castile." . . .

"Item: I also order Diego my son, or whomsoever may inherit after him, to spare no pains in having and maintaining in the island of Hispaniola, four good professors of theology, to the end and aim of their studying and laboring to convert to our holy faith the inhabitants of the Indies; and in proportion as, by God's will, the revenues of the estate shall increase, in the same degree shall the number of teachers and devout persons increase, who are to strive to make Christians of the natives; *in attaining which no expense shall be thought too great.*"[4]

Irving draws this character of the great Columbus:

"He was devoutly pious; religion mingled with the whole course of his thoughts and actions, and shone forth in all his private and most unstudied writings. Whenever he made any great discovery, he celebrated it by solemn thanks to God. The voice of prayer and the melody of praise rose from his ships, as they first beheld the new world; and his first action on landing was to prostrate himself on the earth, and render up thanksgivings. Every evening, the *Salve Regina*, and other vesper hymns were chaunted by his crew; and masses were performed in the beautiful groves that bordered the wild shore of this heathen land. The religion thus deeply seated in his soul, diffused a sober dignity and a divine composure over his whole demeanor. His language was pure and guarded, free from all imprecations, oaths, and other irreverent expressions. All his great enterprises were undertaken *in the name of the Holy Trinity;* and he partook of the holy

1 Irving. Columbus i. 72. 2 Ibid. p. 73. 3 Id. ii. 298, Appendix. 4 Ibid.

Sacrament previous to embarkation. He observed the festivals of the Church in the wildest situations. The Sabbath was for him a day of sacred rest, on which he never set sail from a port, unless in a case of extreme necessity." [1]

These religious sentiments continued to animate him to his last breath:

"Having thus scrupulously attended to all the claims of affection, loyalty and justice upon earth, Columbus turned his thoughts to heaven; and having received the holy sacraments and performed all the pious offices of a devout Christian, he expired with great resignation on the day of Ascension, 20th of May, 1506, being about seventy years of age. His last words were: *In manus Tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum* —into Thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit." [2]

It is not a little remarkable, that he believed himself specially guided by heaven in the great work of discovering America. Thus, in the representations which he made to Ferdinand and Isabella, when sent back to Spain bound with chains by the cruel Bobadilla,

"He avowed in the fullest manner his persuasion, that from his earliest infancy, he had been chosen by heaven for the accomplishment of those two great designs, the discovery of the new world, and the rescue of the holy sepulchre. For this purpose, in his tender years, he had been guided by a divine impulse to embrace the profession of the sea. . . . His understanding had been opened by the Deity, as with a palpable hand, so as to discover the navigation of the Indies; and he had been inflamed with ardor to undertake the enterprise. '*Animated as by a heavenly fire,*' he adds, '*I come to your Majesties; . . . —who will doubt that this light was from the holy Scriptures, illuminating you as well as myself, with rays of marvelous clearness?*'" [3]

Nor were Columbus and Isabella alone in this; theirs was the general feeling of the age. Spanish and Portuguese enterprise was stimulated by this exalted motive. It seemed as if divine providence, at this epoch, meant to provide new and ample fields for the exercise of this lofty feeling, in new worlds discovered or visited for the first time, both in the east and in the west; and thereby more than compensate the Church by accessions to her numbers from among new people, for what she was to lose in the religious dissensions of the sixteenth century. While the Catholic Columbus was discovering America, another illustrious Catholic, the Portuguese Vasco de Gama, doubled, for the first time, the Cape of Good Hope in 1497; and another Portuguese, Pedro Alvares Cabral, discovered Brazil, and made a voyage to the East Indies. Nor were the vast territories, thus thrown open to Europeans, left unimproved by religious culture. Wherever the Spaniards and the Portuguese penetrated, there also the Catholic religion was established. The missionary accompanied the conqueror, softening the horrors of war, and planting the cross of Christ by the side of the banner of the earthly monarch. A holy zeal for the salvation of souls thus stimulated, accompanied, and crowned every noble enterprise of discovery and conquest.

It had ever been so in Catholic times. Religious zeal had ever culminated over every merely earthly motive or consideration. Thus when the

1 Ibid. vol. ii, pp. 202, 203. 2 Ibid. p. 198. 3 Ibid. p. 74.

three great Venitian navigators and travelers, Nicholas, Maffeo, and Marco Polo, penetrated into the heart of Asia in the thirteenth century, the first thing thought of was the introduction of Christianity into the new regions they explored. The two first returned to Europe in 1269, with letters from the Grand Khan to the Pope asking for one hundred Christian missionaries. They revisited Tartary in 1271, carrying with them two missionaries, and letters from Pope Gregory X.[1] And whoever will read the annals of the Church of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries will not fail to remark, what vast accessions to her numbers were made in Asia during that period, chiefly by missionaries from the Franciscan and Dominican orders, then recently established.[2]

When Columbus discovered the new world, the first thing he did on landing, was "to throw himself on his knees, kiss the earth, and return thanks to God with tears of joy." He then erected a banner "emblazoned with a green cross," and recited a prayer, which was subsequently used by Bilboa, Cortes, Pizarro, and other Spanish commanders in their voyages of discovery. The purport of the latter portion of it was, to "bless and glorify the name, and to praise the majesty of God, for having vouchsafed to make use of His humble servant, as an instrument for having His holy name made known and preached in that other part of the world;"—so paramount was this consideration of religion in all that the Spaniards undertook or did.[3] The consequence of all this religious zeal has been the conversion to Christianity of the vast body of the aboriginal population of Spanish America; and this result alone, should silence forever those whose prejudice leads them to sneer at the bigotry and avarice of the Spaniards.

Was the result similar in North America? The Jesuits, indeed, converted whole tribes of Indians in Canada, and in the valley of the Mississippi.[4] But what did the Puritans do, with all their affected *purity* of purpose, and with all their cant about disinterested zeal for religion? They did very nearly nothing. If they had "a generally honest purpose of introducing knowledge as well as Christianity among the Indians"—it must have remained a mere *purpose;* for in general they seemed to take very little concern about the matter. We read of their preachers persecuting one another,—driving Roger Williams, and Ann Hutchison, Wheelwright, Aspinwall and others into the wilderness for opinion's sake, deeming them "unfit to live in the colony;"[5] we read of their assisting at the trial and hanging of witches at Salem; and of their marching with, and saying long prayers for, the armies that were engaged in exterminating the poor Indians; but did they do anything to evangelize them? We read of John Eliot and a few others making

1 For an interesting notice of the three Polo's, see Irving, Columbus ii 290 seqq.

2 Full particulars on this most interesting subject will be found in the Church History of Bec-chetti—a continuation of Cardinal Orsi's work.

3 See Irving, Columbus i. 103 note, for the prayer in Latin.

4 See Bancroft. vol. iii, Chap 20. for a most interesting account of the labors and success of the Jesuit missionaries in North America; quoted in a previous paper.

5 Bancroft, vol. i, pp. 367-8, and 390 seqq.

a feeble effort for this purpose, among the Indians in the immediate vicinity of Boston; but Bancroft testifies to their almost total failure. "Yet Christianity had not spread beyond the Indians on Cape Cod, Martha's Vineyard, and Nantucket, and the seven feeble villages around Boston. The Narragansetts, a powerful tribe, counting at least a thousand warriors, hemmed in between Connecticut and Plymouth, restless and jealous, retained their old belief; and Philip of Pokanoket, at the head of seven hundred warriors, professed with pride the faith of his fathers."[1] The Puritans exterminated a great number of tribes as we shall soon see;— they did not convert *one* to Christianity!

The indefatigable and saintly Father Sebastian Rasles labored with earnest zeal, for more than a quarter of a century, among the Indians of Maine, many of whom he succeeded in converting to the Catholic faith. His missions were in a most flourishing condition, when the jealousy of the neighboring colony of Massachusetts was aroused; nor did it sleep, until it brought about the most barbarous murder of the good missionary, and the massacre, or dispersion of the tribes which he had converted to Christianity! The following passage furnishes a curious contrast between the *modus operandi*, and the respective success of Catholic and Protestant missionaries in converting the Indians. "The government of Massachusetts attempted in its turn to establish a mission; and its minister made a mockery of purgatory and the invocation of saints, of the cross and the rosary. 'My Christians,' retorted Rasles, 'believe the truth of the Catholic faith, but are not skilful disputants;' and he himself proposed a defence of the Roman Church. Thus Calvin and Loyola met in the woods of Maine. But the Protestant minister, unable to compete with the Jesuit in the affections of the Indians, returned to Boston, while the friar remained 'the incendiary of mischief.'"[2] After the martyrdom of Rasles, so graphically related by Bancroft,[3] and the breaking up of his missionary establishments, "the influence by commerce took the place of influence by religion, and English trading houses supplanted French missions."[4] Thus it was, that in numerous cases the filthy love of lucre marred the noble work of God! So much for the disinterestedness of the Puritans, and their "generally honest purpose of introducing knowledge, as well as Christianity, among the natives!"

The early Spanish and Portuguese navigators compare advantageously, in character and usefulness to mankind, with those of England engaged in exploring and peopling North America. Where, in English naval annals of discovery, will you find names as illustrious as those of De Gama, Cabral, the Pinzons, Vespucci, and Columbus? In fact, the early English navigators, Sir John Hawkins, Raleigh, Drake, and Weymouth, were as unprincipled as they were adventurous. They were little more than buccaneers and pirates on a large scale. We will give a few facts on this subject.

When Weymouth was about to sail from the mouth of the Penobscot,

1 Bancroft ii. 97. 2 Ibid iii, 334-5. 3 Ibid. 336, seq. 4 Ibid.

"five natives were decoyed on board the ship, and Weymouth, returning to England, gave three of them to Sir Ferdinand Gorges, a friend of Raleigh, and governor of Plymouth."[1] Of Sir John Hawkins, Bancroft says:

"The odious distinction of having first interested England in the slave trade belongs to Sir John Hawkins. He had fraudulently transported a whole cargo of Africans to Hispaniola; the rich returns of sugar, ginger, and pearls attracted the attention of queen Elizabeth, and when a new expedition was prepared, she was induced not only to protect but to share in the traffic. In the accounts which Hawkins himself gives of one of his expeditions, he relates that he set fire to a city, of which the huts were covered with dry fallen leaves, and out of eight thousand inhabitants, succeeded in capturing two hundred and fifty. (Query — how many did he burn?) The deliberate and even self-approving frankness with which this act of atrocity is related, and the lustre which the fame of Hawkins acquired, display in the strongest terms the depravity of public sentiment (English) in the age of Elizabeth. . . . . Yet the commerce, on the part of England, in the Spanish ports was by the laws of Spain illicit, as well as by the laws of morals detestable; and when the sovereign of England participated in its hazards, its profits and its crimes, she became at once a smuggler and a slave merchant."[2]

The Catholic Church used every effort to prevent the slave trade, and to mitigate the severities occasionally exercised by the Spaniards against the Indians:

"A series of papal bulls had indeed secured to the Portuguese the exclusive commerce with western Africa, but the slave trade between Africa and America, was, I believe, never expressly sanctioned by the See of Rome. Even Leo X. declared that 'not the Christian religion only, but nature herself cries out against the state of slavery.' And Paul III., (June 10, 1543) in two separate briefs, imprecated a curse (*anathema*) on the Europeans, who should enslave Indians, or any other class of men. It even became usual for Spanish vessels, when they sailed on voyages of discovery, to be attended by a priest, whose benevolent duty it was, to prevent the kidnapping of the aborigines."[3] — . . . "Ximenes, the gifted coadjutor of Ferdinand and Isabella, saw in advance the danger which it required centuries to reveal, and refused to sanction the introduction of negroes into Hispaniola, believing that the favorable climate would increase their number, and infallibly lead them to a successful revolt."[4]

And yet, in spite of Roman Pontiffs and of Ximenes, negroes were extensively introduced into Hispaniola, thanks chiefly to the unprincipled avarice of Sir John Hawkins, of Queen Elizabeth, and of the English; and the prediction of the great Ximenes was fully verified, in the massacre and expulsion of the whites from that island!

Much has been said and written about the cruelty of the Spaniards towards the Indians, — about their having forced them to labor in the mines, sold them into bondage, and wasted their numbers by cruel exactions, and by fire and sword. We have no mission to defend these cruelties; but we are convinced that there is much exaggeration on the

1 Bancroft i, 115 2 Ibid. i, 173 seq. 3 Ibid. i, 172. 4 Ibid.

subject. The severities in question were neither general, nor long continued, nor authorized by the Spanish Government. They occurred in the sudden excitement of conquest, and they were checked so soon as the conduct of the individuals, who perpetrated them, could be investigated. Washington Irving has told us above, what was the line of conduct pursued by the Spanish government, and we have also seen how those cruelties were rebuked by the Roman Pontiffs. We will give a few additional facts. The oppression of the Indians of Hispaniola by the weak and unwise Bobadilla

"Aroused the indignation of Isabella; and when Ovando was sent to supersede Bobadilla in 1502, the natives were pronounced free: they immediately refused to labor in the mines. Ovando represented to the Spanish sovereigns in 1503, that ruinous consequences resulted to the colony from this entire liberty granted to the Indians. He stated, that the tribute could not be collected, for the Indians were lazy and improvident, that the natives could only be kept from vices and irregularities by occupation; that they now kept aloof from the Spaniards, and from all instruction in the Christian faith. This last consideration had an influence with Isabella, and drew a letter from the sovereigns to Ovando in 1503, in which he was ordered to spare no pains to attach the natives to the Spanish nation and the Catholic religion. To make them labor moderately, *if absolutely essential to their own good*, but to temper authority with persuasion and kindness. *To pay them regularly and fairly for their labor, and to have them instructed in religion on certain days.*"[1]

Such was the general and authorized policy of Spain in regard to the Indians. Was not its basis humanity, hallowed by religion? Again, when some of the Indians were brought to Spain, and sold at Seville as slaves, "Isabella, in a transport of virtuous indignation, ordered them to be sent back to their country."[2] After the death of De Soto, the Spaniards were about to abandon their conquest of Florida. At this juncture, Louis Cancello and two other Dominicans offered their services, to preach to and convert those savages whom Spanish arms could not conquer. Their offer was accepted; but these devoted men all fell martyred victims to their zeal. "Christianity was to conquer the land, against which so many expeditions had failed. The Spanish governors were directed to favor the design; all slaves that had been taken from the northern shore of the gulf of Mexico were to be manumitted and restored to their country."[3] So true is it, that wherever the authority of the Spanish government and of the Catholic religion could be fully felt, there the fetters of the captive were stricken off, and he became free. And at this day, there is scarcely a vestige of slavery in all Spanish America.[4]

Most of the accounts of Spanish cruelty rest upon the authority of Las Casas. He was a great and good man, but the statements contained in his work entitled "Relation of the Indies," should be received with many grains of allowance. The impression made upon his exquisitely sensitive heart, by the sight of the wrongs inflicted on his beloved Indians, was so

1 Irving, Columbus ii. 162. 2 Irving, Columbus ii. 320. 3 Bancroft i. 60.

4 The Portuguese colonies have not in this respect imitated the example of those established by Spain. Slavery is also maintained on the Spanish Islands of Cuba and Porto Rico.

acute, and his interest for redressing their grievances so intense, that in speaking of the cruelties practiced against them he greatly exaggerated. Almost all the critics admit this. Dr. Robertson and Washington Irving both give the same opinion.[1] Charlevoix says, "that he had too lively an imagination, and permitted himself to be carried by away it;" and "there reigns in his book a spirit of over sensitiveness and exaggeration, that makes greatly against it." [2] His statements were controverted at the time by Dr. Sepulveda; and a lively controversy was carried on in Spain. Charles V. and the learned Dominico Soto, his confessor, embarrassed by contradictory statements from the two parties, could not come to a decision as to the real merits of the dispute.

But the unremitted efforts of Las Casas to meliorate the spiritual and temporal condition of the Indians are above all praise:

"The whole of his future life, a space exceeding sixty years, was devoted to vindicating the cause, and endeavoring to meliorate the sufferings of the natives. As a missionary, he traversed the wilderness of the new world in various directions, seeking to convert and civilize them; as a companion and protector, he made several voyages to Spain, vindicated their wrongs before courts and monarchs, wrote volumes in their behalf, and exhibited a zeal and constancy, and intrepidity, worthy of an apostle. He died at an advanced age of ninety-two years, and was buried at Madrid, in the church of the Dominican convent of Atocha, of which fraternity he was a member." [3]

Such was Las Casas; and yet he was but one of a numerous band of devoted men. What a contrast between his spirit and life, and that of any of the Puritan preachers of New England! Take, for example, Cotton Mather, one of the most distinguished among the ministers of the pilgrims. How fierce and fanatical the spirit he displayed throughout his long life, and especially during the little reign of terror, — from February to October of the year 1692, — while the trials for witchcraft were going on at Salem! He and his creature, the deputy governor Stoughton, together with the ministers Parris and Noyes, got up and enacted that comic tragedy, in which great numbers of men, women, and children perished on the scaffold: "And uttering a midnight cry, he wrestled with God to awaken the churches to something remarkable. A religious excitement was resolved on. 'I obtained of the Lord that he would use me,' says the infatuated man, 'to be a herald of His kingdom now approaching.'" [4] Whoever reads the account of these strange proceedings, as given by Bancroft, must feel his blood tingle in his veins, and must sigh over the strange fanaticism of the pilgrims.

What will be thought, for instance, of this curious extract from the records? "At the trial of George Burroughs, a minister, the bewitched persons pretended to be dumb. 'Who hinders those witnesses,' says Stoughton, 'from testifying?' 'I suppose the devil,' answered Burroughs.

1 Irving, Columbus ii. p. 325; Appendix. Dr. Robertson calls him "a restless and dissatisfied man." History of America.

2 Histoire de S. Domingue, L. 5, A. D. 515, & L. 6, A. D. 1547.

3 Irving, Columbus ii. 320.

4 Bancroft iii. 84.

'How comes the devil,' retorted the chief judge, 'so loath to have any testimony borne against you?' And the question was effective. Besides he had given proofs of great, if not preternatural muscular strength. Cotton Mather calls the evidence 'enough;' the jury gave a verdict of 'guilty.'"[1] What will be thought of the fierce exclamation of the minister Noyes, when eight persons were hung up together for witchcraft; "there hang eight fire-brands of hell!"[2] And what of the heartless speech of Cotton Mather to the crowd assembled to witness the execution of Burroughs?[3] Alas for human nature, if these men are to be held up as paragons for imitation!

It ill becomes the children of the pilgrim fathers to taunt the Spaniards with their inhumanity to the natives. The Puritans of New England have to settle a much deeper and darker score in this matter. It may not be generally known, that it was quite common of old to kidnap and sell into foreign bondage the Aborigines of North America. Yet no fact of history is more undoubted: "The practice of selling the natives of North America into foreign bondage continued for near two centuries, and even the sternest morality pronounced the sentence of slavery and exile on the captives, whom the field of battle had spared. The excellent Winthrop enumerates Indians among his bequests. The articles of the early New England confederacy class persons among the spoils of war. A scanty remnant of the Pequod tribe in Connecticut, the captives treacherously made by Waldron in New Hampshire, the harmless fragments of the tribe of Annawon, the orphan offspring of King Philip himself, were all doomed to the same hard destiny of perpetual bondage. The clans of Virginia and Carolina, for more than a hundred years, were hardly safe against the kidnapper. *The universal public* (English) *mind was long and deeply vitiated.*"[4]

The treatment of the Indians by the Catholics of Maryland is a brilliant exception to this remark, and forms one bright page at least in our early colonial history. True, a border war raged there also for a brief space, commenced by the Indians, who "had not yet entirely recovered from the jealousies which the malignant Clayborne had infused." But soon "peace was re-established on the usual terms of submission and promises of friendship, and rendered durable by the prudent legislation of the assembly, and the firm humanity of the government. The pre-emption of the soil was reserved to Lord Baltimore, kidnapping an Indian made a capital offence, and the sale of arms prohibited as a felony."[5]

Where now are the numerous and flourishing tribes of Indians which once peopled New England? Where are the Pokanokets, the Narragansetts, the Pequods, the Mohegans, and the Mohawks, to say nothing of other tribes? All have disappeared from the face of the earth, thanks to

1 Bancroft, iii. 84. 2 Ibid. p. 93. 3 Bancroft, ibid.

4 Ibid P. I, 168–9. Speaking of the traffic in white slaves sold to the colonies, Bancroft says: "At the corresponding period in Ireland, the crowded exportation of Irish Catholics was a frequent event, and was attended by aggravations hardly inferior to the usual atrocities of the African slave trade. i. 176.

5 Bancroft, i, 253.

the cold-blooded policy and heartless cruelty of the Puritans! They all vanished at the first dawn of *English* civilization, like snow under the rays of the sun! First over-reached in trade by the cunning Yankees, then hemmed up within restricted territories, then goaded into war, and then exterminated by fire and sword:—such was in general the mode of dealing with the poor natives of the north-eastern states; a heartless policy subsequently followed, with a few honorable exceptions, by the North American colonists. These are strong assertions, and they must prove unpalatable to those descendants of the pilgrims, who boast their pure "Anglo Saxon blood," and taunt the Spaniards with their cruelty. But we will make them all good by indubitable testimony.

The Pokanokets were the first tribe which sheltered the pilgrims after their landing on Plymouth rock: and they were the first to fall victims to their insidious and ungrateful policy. The venerable old chief Sachem of this tribe, Massasoit,—who had thrown open the door of his wigwam to the new comers, had fed them with his bread, warmed them at his fire, and cordially welcomed them to the new world, had already departed this life, else he might have lived so witness the wanderings of his fugitive son, king Philip of Mount Hope, and the cruel bondage under the burning sun of Bermuda, of his orphan grand-son, the only heir to his dignity, and the last of his race!

We have already seen what reliance is to be placed on the assertion of Mr. Webster, "that the Pilgrims recognized the right of the natives to the soil." Bancroft will tell us how they recognized this right in the Pokanokets. Repeated sales of land had narrowed the domains of these original proprietors of the soil:

"And the English had artfully crowded them into the tongues of land, as most suitable and convenient for them.[1] There they could be more easily watched for the frontiers of the narrow peninsulas were inconsiderable. Thus the two chief seats of the Pokanokets were the necks of land, which we now call Boston and Tiverton. As population pressed on other savages, the west was open: but as the English villages drew nearer and nearer to them, their hunting grounds were put under culture; and, as the ever urgent importunity of the English (pilgrims) was quieted for a season by partial concessions from the unwary Indians, their natural parks were turned into pastures; their best fields for planting corn were gradually alienated; their fisheries were impaired by more skillful methods; and as wave after wave succeeded, they found themselves deprived of their broad acres, and by their own legal (!) contracts, driven as it were into the sea."[2]

As they were not amphibious and could not starve, they naturally became indignant; and "when the expressions of common passion were repeated by an Indian tale-bearer, fear magnified the plans of the tribes into an organized scheme of resistance."[3] King Philip, their chief

1 Winslow, a cotemporary quoted by Bancroft, avows this cruel policy.

2 Vol. ii, p. 99. The first chief who made a treaty with the Pilgrims was Massasoit, who observed it religiously as long as he lived. It is curious that, before he ratified the treaty he drank a prodigious draft of rum. (See 1st B. of Hist. p. 29.) So much for early Yankee shrewdness in bargaining!

3 Ibid.

Sachem was, on suspicion, summoned before a Puritan tribunal, to which he had been once before compelled to deliver up his arms. The indignation of his tribe broke out into a flame at this indignity offered to their chief, and the Indian informer who had betrayed him was murdered. The murderers were ferreted out, condemned, and hung; the Indians retaliated on the American settlers, and thus a war of extermination broke out in New England.[1] The Pokanokets were exterminated, and Philip became a wanderer:

"Once he escaped narrowly, leaving his wife and only son prisoners. 'My heart breaks,' cried the tattooed chieftain, in the agony of his grief—'now I am ready to die!' His own followers began to plot against him to make terms for themselves, and in a few days he was shot by a faithless Indian. The captive orphan was transported. So perished the princes of the Pokanokets! Sad to them had been their acquaintance with civilization! The first ship that came on her coast had kidnapped men of their kindred; and now the harmless boy, who had been cherished as an only child, and the future Sachem of their tribes, the last of the family of Massasoit, was sold into bondage, to toil as a slave under the sun of Bermuda!"[2]

The Narragansetts do not appear to have joined the alleged Indian league against the whites. Yet, when the war broke out, "the little army of the colonists entered the territories of the Narragansetts, and from the reluctant tribe extorted a treaty of neutrality, with a promise to deliver up every hostile Indian."[3] And because, in violation of this extorted treaty, they subsequently had the humanity to afford shelter to such of their fugitive brethren among the Pokanokets, as had escaped extermination:

"It was resolved to regard them as enemies; and a little before the winter solstice, a thousand men levied by the united colonies, and commanded by the brave Josiah Winslow, a native of New England, invaded their territory. . . . Feeble palisades could not check the determined valor of the white men, and the group of Indian cabins was soon set on fire. Thus were swept away the humble glories of the Narragansetts. The winter's store of the tribe; their curiously wrought baskets full of corn; their famous strings of Wampum; their wigwams nicely lined with mats,—all the little comforts of savage life were consumed. And yet more,—*their old men, their women, their babes perished by hundreds in the fire!* Then, indeed, was the cup of misery full for these red men. Without shelter and without food, they hid themselves in a cedar swamp, with no defense against the cold but boughs of evergreen trees. They prowled the forest and pawed up the snow, to gather nuts and acorns, they dug the earth for ground nuts; they ate remnants of horse flesh as a luxury; they sank down from feebleness and want of food."[4]

Their brave old chief Caronchet, after wandering and suffering much, was at length taken prisoner. Yet his spirit was not broken. "His life

1 Ibid. p. 100.

2 Ibid. vol. ii, p. 108. The historian informs us, that "in the progress of the year, between two and three thousand Indians were killed or submitted." Ibid.

3 Ibid. p. 102.

4 Ibid. p. 104-5

was offered him, if he would procure a treaty of peace; he refused the offer with disdain. Condemned to death, he only answered, I like it well; I shall die before I say anything unworthy of myself."[1] The historian closes the sad story of the Narragansetts, with these memorable words: "Of the once prosperous Narragansetts, of old the chief tribe of New England, hardly one hundred men remained. The sword, fire, famine, and sickness, had swept them from the face of the earth."[2]

If anything could surpass the cold blooded cruelty of these acts of atrocity, it was the treatment of the Pequods of Connecticut, whose territory the children of the pilgrims had invaded, without purchase or any equivalent whatever, thereby showing how far "they recognized in the natives the right to the soil." "After nearly a whole night spent, at the request of the soldiers in importunate prayer by the 'very learned and *godly* Stone,'"[3] the colonial army commanded by John Mason, proceeded to attack the Pequod towns, the principal of which they surprised at break of day:

"The superiority of numbers was with them (the Pequods), and fighting closely hand to hand, though the massacre spread from wigwam to wigwam, victory was tardy. '*We must burn them!*' shouted Mason, and cast a firebrand to windward among the light mats of the Indian cabins. Hardly could the English withdraw to encompass the place, before the whole encampment was in a blaze. Did the helpless natives climb the palisades; the flames assisted the marksmen to take good aim at the unprotected men: did they attempt to sally; they were cut down by the English broad swords. The carnage was complete: about six hundred Indians, men, women and children, perished; most of them in the hideous conflagration! In about an hour, the whole work of destruction was finished, and two only of the English (Puritans) had fallen in the battle. The sun, as it rose serenely in the east, was the witness of the victory."[4]

And such a victory! We think these facts abundantly sustain the statements made above. We might pursue this line of illustration and proof still farther; for, unhappily, the materials for it are but too abundant. But we sicken at these enormities.

Such then were the tender mercies of the Puritans! Such their claims to our admiration and imitation! We will not deny their good qualities: but we must be allowed to think, that the shades predominated over the lights in their character; and that if, in spite of its shades, their character is still luminous, it is with such a lurid light as is emitted by paintings belonging to the class called by the Italians *chiaro oscuro* — clear obscure.

We will leave Mr. Webster to settle his account, as best he may, with his two countrymen, Irving and Prescott, as well as with God and his own conscience! While he is engaged in the settlement, would it not be well for him to exert his powerful influence in New England, to have

1 Ibid p. 106. 2 Ibid, p. 109. 3 Ibid vol. i, p. 399.

4 Bancroft, 400-1. It was usual for the different colonial governments of North America to offer bounties for the scalps of the Indians. Thus, the government of Massachusetts "stimulated the activity of private parties, by offering for each Indian scalp at first a bounty of fifteen, and afterwards of a hundred pounds." Bancroft, iii. 336.

removed one dark spot from the escutcheon of his state,—to clear away those gloomy ruins of Mount Benedict which still crown Bunker Hill, in the immediate vicinity of the monument, and which "cast a dark shadow on the soil of Massachusetts"? They too are monumental. They commemorate a dark event, the injustice of which, is yet unredressed; and they prove, that the fierce and sternly intolerant spirit of the Puritans is not yet extinct. Unless removed by the *justice* of Massachusetts, we trust that those ruins will be as abiding as the Bunker Hill monument itself!

Since the above was written, the children of the Puritans have exhibited such unmistakeable signs of bigoted intolerance, as to prove to all the world that they are worthy of their illustrious ancestors. The children have, indeed, far outstripped the fathers in the race of persecution. Four or five Catholic churches sacked or destroyed by them, some on the hallowed anniversary festival of American Independence; their Catholic fellow-citizens denounced, slandered, and vilified by hired street brawlers; the mob spirit openly invoked against the property and lives of Catholics: — these are some among the recent exploits of those who boast their "Anglo-Saxon blood," and glory in being the descendants of the pilgrim fathers! They are heartily welcome to all the glory they can derive from such achievements as these!

XIX. OUR COLONIAL BLUE LAWS.*

ARTICLE I.—UNION OF CHURCH AND STATE.

Why we treat this subject—Who are, and who have been the persecutors?—Meaning of the term *Blue Laws*—Effort at concealment—Bancroft's reserve—Other historians of New England—Character of the Puritans—Their good and their bad qualities—Their treatment of the Aborigines—Their inconsistency—Two classes of Blue Laws—Union of Church and State—Conformity—The franchise—Established religion—Observance of the Sabbath—Severe enactments—Law against priests—Spirit of persecution in New York—Miscellaneous laws—Indians and wolves—Use of tobacco—Manner of dress—Cut of the hair—Matrimony—And divorce—By whom were the Blue Laws repealed?—Some Blue Laws of Virginia—The land of "steady habits"—Catholic Colony of Maryland.

If we be asked, why we treat of the Blue Laws at this particular time, our answer is at hand. We are moved by no feeling of uncharitableness, but simply by a love of historic truth, and a motive of just self-defense. A systematic attempt has been made to fasten all the odium of narrow-mindedness and persecution on the Catholic Church; and at present this is the favorite battle-cry of those who seek, in this free country, to render Catholics hateful to their fellow-citizens, and to deprive them even of their undoubted civil rights. With strange inconsistency, this undisguised effort to crush Catholic liberty and rights, is made in the name of liberty itself! It is with this hallowed word on their lips, that the misguided agents of a truculent secret political society rush to the sack or burning of our churches, and to the open slaughter or secret assassination of our people! This much-abused name of liberty is the staple of the hired street brawler, who openly excites the mob to riot and arson, in our heretofore peaceful streets and highways. The minister of religion, too, whose office should incline him to exhort men to the love of God and of the neighbor, is not unfrequently found to take up the same maddening cry, and to throw his influence into the scale of hatred and anarchy, instead of that of love and peace!

* I. *The Blue Laws of New Haven Colony, usually called the Blue Laws of Connecticut; Quaker Laws of Plymouth and Massachusetts; Blue Laws of New York, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina. First Record of Connecticut; interesting extracts from Connecticut Records; cases of Salem witchcraft; charges and banishment of Rev. Roger Williams, &c., and other interesting and instructive antiquities. Compiled by an Antiquarian* Hartford: Printed by Case, Tiffany & Co. 1838. 1 vol. 12mo. pp. 336.

II. *The Code of* 1650; *being a compilation of the earliest Laws and Orders of the General Court of Connecticut: also, the Constitution, or civil compact entered into and adopted by the towns of Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield, in* 1638–9. *To which are added some extracts from the laws and judicial proceedings of the New Haven Colony, commonly called Blue Laws.* Hartford: Judd, Loomis & Co. 1836. 1 vol. 16mo., pp. 119.

The most singular feature in the present unholy warfare against Catholics in this country, is the fact, which can be established by the most overwhelming evidence, that while we are made to bear all the odium of intolerance and persecution, our opponents, and they ALONE, are fairly open to the charge, so far at least as the history of this country is concerned. We defy any one to lay his finger on the fact of history, which proves that Catholics have ever been guilty of a single act of persecution in the United Stats, either before or since the revolution. This matter is easily tested. Our standard histories are mostly the productions of Protestant writers, and their pages are spread out before the world. If any such act of intolerance can be pointed out, as having been perpetrated by Catholics in this country, we would really desire to see the evidence, even on respectable Protestant authority; for we have never yet found a solitary instance, though our reading in this department of history has been tolerably extensive. What we want is FACTS, not WORDS. Until our bitter opponents are prepared to meet this fair and reasonable issue, they should surely remain silent, if they have any sense of decency or of justice left.

Have American Catholics ever attempted to get up a persecution of slander against their fellow-citizens? Have they ever employed street preachers to vilify their brother religionists? Have they ever sought to burn Protestant churches? Have they ever enacted persecuting laws, when—as in the Maryland colony—they had the power to do so. If they have done or attempted none of these things, then why all this bitter opposition to their civil and religious rights in this country?

Can our enemies come out of this ordeal of historic facts equally unscathed? We think not. The evidence of all our colonial history must be blotted out, before they can hope to escape the accusation, that, while so strongly denouncing their neighbors for a persecuting spirit, they and their ancestors have been, in point of fact, the only persecutors in this hemisphere!

Much as we regret to write it, the narrow-minded persecuting spirit of the Puritans still survives in their descendants. Survives,—did we say? We are unjust to the memory of the Puritans. They had, at least, some method, some religion, and some *decency* in their persecution; their descendants have retained only their inveterate hatred of Catholicity. This does not, of course, apply to all or even to the greater portion of American Protestants; but it is fairly applicable to all those who are either openly or tacitly engaged in the present unscrupulous and unprincipled crusade against Catholics in this *free* country.

It is with these views that we republish the articles written some years ago on our Colonial Blue Laws. The facts we will unfold, entirely on Protestant authority, will show conclusively, who first brought the spirit along with the practice of persecution into this country.

We will not pause to examine the question, whether the denomination *Blue Laws* originated in the trivial circumstance that the first printed edition of them was put forth enveloped in blue colored paper, or from the

fact that the laws themselves were deemed intrinsically *blue*. A partiality to the former opinion, it may be, induced the authors or publishers of the two works which we propose to review, to have the first put up in a *blue* cover, and the second printed entirely on *blue* paper; while, in confirmation of the latter opinion, it may be said that the popular acceptation of the term certainly denotes something more than the mere color of paper or covering. The skillful antiquary may, perhaps, reconcile the two opinions, by supposing that the name was originally given in consequence of the circumstance alluded to, but that afterwards it was associated in the popular mind with the peculiar nature of the laws themselves. Every philologist knows, that many words in all languages have been subject to these variations in signification. One thing is certain, that the epithet *Blue Laws* now denotes a system of legislation, marked by narrow-minded policy and proscriptive exclusiveness.

There has been manifestly a studied effort on the part of the descendants of the New England Puritans to cover up and to conceal, as far as was possible, all traces of the very peculiar legislation adopted by their forefathers. It was only after very considerable exertions and delay, that we could succeed in procuring copies of the two little works under review; a circumstance not a little remarkable, when we consider that the editions of them are comparatively recent. Whether it is that the editions were bought up by the curious almost as soon as they were issued,—which we think scarcely probable,—or that they were suppressed, or met with but little encouragement, we would not venture to say. Certain it is, that the copies are now very scarce, and that the works themselves are but little known to our booksellers, at least to those in the west and south. If we are to believe the compilers of the works under consideration, they too had great difficulty in procuring the necessary materials. The anonymous "antiquarian" to whom we owe the first publication, assures us that, of the first edition of five hundred copies, comprising the laws compiled by Governor Eaton at the instance of the general court of the New Haven colony, and printed in London in 1656, only *two* copies, so far as his researches extended, are now to be found in this country.[1] Mr. Silas Andrus, the author of the other smaller work, tells us "that the first revision of the early laws of Connecticut was never before printed;"[2] that the earliest laws of the colony were recorded only in manuscript; and that he had often the greatest difficulty in deciphering the text, "particularly for the reason that the record, in some parts, was nearly obliterated, and in others totally gone." He adds: "other parts of the record, therefore, have been resorted to, and the copy rendered complete. The ancient orthography has been accurately preserved."[3]

Both productions carry with them intrinsic evidences of laborious research, and of a sincere wish to be accurate; and we are quite sure that the compilers will receive the thanks of all who are interested in the study of the early history and antiquities of our country. All that we regret is,

1 Preface, p. 5. 2 Preface. 3 Ibid.

that the works are not gotten up in better style, that they have had apparently so limited a circulation, and that the authors had not the courage to attach their names to the title-page. Does it, then, really require so great an amount of moral courage to tell the truth, when it conflicts with popular error and prejudice?

It would seem so. Thus, how very gently does not Mr. Bancroft, in his late popular History of our colonies, touch upon the eccentricities of character, and the legislative peculiarities of the pilgrim fathers! How much, and how very skillfully does he not labor to soften down, or to obliterate altogether, the shades of the historic picture! We do not venture to characterize this course as disingenuous and wholly unworthy the honest and impartial historian,—this might appear too sweeping a censure,—but we do say, that we would have admired the work of our historian much more, had he ventured to tell the *whole* truth. He cannot enter the plea of expediency; for the historian should prefer truth to expediency. He cannot plead ignorance; for he certainly must have had, spread out before him, the original records of the New England colonies, and, among others, those identical documents which are reproduced in the two works under consideration.

Besides, he might have imitated the candor, and profited by the labors, of at least three distinguished New Englanders, who had preceded him in the historical career; and who had not feared to tell the truth, and to call things by their right names. We refer to Belknap's biographical and other works; to Barber's Antiquities of New Haven; and to Peter's work on the Blue Laws. The truth seems to be, that Mr. Bancroft wrote his work quite too near Plymouth rock,—"the blarney stone of New England;" and that he sought too much to cater to the prejudices of his countrymen. We can scarcely find any other explanation of his great discretion, in regard to matters upon which he should have been more explicit and detailed. Had he been only as candid in reference to the Blue Laws, as he was in regard to the persecution of Roger Williams, of the Quakers, and of the Witches, we would have deemed these strictures wholly uncalled for. As it is, we may venture the suggestion, that the eminent historian will yet supply the deficiency we have indicated, in some future edition of his valuable work, and that he will furnish us, at least in an appendix or a note, a faithful abstract of the early colonial Blue Laws of New England. This is what we purpose to attempt in the present paper, which we might entitle,—A Chapter that *should have been* in Bancroft.

We would deem it unjust to the memory of the Puritans who settled New England, to say that they had no good qualities whatever, or even that their vices very greatly preponderated over their virtues. Faults they certainly had, faults as grievous as they were notorious and clearly marked. But they had excellencies also, which should be taken into the account in the estimate of their character. They were bold, daring, courageous, industrious, sober, enterprising, and religious after their own

fashion. With an arduous mission to accomplish, they shrank not from the difficulties which encompassed them. Trained in the painful school of suffering and privation, and possessed of iron nerve, they were discouraged by no reverses, appalled by no dangers. Men of less sternness of purpose would have given up the undertaking upon which they embarked, as utterly impracticable. They, however, never lost hope of a favorable issue; and, with an elasticity of character which does them honor, they surmounted obstacles, even as a ship rides the waves which threaten to engulf it in the abyss. And they have bequeathed this same enterprising and indomitable spirit to their children.

This much we say in their praise. But when this is said, all is told. Their faults stood forth, at least as prominent as their virtues. They were narrow-minded, exclusive, proscriptive, and short-sighted in their character, and in the whole line of their conduct and policy. In temporal matters, they sacrificed every thing to their own paltry interests. Their treatment of the poor Indians who then peopled New England, is worthy of a reprobation which we can find no words in our language strong enough properly to characterize. We have already stated the facts, on the authority of Bancroft;[1] and until they can be blotted from the pages of history, we must be excused from entertaining that lofty opinion of the Puritan character, which our Fourth-of-July orators, and Plymouth-rock-anniversary declaimers would fain wish to thrust on us. These fulsome eulogists must give us fuller and fairer statements of facts, ere we can change our opinion of the pilgrim fathers, or regard their glowing representations as a faithful picture of the real character of those men. We must have the shades, as well as the lights of the picture. We must have an account of the Blue Laws, of the Quaker Laws, of the Witch Laws—of the stocks, of the whipping-posts, and of the branding-irons;—as well as of the pure religious feelings, and of the lofty patriotic aspirations of the pilgrim fathers.

We must be told that, whereas they fled from the old world for the avowed purpose of escaping a grinding *Protestant* persecution, and of breathing, in a virgin hemisphere, the pure air of religious liberty, they notwithstanding had no sooner established themselves in their new homes, than they boldly set to work to establish odious religious tests, to enforce religious uniformity, to persecute and to drive into the wilderness brother *Protestants* who had the misfortune to interpret the Scriptures differently from themselves; to banish, to hang, to brand, or to bore with red hot irons the tongues of the inoffensive Quakers; to hunt up and exterminate the poor witches; and to enact the Blue Laws. Really, we can be satisfied with nothing less; and though the Plymouth orators may make wry faces, and protest loudly against taking a medicine so very unpalatable, they should still take it like men, if they be the lovers of historic truth.

The days of idle declamation and of overstrained or false eulogy are, we fondly hope, drawing to a close, and those of sober truth are beginning

1 In the Review of Webster's Bunker Hill Speech.

to dawn upon us. Men now-a-days will not be satisfied with any thing less than the truth, and the whole truth, just such as genuine history unfolds it: and if, under this process, phantoms which we have conjured up for our own special entertainment should vanish, or if visions of ancestral glory should disappear altogether, or be brought down to the standard of sober reality, still the whole truth must be boldly and fearlessly told. Only those who are laboring to bolster up a bad cause can fear the truth; and the time has come when even the children of the Puritans must nerve themselves to look the facts boldly in the face.

Nor let us be told, that the faults to which we allude were but blemishes in the otherwise stainless character of the pilgrim fathers. We know that this has been often said, and that it is even fashionable to repeat it; but it is not the more true for all this. To every reasonable and impartial man it must appear manifest, that the charges we prefer against the early colonists of New England, embrace something more than mere trifles and peccadilloes; something more than mere peculiarities and eccentricities; something, in a word, which deeply involves the very substance of their moral and religious character. Was it a mere trifle to hang witches, to hang Quakers, to drive out brother Protestants, to butcher Indians? Was it, even, a mere trifle to adopt a system of vexatious legislation, which established a harassing espionage over a man's most trivial actions, which prescribed the cut of the hair, the fashion of the dress, and the particular occasions on which mothers might with impunity kiss their children, or wives their husbands? Were all these things, and many more of a similar character, mere blemishes?

We think not; and we are of opinion that all our readers will agree with us in opinion, if they will only have the patience to examine those peculiarities of legislation, an abstract of which we will now proceed to lay before them. We shall state nothing, which has not been taken from authentic records by the two writers, to whose works we have called attention, or which cannot be substantiated by other undoubted collateral authorities. And as the first work on our list comprises nearly all that is contained in the second, we may as well admonish our readers that our quotations shall be mainly taken from its pages.

The Blue Laws of New England may be distributed into two classes: the first comprising those connected with religion; and the second, those which regarded secular matters. We will present several curious specimens of legislation under each of these classes, from the various codes republished in the volumes before us. The laws in question were enacted by the General Courts of the different plantations in successive years; and of the Codes embracing them, that of the Plymouth or Massachusetts colony is the oldest, dating back as far as 1638, but that of New Haven, drawn up by Governor Eaton, and printed in 1656, is by far the *bluest*. The latter seems to have been derived, with various additions and *improvements*, from the former. A striking similarity both in principles and in language pervades all the early New England Codes; and to avoid needless

repetition, we shall quote sometimes from one collection and sometimes from another, presenting whatever may be considered most striking.

1. Religion was a prominent feature in the whole system of New England legislation. Every Code which we have examined is based upon the doctrine of a union of church and state, and contains provisions rigidly enforcing religious conformity. Crimes against religion were punished by civil penalties always rigid, sometimes wantonly cruel. The pilgrim fathers had been the victims of the same principle in the old world; still they took most special care to re-establish it forthwith in the new. They required every one to come up to their own peculiar standard of orthodoxy, and to believe neither more nor less than themselves. A complete theocracy, modified in its development according to times, places, and circumstances, appears to have been the cardinal principle, and the darling idea of all the founders of New England. If it be not historically true, — as some one has stated it to be,— that "they agreed to take the law of God for their guidance until they could *make a better*," it is at least certain, that they attempted to revive the antiquated system of theocratic government unfolded in the books of Moses, and that they even, in many instances, added to its rigor.

The following laws are predicated on the principle of religious conformity, or of union of church and state:

"Whosoever shall frequently neglect the public worship of God on the Lord's day, *that is approved by this government*, shall forfeit for every such default convicted of, ten shillings, especially where it appears to arise from negligence, idleness, or profaneness of spirit." (Laws of the Plymouth colony.)[1]

"Every person in this jurisdiction, *according to the mind of God*, shall duly resort and attend worship upon the Lord's day at least, and upon public fasting or thanksgiving days, and if any person, without just cause, absent or withdraw from the same, he shall for every such sinful miscarriage forfeit five shillings." (Laws of New Haven colony.)[2]

"It is ordered, that if any Christian (so called) shall within this jurisdiction behave himself contemptuously towards the word of God preached, or any member thereof called and faithfully dispensing the same in any congregation, either by interrupting him in his preaching, *or falsely charging him with errour*, to the disparagement and hindrance of the work of God in his hands, (Acts xiii. 10 *with Bena his note upon it*) every such person or persons shall be duly punished either by the plantation court, or court of magistrates, according to the quality and measure of the offence, that all others may fear to break out into such wickednesse." (Gov. Eaton's Laws.)[3]

This same principle is carried out in a variety of details, which our limits do not allow us to furnish; but we can not refrain from quoting two other passages in Gov. Eaton's Collection, which distinctly and boldly avow the doctrine itself. They are taken from the "fundamental agreement," of the plantations composing the New Haven colony; and their estimated importance may be inferred from the fact, that the first is taken from the

1 Blue Laws, &c., p. 55. 2 Ibid. p. 127. 3 Ibid. p. 176

very beginning of the agreement itself, and the second is the first fundamental law on the list of articles subjoined to that instrument:

"That none shall be admitted freemen, or free burgesses, within this jurisdiction, or any part of it, but such planters *as are members of some one or other of the approved churches of New England;* nor shall any such be chosen to magistracy, or to carry on any part of civil jurisdiction, or as deputies or assistants to have power, or vote in establishing laws, or in making or repealing orders, or to any chief military office or trust, nor shall any others *but some such church members* have any vote in any such elections, though all others admitted to be planters have right to their proper inheritances, and doe and shall enjoy all other civil liberties and priviledges according to all laws, orders, or grants, which on (are?), or hereafter shall be made for this colony." [1]

"1. This court thus framed, shall first, with all care and diligence, from time to time, provide for the maintainance of the *purity* of religion, *and suppress the contrary*, according to their best light and directions *from the word of God.*" [2]

To these we will add the following provisions, likewise contained in Gov. Eaton's Code:

"22. All the people of God within this jurisdiction, who are not in church way, *being orthodox in judgment*, shall have liberty to gather themselves to a church estate. (1656.)

"23. No man shall be admitted to the *freedom* of this jurisdiction, who is not a member of some church in New England, approved by the magistrates and churches of this colony." (New Haven Colony Laws, 1656.)[3]

The following law, passed by the General Court convened at Hartford in 1650, though it is couched in language very similar to that of one already quoted, is so curious that we cannot refrain from giving it entire. After a suitable preamble, the Court says:

"It is therefore ordered and decreed: That if any Christian (so called) within this jurisdiction, shall contemptuously behave himselfe towards the word preached or the messengers thereof, called to dispence the same in any congregation when he doth faithfully execute his service and office therein, *according to the will and mind of God*, either by interrupting him in his preaching, or by charging him falsely with an error w'h he hath not thought in the open face of the church, or like a sonne of Korah, cast upon his true doctrine, or himselfe any reproach, to the dishonour of the Lord Jesus who hath sent him, and to the disparagement of that his holy ordinance, and making God's wayes contemptible and ridiculous, that every such person or persons (whatsoever censure the church may passe) shall for the first scandal be convented and reproved openly by the magistrates at some lecture, and bound to their good behavoour. And if a second time they breake forth in the like contemptuous carriages, they shall pay either five pounds to the publique treasury or stand two houres openly vpon a block or stoole four foott high vpon a lecture day, with a paper fixed on his breast, written with capitalle letters, AN OPEN AND OBSTINATE CONTEMNER OF GOD'S HOLY ORDINANCE, that others may feare and be ashamed of breaking out into the like wickednesse." [4]

Closely connected with this branch of the subject, are the Laws regulating the observance of the holy Sabbath day. These were surely *blue*

1 Ibid. p. 142 2 Ibid. p. 145 3 Ibid. p. 127-8. 4 Ibid. p. 107-8.

enough. They would have suited the taste of the Jews, even of the sneering Pharisees, who were for ever blaming our blessed Lord himself for his alleged violations of the holy Sabbath day! The Puritans had very erroneous, or at least very highly exaggerated notions in regard to the Sabbath; notions which, though manifestly more Jewish than Christian, they have faithfully transmitted to their posterity. The Plymouth Code contains the following enactment:

"This court taking notice of the great abuse and many misdemeanours committed by divers persons in these many ways, profaneing the Sabbath or Lord's day, to the great dishonour of God, reproach of religion, and grief of the spirit of God's people, Do, therefore, order, that whosoever shall profane the Lord's day, by doing unnecessary servile work, by unnecessary travailing, or by sports and recreations, he or they that so transgress, shall forfeit for every such default forty shillings, *or be publicly whipt*; but if it clearly appear that sin was proudly, presumptuously, and with a high hand committed, against the known command and authority of the blessed God, such a person therein despising and reproaching the Lord, SHALL BE PUT TO DEATH, or grievously punished at the discretion of the court." [1]

This law was re-enacted, in similar language, by the colonies of New Haven and Hartford, with the addition of the appropriate scriptural references! [2] Sabbath breaking was one of the highest offences known to the laws; and the legislators descended to the most minute, and even ridiculous details on the subject. Take the following specimens from the collection of Barber and Peters, which comprise laws before unpublished, and anterior to those contained in the printed Code of Gov. Eaton:

"21. No one shall run on the Sabbath day, or walk in his garden, or elsewhere, except reverently to and from meeting." (Barber.)

"22. No one shall travel, cook victuals, make beds, sweep house, cut hair, or shave. on the Sabbath day." (Barber.)

"23. *No woman shall kiss her child* on the Sabbath or fasting day." (Barber:)

"24. The Sabbath shall begin *at sunset* on Saturday." [3]

To these add the following singular law taken from Gov. Eaton's Code:

"38. If any man *shall kiss his wife* or *wife her husband on the Lord's day*, the party in fault, shall be punished at the discretion of the court of magistrates." [4]

To this the author of the work from which we are quoting appends the following note:

"Tradition says, a gentleman of New Haven, after an absence of some months, reached home on the Sabbath, and meeting his wife at his door, kissed her with an appetite, and for *his temerity in violating this law*, the next day was arraigned before the court, and fined, for so *palpable* a breach of the law on the Lord's day."

This reminds us of another law, said to be contained in a collection which we have not seen, by which it was prohibited to brew beer on Saturday, lest it should *work*, and thus violate the Sabbath on the following day! And of another regulation, in which the proprietors of bees were

1 Ibid. p. 55. 2 Ibid. p. 206, et alibi. 3 Ibid. p. 122. 4 Ibid. p. 130

required to close the orifices of the hives on Saturday evening *before sunset,* lest the industrious little insects should be guilty of Sabbath breaking! We do not, however, vouch for the accuracy of either of these regulations; though we are persuaded, that there were many such laws in existence which were never published, and the memory of which was preserved only by tradition.

In all the early Codes of New England, blasphemy was punished with death, and profane swearing with the most severe penalties. The laws on these subjects, especially those of Connecticut, were flanked with abundant references to Scripture; and it was a settled maxim, that, where the colonial law could not reach a particular case, it should be decided on by the law of God. Thus Gov. Eaton's Code contains the provision subjoined:

"40. No man's life shall be taken away, honor or good name shall be stained, his person imprisoned, banished, or punished, deprived of his wife or children, or property taken, unless by virtue or equity of some express law established by the general court, and published: and *for want of a law in any particular case, shall be judged by the word of God.* (1656.)

"41. All capital causes, concerning life, or banishment, *if there is no express law, shall be judged according to the word and law of God,* by the generall court."[1] (1656.)

As for Roman Catholics, they might expect no toleration, and little mercy from people so peculiarly *holy.* The following is found among the Blue Laws of Connecticut:

"10. No priest shall abide in this dominion: he shall be banished and SUFFER DEATH on his return. Priests may be seized by any one without a warrant."[2] (In force before 1656.)

We conclude this portion of the subject with the following singular specimens of legal cant, sanctimoniousness, and *acumen:*

"36. No one shall read Common Prayer, keep Christmas, or saints' days, *make minced pies, dance, play cards, or play on any instrument of*

1 Ibid. p 130.

2 Ibid. p 121. In many of the other colonies the Catholics fared little better. In New York city, a Catholic priest was publicly hanged for his religion! In relation to the legislation of the colony of New York, Chancellor Kent says:

"Before the adoption of the present constitution of the United States, the power of naturalization resided in the several states; and the constitution of this state, as it was originally passed (Art. 42), required all persons born out of the United States, and naturalized by our legislature, to take an oath abjuring all foreign allegiance and subjection, in all matters, *ecclesiastical* as well as civil. This was intended, and so it operated, to exclude from the benefits of naturalization Roman Catholics, who acknowledge the spiritual supremacy of the Pope, and it was the result of former fears and prejudices (still alive and active at the commencement of our revolution) respecting the religion of the Romish (!) church, which European history had taught (!) us to believe was incompatible with perfect national independence, or the freedom and good order of civil society. So extremely strong, and so astonishingly fierce and unrelenting was public prejudice on this subject, in the early part of our colonial history, that we find it declared by law in the early part of the last century (Colony laws, vol. i, p. 38, Livingston's and Smith's edition), that every Jesuit and popish priest, who should continue in the colony after a given day, should be condemned *to perpetual imprisonment*; and if he broke prison and escaped, and was retaken, *he should be put to death.* That law, said Mr. Smith, the historian of the colony, as late as 1756 (Smith's History of New York, p 111), was worthy of perpetual duration!" — *Commentaries on American Law,* vol. ii, pp 62-3. *New York,* 1827.

music, except the drum, trumpet, and jewsharp." (Barber. Blue Laws of Connecticut.) [1]

"1662. The court proposeth it as a thing they judge would be very commendable to the townes where God's providence shall cast any whales, if they should agree to set apart some p'te of every such fish or oyle *for the incouragement of an able and godly minister amongst them.*" (Blue Laws of Mass.) [2]

"For the prevention of the profanation of the Lord's day, it is enacted by the court and the authoritie thereof, that the select men of the severall townes of this jurisdiction, or any one of them, may or shall, as there may be occasion, take with him the constable or his deputie, and repair to any house or place where *they may suspect* that any slothfully doe lurke att hom or gett together in companie to neglect the publicke worship of God, or profane the Lord's day, and finding any such disorder, shall returne the names of the p'sons to the next court, and give notice of any particular miscarriage they may have taken notice of," &c. (Id.) [3]

II. Such were some of the principal features in the religious portion of the Blue Laws of New England. We will now furnish some examples of such laws as regarded civil matters. And it will be seen, at a glance, that the same narrow-minded, exclusive, and proscriptive spirit pervaded the whole of that most singular system of legislation.

The Criminal Code was peculiarly rigid and unmerciful. It multiplied capital offences beyond all the bounds of mercy or reason. Not only idolatry and blasphemy, but also sins against purity, rape, and sudden homicide, were punished with death. In the Code of Connecticut, adultery was also visited with the same penalty.[4] And all the laws under this head are duly confirmed by references to the law of Moses, as if the law of Moses had not been abrogated by Christ! We subjoin a few among the more curious of these laws:

"6. If any person slayeth another *suddenly in anger* and cruelty of passion; he shall he put to death." (Blue Laws of Mass.) [5]

"25. If any man have a stubborn, rebellious son of 16 years old, who will not obey the voyce of his father or mother, and being chastened, will not hearken unto them, then shall his father and mother, lay hold on him, and bring him to the magistrates assembled in court, and testifie unto them, that their son is stubborne and rebellious, and will not obey their voyce, but lives in sundry crimes: SUCH A SON SHALL BE PUT TO DEATH." Deut. xxi, 18, 19, 20, 21. Enacted 1656. (Blue Laws of New Haven colony.) [6]

"Whoever setts a fire in the woods, and it burns a house, SHALL SUFFER DEATH; and persons *suspected* of this crime shall be imprisoned *without benefit of bail.*" (Blue Laws of Connecticut.) [7]

For crimes not capital by the laws, the most severe and cruel punishments were often awarded. The rack, the stocks, the whipping-post, and the branding-iron, were not unfrequently put in requisition. Take the following laws as specimens:

"9. If any person commit burglary, or rob any person, *he shall be branded on the right hand with the letter* B; for second offence, *shall be*

1 Ibid. p. 123. 2 Ibid. p. 48. 3 Ibid pp. 49, 50. 4 Ibid. p. 120.
5 Ibid p 52. 6 Page 128. See the same law in Massachusetts p 53. 7 Page 122.

branded on his left hand, and whipt, and for the third offence, he shall be put to death. Judg. xviii, 7." (Blue Laws of New Haven.)[1]

"When it appears that an accused has confederates, and he refuses to discover them, he may be *racked*." (Blue Laws of Conn.)[2]

"30. Whoever publishes a lie to the prejudice of his neighbour, *shall sit in the stocks, or be whipped fifteen stripes*." (Id.)[3]

"And if any person shall commit such burglary, or so rob in any place on the Lord's day, he shall (besides restitution and damage) for the first offence *be burnt on the right hand as before, and severely whipt*; for the second offence, *he shall be burnt on the left hand, stand on the pillory, be severely whipt, and wear a halter in the day time constantly and visibly about his neck*, as a mark of infamy, till the court of magistrates see cause to release him from it," &c. (Blue Laws of New Haven.)[4]

The following singular laws may be classed under the head *miscellaneous*. We venture to say that no system of legislation that was ever devised, either before or since, can present anything half so curious.

It would seem that, in Massachusetts, Indians and wolves were classified under the same genus! In 1675 it was

"Ordered by the court, that whosoever shall shoot off any gun on any unnecessarie occation, or att any game whatsoever, EXCEPT ATT AN INDIAN OR A WOOLFE, shall forfeit five shillings for every such shott, till further libertie shall be given."[5]

The good pilgrims seem to have had a mortal aversion for tobacco. Among the many laws on this most important subject, we select the two which follow:

"1640. That if any person take tobacco whilst they are empannelled upon a jurie, to forfeit five shillings for every default, except they have given up their verdict, or are not to give yt until the next day, or dep't the court by consent." (Blue Laws of Mass.)[6]

"It is enacted by the court, that any p'son or p'sons that shall be found smoaking tobacco on the Lord's day, going to or coming from the meetings, *within two miles of the meeting house*, shall pay twelve pence for every such default to the colonie's use." (Id.)[7]

There were many laws regulating the attire both of males and of females, the fashions, and even the cut of the hair! Thus, our author tells us, that

"There was an ancient law in Massachusetts, that ladies' dresses should be made so long as to hide their shoe buckles, and in 1630 there was an act of the general court also prohibiting short sleeves, and requiring garments to be lengthened so as to cover the arms to the wrists, and gowns to the shoe buckles; (also) 'immoderate great breeches, knots of ribin, broad shoulder bands, and they be, silk roses, double ruffs and cuffs.' In the same colony, in 1653, J. Fairbanks was tried for wearing *great boots*, but was acquitted."[8]

Among the Blue Laws of Connecticut, we find the following on this subject:

"33. Whoever wears clothes trimmed with gold, silver, or bone lace, *above two shillings by the yard*, shall be presented by the grand jurors,

1 Page 126. 2 Page 123. 3 Ibid. 4 Page 156.
5 Page 50. 6 Page 44 7 Page 49. 8 Pages 131-2.

and the selectmen shall tax the offender at £300 estate." (Several acts governing the attire of the subjects.)[1]

"44. Every male shall have his hair *cut round* according *to a cap.*" (Barber and Peters.)[2]

To these our author appends the following note, by way of explanation:

"A cap to go round the head was used, drawn close to the head, and the hair cut by the cap. A pumpkin severed in the middle, and placed on the head, was often used as a substitute for a cap, in the season of them, as tradition says! The Levitical laws forbid cutting the hair or rounding the head."[3]

The subjoined Blue Laws of Connecticut, taken chiefly from the collections of Peters and Barber, regard different other subjects, and may speak for themselves:

"20. No one to cross a river, but with an authorized ferryman. (Barber.)

"25. To pick an ear of corn growing in a neighbour's garden shall be deemed theft.

"26. A person accused of trespass in the night shall be judged guilty unless he clear himself by his oath.

"28. No one shall buy or sell lands without permission of the selectmen.

"29. A drunkard shall have a master appointed by the selectmen, who are to debar him from the liberty of buying and selling.

"31. No minister shall keep a school. (Barber.)

"32. Every rateable person, who refuses to pay his proportion to the support of the minister of the town or parish, shall be fined by the court £2, and £4 every quarter, until he or she pay the rate to the minister. (Other acts to enforce collection of parochial taxes.)

"34. A debtor in prison, swearing he has no estate, shall be let out AND SOLD TO MAKE SATISFACTION. (Altered in 1656.)

"37. No Gospel minister shall join people in marriage. The magistrates only shall join people in marriage, as they may do it with less scandal to Christ's church. (Barber.) This law was amended by the court in 1694.

"39. The selectmen finding children ignorant, may take them from their parents, and place them in better hands, at the expense of their parents. (Record.)

"41. A wife shall be deemed good evidence against her husband.

"42. Married persons must live together, or be imprisoned.

"43. No man shall court a maid in person or by letter, without first obtaining the consent of her parents; £5 penalty for the first offence; £10 for the second; and for the third, imprisonment during the pleasure of the court."[4]

In the following enactment by the General Court of Massachusetts, we may discover the germ of the odious sedition law proposed by the elder John Adams:

"It is ordered, that whosoever shall defame any court of justice, or any of the magistrates or judges of any court in this jurisdiction, in respect of any act or decision therein passed; every such offender, upon due proof made, shall be by the court of magistrates punished by fine, imprisonment, binding to the peace or good behaviour, according to the guilt and measure of the offence or disturbance, to them seeming just and equal."[5]

1 Page 123. 2 Page 124. 3 Ibid. 4 Pp. 122-4. 5 Pp 55-6.

In regard to the indissolubility of the marriage contract, the good pilgrims held opinions not half so rigid as on other points of much less importance. Bible in hand, they allowed of divorce, with the privilege of marrying again, for mere desertion; as appears from the following law of the New Haven colony:

"And it is further declared that if any husband shall, without consent, just cause shewn, wilfully desert his wife, or the wife her husband, actually and peremptorily refusing all matrimonial society, and shall obstinately persist therein, after due means have been used to convince and reclaim, the husband or wife, so deserted, may justly seek and expect help and relief, according to 1 Cor. vii, 15; and the court, upon satisfying evidence thereof, may not hold the innocent party under bondage."[1]

It is singular enough, that when "the New England Eliot" and his Reverend associates attempted to evangelize the savage tribes around Boston, they could devise no better laws for their government than those comprised in the Blue Law Code. The poor Indians were to be civilized by a system of trivial, ridiculous, and harassing enactments, the absurdity of which their native good sense must have detected at a glance. The historian of the Protestant missions frankly admits, that "some of the regulations were frivolous enough, and certainly had better been omitted;" but he adds, in mitigation, "let it be remembered that every age has its follies."[2]

Among these regulations occur the following, which we give as specimens:

"If any woman shall not have her hair tied up, but shall allow it to hang loose and to be cut as men's hair, she shall pay five shillings. If any man wear long hair, he shall pay five shillings."[3]

No wonder the efforts to convert and civilize the Indians of New England were so unsuccessful, and finally led to no practical good result. The method adopted by the Protestant missionaries was calculated rather to repel than to attract the savages; and, besides, the blessing of God did not smile on their labors!

We might greatly multiply our quotations, but those we have already furnished are deemed sufficient to show the distinctive features in the Blue Law system of legislation. Was there ever such a system heard of, either before or since? Was there ever one more wantonly cruel in many of its enactments, or more vexatious in its minute details? We believe that it is wholly without a parallel, at least in Christian times.

And, be it remembered, those laws were not enacted in a dark age, but nearly a century and a half after the light of the blessed reformation had been beaming full upon the world! They were enacted, too, by men who boasted of their own superior religious lights, and who set themselves apart from the rest of the world as *Puritans*, or peculiarly *pure* and holy; by men who had the Bible forever at their tongues' ends, and who were always

1 P. 174.

2 History of Missions, or of the Propagation of Christianity among the heathen since the reformation. By Rev. William Brown 2 vols. 8 vo. Philadelphia, 1816.

Among the frivolous regulations, he enumerates the following: "Whoever shall kill their lice between their teeth, shall pay five shillings!" 3 Ibid.

vaunting their reverence for its sacred principles of love and mercy; by men with long faces and sanctimonious appearance, who gave themselves forth as models of righteousness; by men, too, who had just escaped the lash of religious persecution, inflicted on them *by brother Protestants* in Europe, and who should have learned more enlarged and liberal principles in the rough school of suffering! These men are held up by their posterity as the very paragons of perfection; and yet their *public* acts exhibit them in a different light altogether.

But the Blue Laws have been modified or repealed. True; but no thanks are due to the Puritans for the better system of legislation which now obtains in New England. The amelioration was forced on them by circumstances of imperative necessity; by circumstances which it would have been vain in them to have attempted either to resist or to control. It was surely no merit of theirs, that the odious principle of a union of church and state was annulled. The constant influx of European emigration, of persons belonging to all sects, or to no sect, soon left them in the minority, and compelled them to return to more liberal principles. The abrogation of the Blue Laws, we repeat it, was brought about not *by* the Puritans, but *in spite* of the Puritans.

Nor let us be told, that they did but act out the principles of their age; and that they were not alone in narrow-mindedness. Even if it were so, it would scarcely be a valid apology for men, of whom we are constantly informed that they were in advance of their age. The truth is, they *were* in advance of their age; but it was in selfishness, in intolerance, and in bigotry. There were Blue Laws in many of the other colonies, but they were few, and exceptions to the general order of things; New England was the very paradise of Blue Laws,—the soil in which they were indigenous, and in which they flourished most. We look in vain for a large collection of such laws, even in the Protestant colonies of New York, Virginia, and South Carolina, in all of which, however, principles of proscription for conscience sake were openly avowed and occasionally acted on. We could easily establish this, by giving a brief summary of the various Blue Laws enacted by those colonies, as furnished us by our anonymous "Antiquarian." But our narrow limits will not allow us, at present, to go into the comparison; nor do we deem it at all necessary to do so. All who have ever glanced at the distinctive characteristics of our early colonial legislation, will readily admit that New England was manifestly *in advance* of all the other sections of the country in all that was *blue* and fanatical. In all this she stood alone and unrivaled.[1]

1 We have not space to enumerate the various Blue Laws of the other colonies. We present the following early laws of Virginia, as a specimen of them:

In March, 1623, it was enacted by the general assembly of Virginia, "that whosoever shall absent himselfe from divine service any Sunday without an allowable excuse, shall forfeite a pound of tobacco, and he that absenteth himselfe a month shall forfeite fifty pounds of tobacco."

It was further enacted, "that no minister be absent from his church, above two months in all the yeare, upon penalty of forfeiting halfe his means, and whosoever shall be absent above foure months in the yeare shall forfeite his whole means and cure."

"That no man dispose of any of his tobacco before the minister be satisfied, upon pain of forfeiture

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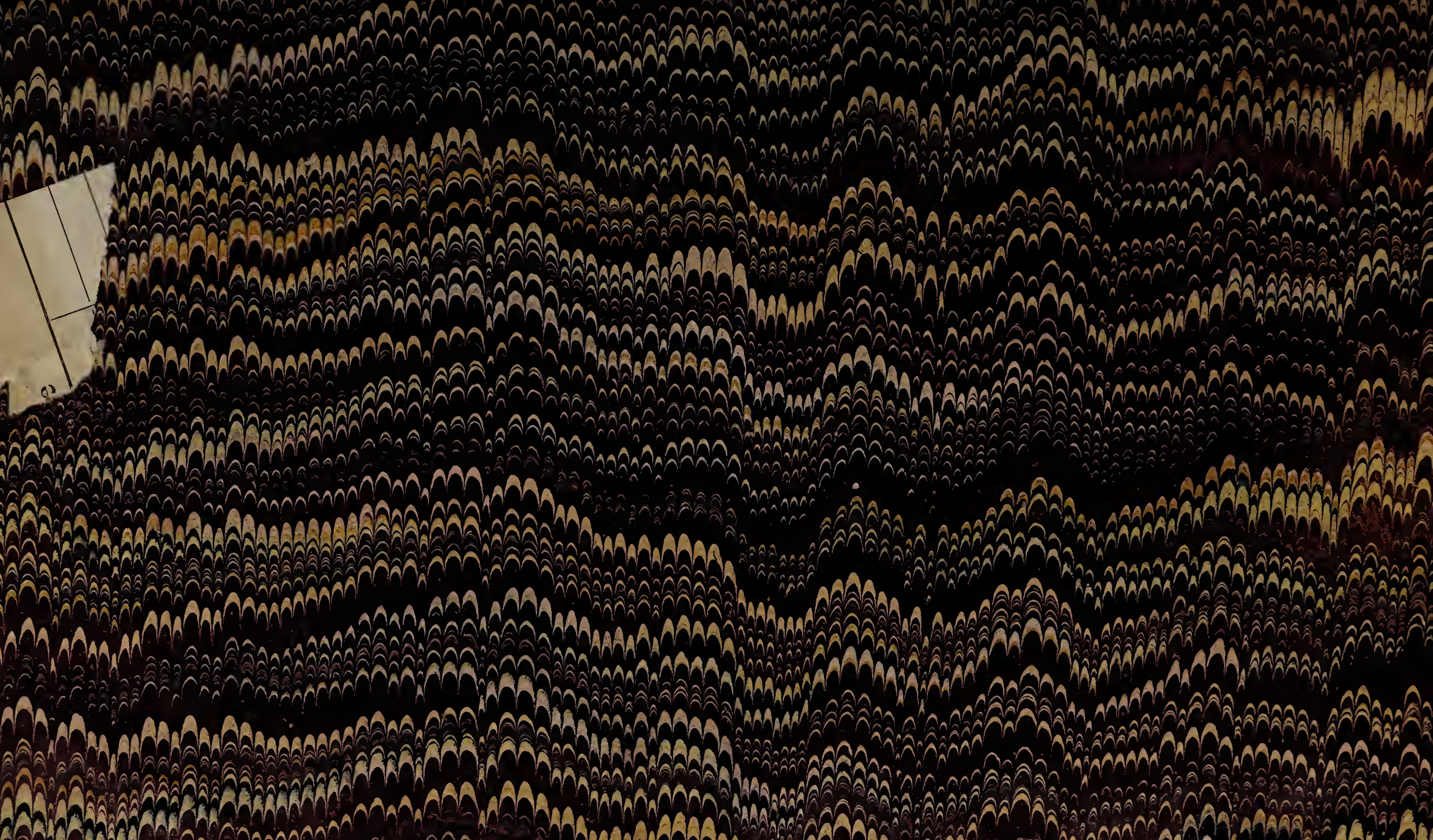

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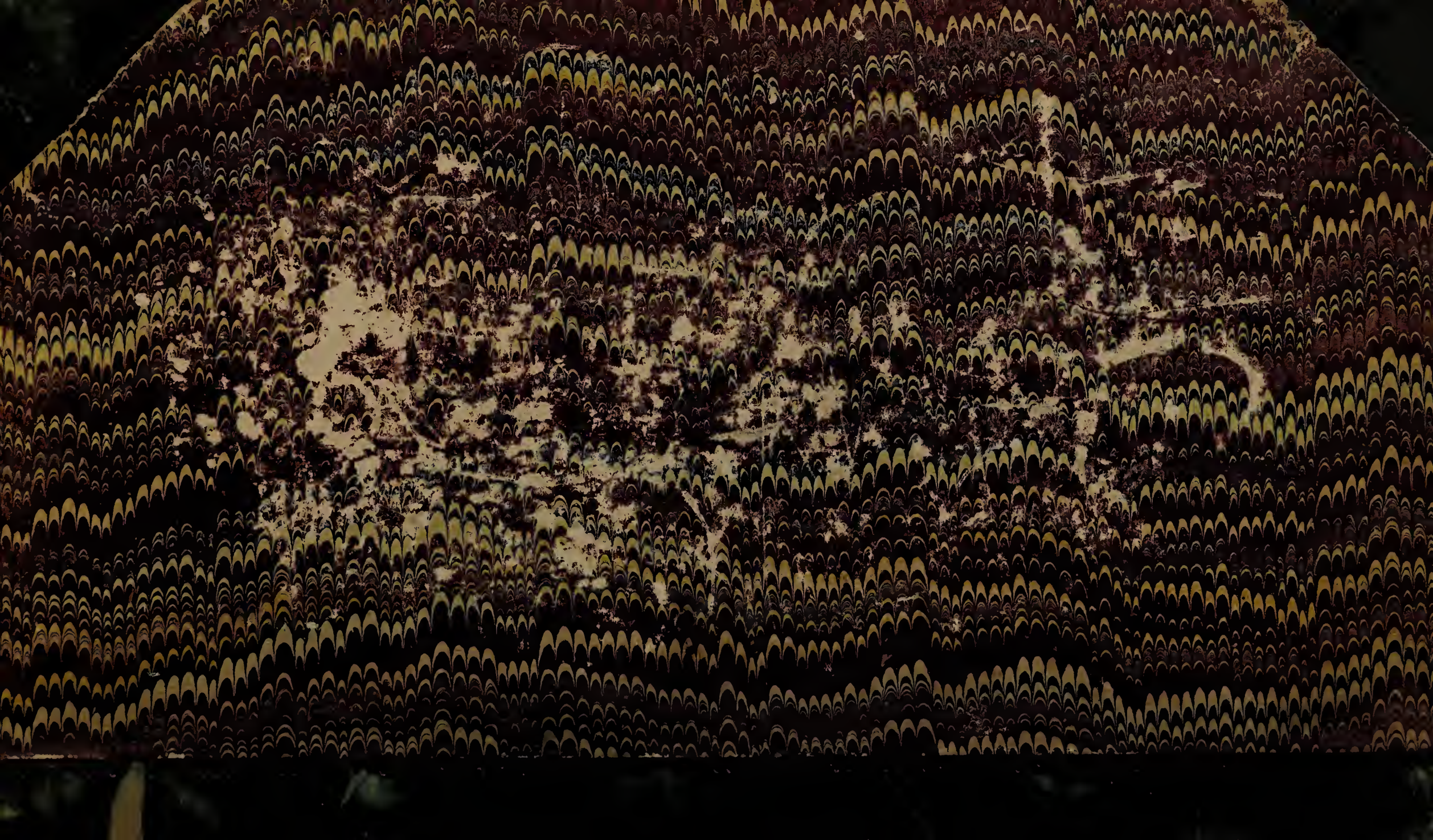
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